

# THE MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BEING

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MUHAMMADAN AND HINDU  
OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVEREIGNS OF  
INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1780 A.D.

BY

NAWWĀB ṢAMṢĀM-UD-DAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN

AND HIS SON

ABDUL HAYY

(SECOND EDITION)

TRANSLATED BY

H. BEVERIDGE, B.C.S. (RETD.)

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65179

VOLUME I

954.023

Kha



JANAKI PRAKASHAN

Ashok Rajpath Patna-4



अवधि सं० 65179 दिनांक 16.10.79  
954.023  
विषय Kha नई दिल्ली  
केन्द्रीय पुस्तक पुस्तकालय

*The Maāthir-ul-Umara*

Printed in India

First reprint Edition with exhaustive index, 1979

Published by R.B. Singh for Janaki Prakashan, Ashok Rajpath,  
Patna-4

Printed at Mehra Offset Press, Darya Ganj, New Delhi.

## PREFACE

The late Professor Dowson<sup>1</sup> rightly described the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* as 'the Peerage of the Mughal Empire', and remarked 'It consists of a Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindūstān and the Dakkhin under the house of Timūr from Akbar to 1155 A.H.' He described it as the work of Shāh Nawāz Khān Šamsām-ud-Daula, and referred to its two manuscript editions. The first was prepared by the author, and later restored with a few editions by Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād; it consisted of 261 biographies including the life of the author by the editor. The second edition was the work of the son of 'Samsamu-daula, named 'Abdu-l Hai Khān' who 'completed the work in its present form . . . . The biographies in the second edition are 731<sup>2</sup> in number giving an increase of 569 lives not contained in the former edition. They are very ably written, and are full of important historical detail; and as they include the lives of all the most eminent men who flourished in the times of the Mughal Emperors of the House of Timūr down to 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.), the *Ma-āthiru-l-umarā* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian History'.

From this brief but very succinct description of the genesis of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, it is clear that the work was planned and executed by the author whose full name was Mīr 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, Nawwāb Šamsām-ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān Khawāfī Aurangābādī. It was during the period of this forced retirement of six years following the defeat of his patron Nāṣir Jang in the battle of Burhānpūr on 3rd August, 1741, and till he was reappointed governor of Berār in 1747, that he devoted himself to the compilation of the work.<sup>3</sup> In the life of the author by Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād the period of his retirement is incorrectly given as five years<sup>4</sup>. After Šamsām-ud-Daula's reinstatement in office, the work was apparently forgotten, but in reply to a remark<sup>5</sup> of his son 'Abdul Hayy he suggested that the latter should complete it. After Šamsām-ud-Daula's arrest on 5th April, 1758, his house was plundered, and the manuscript of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* together with all his library was lost. It was recovered in an incomplete form a year later, and some twelve years after its composition (i.e., in 1759), it was rearranged and completed by the author's close friend and associate Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād<sup>6</sup>; this constituted the so-called first edition.<sup>7</sup> 'Abdul Hayy, who

<sup>1</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VIII, pp. 187-189 (1877); the account, as the editor noted, is based mainly on Morley, *Descr. Cat. Hist. MSS. Arabic and Persian Roy. As. Soc.*, pp. 101-105 (1854).

<sup>2</sup> In reference to the number of biographies also see Beveridge's Note 1 on p. 33 of the translation. The biographies by the son 'Abdul Hayy are distinguished by the letter Qāf which is an abbreviation *Alhaq* or supplement.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 727, 728.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 3, Beveridge's translation, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 11, Beveridge's translation, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> For descriptions of the two editions, see in addition to Morley and Dowson cited already, Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. British Museum*, I, pp. 339-341 (1879), and Ivanow, W., *Descr. Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 69, 70, Nos. 213, 214 (1924).

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had fortunately escaped death, and who later received his father's title and a high rank, started the preparation of additional biographies in 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.), and completed the second edition in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>: it was this edition which formed the basis of the three volumes of the Text-edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1887-96 (for details *vide infra*). On the title pages of the three parts of the English translation of the work published up to 1914, Mr. H. Beveridge gives 'Nawāb Šamsām-u-d-daula Šāh Nawāz Khān and his son 'Abdul Haqq' as the names of the authors. This mistake is repeated by Beni Prasad<sup>2</sup> in his short but valuable notice of the work and by Arberry.<sup>3</sup> There is no reference to any son of the name of 'Abdul Haqq in the autobiographical accounts of Šamsām-ud-Daula in the *Maāthir*, nor is any such person mentioned as the joint author of work in the fairly detailed biographies and descriptions of *Maāthir* by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād and 'Abdul Hayy. The mistake is apparently due to Beveridge reading the name 'Abdul Hayy as 'Abdul Haqq. A similar mistake in reference to the authorship of the work was made by Stewart,<sup>4</sup> who stated: 'This book was compiled by Abd al Hy Ben Abd al Rezāk Šāh Nūāz Khān, and finished by his son Sumsām al Dowla, A.D. 1779'.

The publication of the Text-edition by the Asiatic Society of Bengal was started under the editorship of Maulvi Abdur Rahim in 1887 and the work was completed by Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali in three volumes in 1896. Details of the dates of publication, etc., of the various parts are as follows:—

- Vol. I—Fascicles i-ix (1887-88), edited by M. Abdur Rahim.  
Fascicles x, xi, Index (1894), by M. Ashraf Ali.
- Vol. II—Fascicles i-ix (1888-89), edited by M. Abdur Rahim.  
Fascicles x-xii, Index and List of Contents of Vols. II, III (1896), by M. Ashraf Ali.
- Vol. III—Fascicles i-xi (1890-95), by M. Ashraf Ali.

In July, 1906, Mr. H. Beveridge—to whom and his talented wife Mrs. Annette Susanna Beveridge the students of Indian History will always remain indebted for their masterly translations of *Akbarnāma*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Humāyūn-Nāma* of Gulbadan Bēgam and the *Bābur-Nāma*—offered to prepare for the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series an English translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. The Council of the Society in its meeting of November, 1908, agreed to its publication, and 600 pages of the work comprising Fascicles 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6, of 200 pages each, were issued in 1911, 1913 and 1914. In the translation the author followed the alphabetical arrangement for the biographies, but naturally the sequence of the various notices is quite different from that in the three volumes of the Text-edition. The printed part consists of the introduction—including the remarks in reference to the two editions and the life of the author—and 219 biographies which

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 3-5, Beveridge's translation, pp. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 450, 451 (1931).

<sup>3</sup> Arberry, *Cat. Library India Office, Persian Books*, II, Pt. 6, p. 273 (1937).

<sup>4</sup> Stewart, *Descr. Cat. Oriental Libr. of Tipoo Sultan*, p. 19 (1809) and in the descriptive account of the authorities prefacing his *History of Bengal* (1813); the mistake was pointed out by Prof. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

were dealt with under the letters *A* to a part of *H*. Unfortunately, the arrangement is rather faulty and a number of biographies, which should have been dealt with under these letters, have been left out. The arrangement in regard to the various biographies is somewhat arbitrary, and as the author did not give the volume or page numbers for the biographies translated, it is not easy to find out the ones which have still to be dealt with. In the table of contents, I have supplied this deficiency by giving the numbers of the volume and the pages on which the accounts are to be found in the Text-edition.

The part now printed, and which with the first six fascicles will form Volume I of the translation, consists of the remainder of the account of Haidar Quli Khān (No. 223), and Nos. 224-254 of the letter *H*, Nos. 255-295 of the letter *I*, Nos. 296-324 of the letter *J*, Nos. 325-358 of the letter *K* and Nos. 359-365 of the letter *L*; in all 142 biographies. In this part an attempt has been made to revise and complete the translations, to indicate as far as possible the sources from which the accounts were taken, and to supply references to recent literature in the foot-notes. The references to printed texts are mainly to editions published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, and the same applies to the translations so far as these have been published. This, owing to the absence of or the very defective indices available, has involved a great deal of reading, and it is likely that references may have been missed in several cases. It has not been possible to check all historical data, but names of various places have been corrected with reference to the modern spellings in the *Imperial Gazetteer* so far as possible. The conversion of the Hijri dates as given in the Text-edition into dates according to the New Style of the Christian Era has been effected with the help of Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (Leipzig, 1926). The standard scheme for transliteration recently adopted by the Society has been followed with slight modifications. To reduce the cost of publication the *format* and type for the new part were changed from the more expensive form used in the earlier fascicles to that used for the *Journal* of the Society. For facilitating reference the volume and page numbers of the biographies dealt with in this part are given under the names of the nobles as also in the *Contents*. The names of the nobles dealt with are also printed as page-headings over the accounts.

I am fully conscious of the shortcomings in the work as now issued, but these are natural when one is editing a posthumous work from an imperfect manuscript. An entirely new version would probably have resulted in a better translation, but this was not possible, as the only consideration which weighed with me in agreeing to complete the work was to preserve the work of Mr. Beveridge. The translation of a text of some 2,700 pages must have been a stupendous undertaking and entailed no end of hard work for the author in his advanced age—Mr. Beveridge was 92 years of age when he died on 8th November, 1929, and the work was begun by him when he was well over seventy. While craving the indulgence of my readers for the imperfections in the translation, *format*, etc., I hope that this great monument of the scholarship, industry and devotion of the late Mr. Henry Beveridge will prove useful to students of Indian History particularly for the Mughal Period.

I am grateful to my colleague Dr. B. S. Guha, the General Secretary of the Society for facilities provided in connection with this work. My

thanks are due to my friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the leading authority on Indian History of the Moghul Period, for his valuable suggestions and the loan of some works from his personal library. I am also indebted to Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hosain for his ever-ready help in the elucidation of several difficulties. The staff of the Library and the Persian and Arabic Department of the Society have helped me ungrudgingly at all times. Finally, I have to acknowledge the ready co-operation of Mr. G. E. Bingham of the Baptist Mission Press in the expeditious printing of this work.

MUSEUM HOUSE,  
CALCUTTA,  
*31st August, 1941.*

BATNI PRASHAD.

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<sup>1</sup> The spellings of the names and titles for the first 219 biographies and the introductions are given as they are printed in the fascicles published up to 1914. For facilitating reference to the Text the volume and page numbers of the Text-edition are, however, given within brackets after each name. The supplementary biographies by 'Abdul Ḥayy are distinguished by the letter Q.

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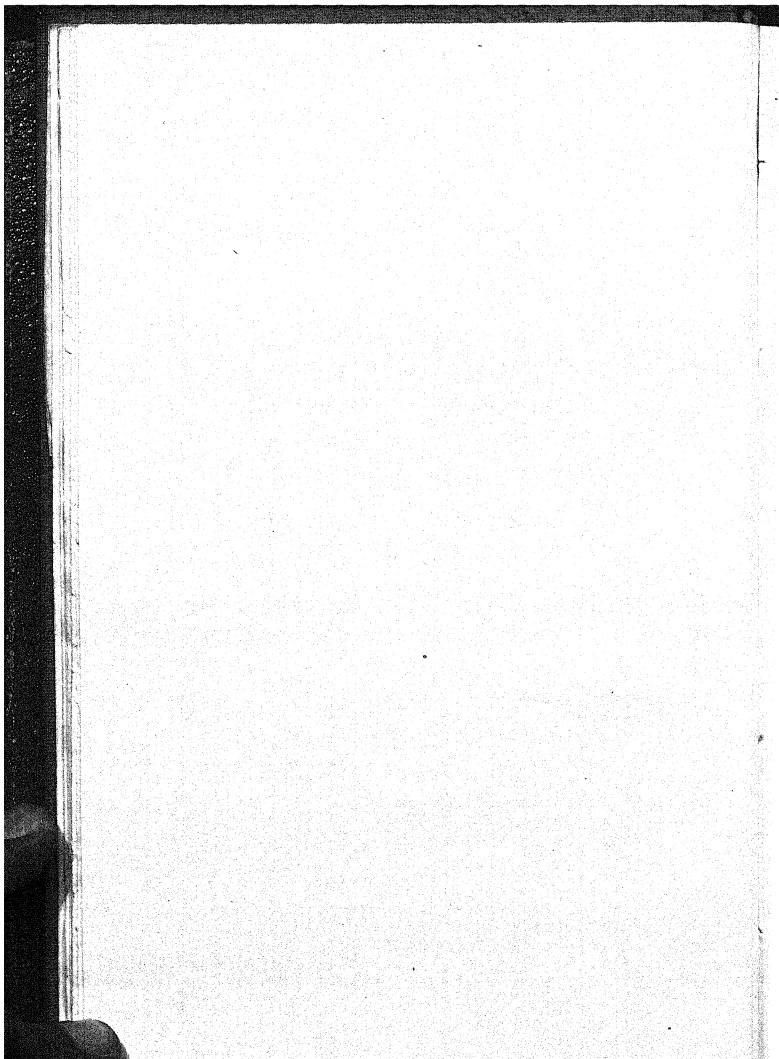
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## The Maasir-ul-Umara.

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IN<sup>1</sup> THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Boundless praise and countless benedictions are due to the king of kings, for the acts of famous princes and the deeds of great ministers spring from His almighty power and absolute will. He is the Ruler whose commands sway the hearts and hands of mortals. The tiniest atom cannot move without the permit of His glorious power, nor without His stringent order can any movement cease. He is an Arranger who has given grace and glory to Space by the personalities of princes of lofty lineage and thereby made it a cradle of rest and peace. He has associated high-thoughted nobles with enthroned princes so that they may be as limbs to the heart, and may bring to a happy issue the affairs of nations. He is a supreme Ordainer who by the one word "Be" (*Kun*) hath brought worlds on worlds of creations from the secret places of non-existence into the expanse of Being—a consummate Artist, who in His creations has produced such marvellous excellencies that the masters of Wisdom feel helpless before them and are unable fully to appreciate them. As it has been written

*Verse.*

O God, by Thy commanding, within the universe  
Earth is stationary, Heaven movent.  
Giver of greatness to men and genii  
King of kings of the world art Thou !

Salutations without number to a Leader who after showing his mission to the followers of the Divine commands regarded not

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<sup>1</sup> This is the preface to the second edition, but it comes first in the text. It is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy, the son of the original author.



the paucity of adherents nor the plurality of adversaries, but attacked and routed the misleading heretics and founders of error, and by successive victories requited them according to their deeds, till at length his firm faith dominated the world and obtained universal currency. As it has been written

*Verse.*

Muhammad, King of Realm and Religion  
Whose sword o'erthrew the foundation of malice  
Crown-wearer of the company of the apostles  
On him is the seal of power and prophecy.

Blessings also upon his holy family and upon his well-born companions for they are the strong pillars of the arch of rule and the gates of approach to him.

Let it not be concealed from the readers of this work that as Mir 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, who afterwards received the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah, the deceased father of the writer of these lines, who had acquired such knowledge in the science of biography, that the accounts of the Indian princes of the house of Timur and of their officers were all on the tip of his tongue, and had such skill in genealogies that many persons applied to him for information about their ancestry, while in retirement in the Quṭbpūra<sup>1</sup> quarter of Aurangabad occupied himself in composing this book which contains an account of the officers of the aforesaid princes. He had made rough drafts of many biographies and had also faired out many notices. Afterwards when Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh (the Nizāmu-l-mulk of Haidarabad) became well-disposed towards him and summoned him to his presence and ordered him to engage in his public business, and also later when the martyred<sup>2</sup> Nizāmu-d-daulah made over to him the charge of the Diwānī of his establishment (Sarkār), the completion of the book remained wrapped in the veil of abeyance. One day the writer of these words represented to him that a good foundation had been laid, would that it might be completed! That great one replied, "Do you finish it." Afterwards he became the minister of Nawāb

Ṣalābat<sup>1</sup> Jang, and at last gave his life in that service. His house was plundered<sup>2</sup> and the chapters dispersed. Some years afterwards a few portions came to hand. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād—peace be upon him—who was an intimate friend of the deceased—gathered those portions together and wrote a preface and an introduction and a notice of the author.

After that some other portions were recovered. As the command of that great man continued to gnaw at my soul I was always anxiously thinking about it, and at last I made a beginning in 1182 (1768–1769) and compiled from historical works supplementary biographies, and I also supplied a preface which my deceased father had written at the beginning of the work, and which I had copied out into a commonplace book, as well as a preface and introduction which Mīr Azād had written, and four biographies, also written by Mīr Azād. The list of books which I consulted at the time of composition is as follows:—

*List.*

1. Akbarnāmah by Shaiikh Abu-l-Faẓl s. Mubārak.
2. Ṭabaqāt Akbarī by Khawājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.
3. Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh by Shaiikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī.
4. Gulshan Ibrāhīmī, commonly known as the Tārīkh Ferishta by Muḥammad Qāsim.
5. 'Ālam Āraī by Sikandar Beg, the secretary (*munshī*) of Shah 'Abbās (the 1st), the ruler of Persia.
6. Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī.
7. Zubdatu-t-tawārikh by Nūru-l-Ḥaqq.
8. Iqbāl-nāmah by M'utamad Khan Bakhshī.
9. Jahāngīrnāma<sup>3</sup> in which Jinnat-Makānī (Jahangir) wrote the account of twelve years of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> A brother of Nāṣir Jang.

<sup>2</sup> Ghulām 'Alī was alive when this was written. He survived the writer of this preface who died in 1196, April 1782, whereas Ghulām 'Alī did not die till 1200, 1786. He is buried at Khul-

dābād or Rawzā (Haig. Historic Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 58).

<sup>3</sup> As pointed out in Elliot VI, 279, the (son of the) author does not seem to have had access to a copy of the Memoirs extending beyond the first

10. Zakhīrau-l-Khwānīn<sup>1</sup> by Shaiḫ Farīd of Bhakkar.
11. Majma'u-l-Afghānī<sup>2</sup> written by someone for Khan Jāḥan Lodī.
12. Pādshāhnāmāh by Mullā 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd of Lahore, and Muḥammad Wārīṣ.
13. 'Amal Ṣāliḥ by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū.
14. Waqāi<sup>3</sup> Qandahar.
15. 'Ālamgīrnāmāh, by Muḥammad Kāzīm Munshī.
16. Mirātu-l-'Ālam by Bakhtawār K. the eunuch.
17. Tārīkh<sup>4</sup> 'Āshām.
18. Khulāṣatu-t-tawārīkh, written by a Hindu<sup>5</sup> in the time of Aurangzeb.
19. Tārīkh<sup>6</sup> Dilkushā, written by a Hindu and containing the account of some events of Aurangzeb's reign.
20. Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, by Musta'ad Khān Muḥammad Shafī.<sup>7</sup>
21. Bahādur<sup>8</sup> Shāhnāmāh, by Ni'amat Khān 'Ālī.
22. Labb Labāb, by Khawāfi Khān.
23. Tārīkh Muḥammad<sup>9</sup> Shāhī.
24. Fathīyyah, by Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān.<sup>10</sup>
25. The Taḏkira<sup>11</sup> (anthology) called Majma'u-n-nafāis by Sirājud-dīn 'Ālī Khān Ārzū.

twelve years. The Jahāngīrnāmāh of Ghairat K., i.e. Kāmgār Husainī, is not mentioned in the list, but is referred to at II, 865 in the account of Ghairat K.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this is the work mentioned by the writer's father, I, p. 8, as being by Shaiḫ M'arūf of Bhakkar.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the Makhzān Afghānī of Rieu I, 210, 212 and Elliot V, 67. It is by Ni'amat Ullah.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the Laṭā'ifu-l-Akḥbār of Rieu I, 264b. It is an account of Dārā Shikoh's unsuccessful siege of Qandahar.

<sup>4</sup> By Shihābu-d-dīn Ṭālish, Rieu I, 266a. It is also called Fathīyah-i-Ibratiya. See A.S.B.J. for 1872, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> The author was Sujān Rai of Batāla in the Gūrdāspūr district of the Panjab. See R.A.S.J. for 1894, p. 733, Rieu 230a and Elliot VIII, 5.

<sup>6</sup> The author was Bhīm Sen. Rieu I, 271. It was translated by Jonathan Scott.

<sup>7</sup> Should be Sāqī, Rieu I, 270.

<sup>8</sup> Rieu 272a.

<sup>9</sup> This may be the Nādiru-z-Zamānī of Khushshāl Chand, Rieu I, 128, and Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the work by Yūsuf Muḥammad K. mentioned in Elliot VIII, 103.

<sup>10</sup> This may be the work mentioned in Elliot VIII, 70, or it may be the Jināna-l-Firdaus of do. 413. See Rieu 138a and III, 1081a.

<sup>11</sup> See Sprenger's Oudh Catalogue, 132.

26. *Mirāt Wāridāt*,<sup>1</sup> by Muḥammad Shafī, with the poetical name of Wārid.
27. *Jahān*<sup>2</sup> *Kushā*, a history of Nādir Shāh.
28. and 29. *Sarv Āzād* and *Khazāna 'Āmrā*, both by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.
30. *Mirātu-ṣ Ṣafā*,<sup>3</sup> by Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī of Burhānpūr.
31. *Tārikh* *Bangāla*.<sup>4</sup>

My hope is that readers of this work will correct omissions or mistakes if they find any, and that they will pardon defects.

Be it known that the deceased compiler of this work arranged the lives according to the date of death, and where, as in some cases, that date was unknown, the date down to which the biography was carried, was treated as the date of death.

Heaven be praised! This delightful work was finished in 1194 (1780) and the chronogram is—

*Verse.*

The pen decked the garden with a verbal Spring,

Approved by the wise, 'tis the pleasure-ground of every sage.

The sheet produced by the writer's Spring-creating pen dissipated the glories of Irām<sup>5</sup> and emulated Paradise. Reason, the Secretary, wrote the year of completion. Bravo! "Learned Associate (editor) of the *Maasiru-l-Umarā*" (1194=1780).

PREFACE WHICH THE PARDONED AUTHOR (SHAH NEWĀZ) OF THE  
BOOK WROTE AT THE COMMENCEMENT<sup>6</sup> OF HIS WORK.

From the beginning of my years of understanding and discretion I had, in spite of the time given to ordinary lessons, a love for

<sup>1</sup> Rieu I, 275, and Elliot VIII, 21.

<sup>2</sup> The work translated into French by Sir William Jones.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu I, 129, and Elliot VIII, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Rieu I, 312b. It is observable that in the above list no mention is made of the *Mulashkhkhaṣ* or Abridgement of 'Inṣyat K. 'Ashnā. It is commonly known as the *Shāh Jahānnā*

*mgh* and is referred to in *Maasir* II, 762, and elsewhere. See Elliot VII, 73. The author seems to have used the *Mulashkhkhaṣ* in his account of the taking of Qandahar by the Persians.

<sup>5</sup> A fabulous garden in Arabia. Felix.

<sup>6</sup> The author states in the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāzīm, III, 721, that he was born on

investigating biographies and chronicles. Whenever I had any leisure, I devoted some of it to the instructive annals of former kings, and some to the accounts of highly-placed officials. Sometimes the words of philosophers and saints enlarged my vision, and sometimes I was stirred up by the rhythmical utterances of poets. At length, in the third decade of existence, touched with contrition, when there is a change in life, Time cast me into the struggles of service and my days were spent in the acquisition of a livelihood. After that, prosperity and pleasure threw me into other occupations and I ceased to be in <sup>1</sup> touch with books, and the love of literature left me. Though the thought of my manuscript collections occasionally affected me, and I wished to offer a pilgrim's present to the rising generation, yet time kept saying to me with the tongue of gesture (*zabān-i-hāl*).

*Verse.*

The brain o'er heaven, the heart at foot of golden idols<sup>2</sup>  
How can I speak ; where is the brain and where the heart ?

Suddenly the wondrous working of destiny gave me in 1155, 1742, retirement and solitude. Outwardly the year was pregnant with a thousand troubles and anxieties, but the heart was impelled to calm and composure, and regarded the unexpected leisure as great gain. The same old desire took full possession of my soul and ancient wishes flowered anew. But a revision of my design dissuaded me from composition, for my forerunners had completed books of every kind or fashion which I had thought of, and other subjects had been dealt with by great thinkers and artists both directly and indirectly, and at large or in abridgment. So my heart did not incline towards my compositions, and I judged them as belonging to the class of the common-place. Suddenly there shot into

28. Ramzan 1111 (8th March 1700), and that he became diwān of Berar in 1145 (1732-33); in his 34th year.

<sup>1</sup> *Masās*. Two B.M. MSS. have *shinās*.

<sup>2</sup> *Muḥrbūtān*. Apparently this refers to the gold coins called *hūn* in the

Deccan, the pagodas of early travellers, which were also called *būt-ashrafī* on account of their having an idol or temple represented on them. See *Bahār-i-'Ajam* s.v. "The brain o'er heaven" seems to refer to his lofty

my heart the thought that if I wrote from the beginning of the reign of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), of which the chronogram is Naṣrat Akbar ("Victory of Akbar" or "Great Victory," and equal to 963, or 1556) to the present time, an account, in alphabetical order, of the lives of great Amirs and exalted nobles,—some of whom had, at the time of their glory, by dint of fortune and good conduct, been the authors of great deeds, and carried the ball of a famous name to an honourable goal, while others had, by the wind of their arrogance and presumption, heaped up final ruin for themselves,—and should append to the biographies remarkable sayings, strange narratives, prudent enterprises, great actions, extraordinary campaigns, and exhibitions of courage, and should incidentally describe the events during two centuries of the illustrious princes of the Timuride dynasty in India—Thanks be to God for their achievements—and should make mention of many ancient families, assuredly a new work would be produced and one which would stand apart from the writings of other authors. Accordingly, my heart firmly decided upon this singular undertaking, and the countenance of purpose displayed itself in a conspicuous manner.

Although a book by Shaiikh M'arūf of Bhakar called the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn<sup>1</sup> which contains an account of Amīrs came to my notice at this time, and many of its statements have been included in the present work, yet as it is founded upon hearsay, and is contrary to the ascertainments of the masters of this science, whereas

<sup>1</sup> Text Khwāqīn, but the entry No. 10, in the list of authorities by author's son, and the reference at II, p. 260, shows that Khwānīn, as given in the variant, is right. It is stated at the last place above referred to (*viz.*, the life of Amānat K.) that the book was written in 1080 (1650). At p. 75 of Vol. III mention is made of a S. M'arūf who was Ṣadr of Bhakar, but probably this was the grandfather of the S. M'arūf, the author. No historical work called the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn is mentioned by Rieu, though at

p. 1047a of his catalogue mention is made of an extract from the Zakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn which is described as another name for the Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk, a treatise on practical ethics, by the Kashmir saint Shāh Hamadān. It is much to be wished that S. M'arūf's book could be found, for apparently it was full of interesting gossip. At p. 288 of Vol. II the author of it is spoken of as Shaiikh Farīd Bhakrī. See also the list of works consulted by 'Abdu-l-Hayy, No. 10.

the basis of my book is trustworthy writings, the originality and superiority of the latter are evident.

As in the time of Akbar, when the limit of rank for Amīrs was 5000—though in the end of his reign two or three persons attained to 7000—royal service had a high value and *manṣabs* were greatly respected, many persons in small positions were possessed of influence and excellence, and therefore I have for that period included officers down to the rank of 500. For the reign of Shah Jahan and up to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign—after which many offices and dignities came into vogue—I have noticed holders of 3000, and the possessors<sup>1</sup> of drums and flags. After that on account of the Deccan campaigns full of contrarieties (*isāq pūr mashāq*), the increase of servants, and decrease of produce of the country, such superiorities did not continue. Gradually the circle became larger, and for the present time—vacant of goodness or blessing—when many *haft-hazāris* (holders of the rank of 7000) are at sixes and sevens (*bahāft-u-hasht*, "at seven and eight") and are damaged in reputation and honour, and when in every district and direction many a *shash-hazāri* and *panch-hazāri* (holder of 6000 or 5000) is in preplexity from the buffetings of fortune, I have thought it enough to stop at 5000 or 7000. Many ancestors who had brushed the corner of obscurity have acquired the fame of eternal life as appendages to their celebrated posterity, and many sons and grandsons, who from want of merit did not rise to high office, have had their names blazoned because of their illustrious ancestry. Some who did not obtain to high rank have been noticed on account of their noble qualities.

This work, which is a collection of numerous marks (*iḡār*), has been designated *Maaṣiru-l-Umarā*, "Marks of Amīrs." In the family of Timuride princes each heavenly father and pure mother received a title; as for instance *Ṣāhib Qirān* (Lord of Conjunction) denotes Amīr Timur, *Firdūs Makānī* is *Zahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar*, *Jinnat Āshiyānī* is *Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn*, 'Arṣh Āshiyānī *Jalālū-d-dīn* is *Muḥammad Akbar*, *Jinnat Makānī*,

<sup>1</sup> From a statement in the *Tūzak J.* it appears that drums and flags were bestowed on holders of office of the value of 3000.

Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahangir, Firdūs Āshiyānī and 'Alī Hazrat, Shihābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān Ṣānī is Shah Jahan, Khuld Makān, Muḥīu-d-dīn Muḥammad is Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, Khuld Manzil Qutbu-d-dīn Muḥammad M'uzzam Shāh 'Ālam is Bahādur Shāh; while the venerable mother of 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar), viz. Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, has the title of Miriam-Makānī, and the honoured mother of Khuld-Makān, viz. Arjmand Bānū Begam, is entitled Mumtāz Maḥal (Tāj Maḥal), and his elder sister, Jahān Ārā Begam, is called Begam Ṣāhiba. Accordingly, whenever there was occasion to mention them in this book, it was sufficient to do so by their titles. With regard to other princes, their correct names have been given, except that in some places Muḥammad Shāh Pādishāh has been styled Firdūs Ārāmgāh.

Preface<sup>1</sup> and Introduction which Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād—may God prolong his life—placed at the head of the chapters after they had been collected.

*(Note of Editor to Second Edition.)*

(As this composition has become well-known, and as it contains a life of the deceased author (Shah Newāz), the writer of these lines ('Abdul-I-Ḥayy the son) has included it in the book.)

Praise to the King of Kings who has bestowed upon kings the exalted position of the rule of the world and has given to their Amīrs, the adorners of the throne, the office of assisting them. And Peace and Salutation be upon the Protector of the world (Muḥammad) who has so gloriously guided the acts of the nations, and has controlled genii and men by the God-given seal of prophecy; and upon the illustrious family who are honourable princes, and on the companions of holy lineage who are sublime Viziers.

But to proceed. This book is charming, and a masterpiece which has no fellow. It is the production by God's help of that congeries of human perfections Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz Khān—may God have mercy upon him—who composed it

<sup>1</sup> This is the preface to the first edition. See account of Ghulām 'Alī in Beale s.v. Azād and in Colonel Wilks' "Sketches of the South of India," I. 237, and 267 n.



with a magic pen, and for five years devoted all the powers of his intellect to the task.

Those who are acquainted with history can judge how much labour<sup>1</sup> the noble author bestowed upon it, and how far he carried out his researches and strove after accuracy.

But the pages which had been written remained nearly twelve years in the alcove of forgetfulness, and the lovely peacock spread his plumage in the cell of a cage. Time did not allow of the blackness of the rough draft's being changed into the whiteness of the finished page, nor of the long winter night's being converted into a world-illuminating morning. At last they administered to the noble author—mercy be upon him—the cup of martyrdom and placed the children of his lofty genius (his writings) in the dust of orphanhood. The author's house was plundered and the accumulations of his library were at one stroke dispersed. The faquir Ghulām 'Alī—whose style is Āzād Ḥusainī Wāsiṭī Bilgrāmī—was on terms of exceeding friendship with the deceased, and smote his hands in sorrow when the unrivalled masterpiece disappeared, and for a long time pursued the threads of search over the world.

There was no trace of whither it had gone and into whose hands it had fallen. One full twelve month after the martyrdom of the noble author, a clue was found, and the lost Joseph showed his countenance. There was great joy, and I immediately rolled up my sleeve to arrange and whiten and mend the torn garment of the foul draft and to stitch the scattered pages. As the manuscript had taken flight from the library in detachments and had fallen in various places, the chapters did not remain together. They had to be gathered like the leaves of autumn. After great labour the scattered pages were collected, but the biography of Qutbu-l-mulk 'Abdullah Khān (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha) grand vizier of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, which the author had written, had perished, and the biography of Amīru-l-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān the brother of (the said) Qutbu-l-mulk came to hand with an im-

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<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* "How much blood oozed from the vein of his thoughts,"

perfect beginning. The author had not written the biographies<sup>1</sup> of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh and of his successor the martyred Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah. The jealousy of fortune had not granted him leisure for this. The eminence of these four Amīrs was as clear as the sun, and it was imperative that their biographies should be included in the work. By chance I had put together all four biographies in my book the *Sarv Āzād*. I copied out the biographies of Qutbu-l-mulk, Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and the martyred Nizāmu-d-daulah from the *Sarv Āzād*. For the biography of Amīru-l-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān I retained all that came to my hand and supplied the beginning from the *Sarv Āzād*. Some other necessary biographies were wanting in the chapters, such as the biography of S. Abūl Faḡl,<sup>2</sup> the author of the *Akbarnāma*, whose pre eminence does not need to be mentioned. The deceased author used to imitate his style in his compositions. The biography of S'aad Ullah K., grand vizier of Firdūs Āshiyānī (Shah Jahan), was also wanting. The author in several places refers to intended notices, and these are not forthcoming. The inference is that they were written but that the violent blasts of accidents had carried them away.

The noble author, who has been received into mercy, has also in various places recorded his intention of writing (such and such) a notice, but it has not been found at the position indicated. Whatever has been done has been done, and whatever was not done remained undone. Now, who has the brains to compile such notices and to add them as a supplement? The author himself completed his preface, but the writing of praise and prayer was wanting, so I wrote some words of praise and supplication and prefixed them. The first biography in this place is that of the author. After that the body of the work commences. May God grant help!

<sup>1</sup> The lives of Ghāzīn-d-dīn the son of Nizāmu-l-mulk<sup>1</sup> and of his son 'Imādu-d-dīn seem all to be by Ghulām 'Alī as they appear in his *Khazāna 'Āmrā*.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the life of Abūl-faḡl was afterwards found by Shāh Newāz's son, for there is a long one in the 2nd

vol. and the son does not mark it as his, and Ghulām 'Alī does not say he wrote it. The life of S'aad Ullah, the prime minister of Shah Jahan, appears in Vol. II, p. 441, of the *Maasir* under the style of 'Allāmī S'aad Ullah Khān. It is by the son 'Abdul-l-Hayy.

LIFE<sup>1</sup> OF NAWAB SAMSĀMU-D-DAULAH SHĀH NEWĀZ KHĀN SHAHĪD  
(MARTYRED) KHWĀFĪ AURANGABĀDĪ—THE MERCY OF  
GOD BE UPON HIM!

His real name was Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, and he was of<sup>2</sup> the family of the Saiyids of Khwāf. His ancestor (great, great, great-grandfather) Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn<sup>3</sup> came to India from Khwāf in the time of Akbar and became one of his chief servants. His son Mīrak Ḥusain was a distinguished servant in the time of Jahangir, and his grandson Mīrak M'ūnu-d-dīn received the title of Amānat Khān and obtained high office under Shah Jahan. During the reign of 'Ālamgīr, he became diwān of Lahore, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir, and when the subahdārī of Multan was assigned to the Prince Shah 'Ālam, Amānat K. was made naib-subahdār in addition to his diwānship. He acted in keeping with his name (amānat, "trust") and served with perfect honesty and trustworthiness. A royal order was sent to him in the time of his Diwānī to send a certain person to court, and he summoned him and pressed him to go. The person said that he would go if Amānat K. would guarantee his being treated with respect. Amānat K. replied that he had no confidence in a person who had behaved in such and such a way to his father and brothers (Amānat referring thereby to Aurangzeb's treatment of his father and brothers), how then could he be a guarantee? Talebearers carried this remark to the king, and he became angry and deprived Amānat of his office and his fief. He remained a long time unemployed, but at last the king was struck with the thought: "This person (Amānat) fears God and regards not me." He became the patron of such a praise-

<sup>1</sup> Translated by H. H. Wilson, Quarterly Oriental Magazine, IV. 269.

<sup>2</sup> By the female side.

<sup>3</sup> No servant of this name is mentioned in the Āin, but several Kamāls are spoken of in the A. N. III. At p. 259. Vol. I, of the Maasir the author calls his ancestor Mīrak Kamāl and says he was the son of Mīr Ḥasan and came to India with his son Mīrak Ḥusain.

Kamāl came to India to his maternal uncle Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, for whom see Blochmann 445. The statement of Ghulām 'Alī that Mīr Kamāl became one of Akbar's chief servants, or that he became a servant at all, is not borne out by the Āin or by Shah Newāz's own account of his ancestry, in his life of Amānat Khān. See Maasir I, p. 259.

worthy officer. The king took him again into favour and restored to him his rank, his fief, and his diwānship. He became impressed by his personality and relied fully upon him for every thing, both for word and deed. When the king was in Upper India and the subahdārī of the Deccan was committed to Khān Jahān Bahādūr Kokaltāsh, the diwānship of the Deccan, the paymastership and recordership were given to Amānat Khān. He managed the diwānī with consummate ability, and Khān Bahādūr used often to come to his house. He also had charge of the Nizāmat (the criminal jurisdiction) of Aurangabad.

Four of his sons were distinguished. The first was 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat Khān, the second Mīr Husain Amānat Khān; the first was made Diwān-i-tan,<sup>1</sup> and the second, Diwān-i-khālṣa (diwān of the exchequer). Amānat K. (the second son) was also made governor of the port of Surat, and on his death<sup>2</sup> Dīānat K. (his elder brother) succeeded him. This Dīānat K. had been diwān of the Deccan before he became governor of Surat, and after becoming governor, he again became diwān of the Deccan. The third son Mīr 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wazārat K. had the poetical name of Girāmī<sup>3</sup> and was made diwān of Malwa and diwān of Bijāpūr. He wrote excellent verses and they were collected into a divān. The following are specimens :

*Verse.\**

Ere the caravan-leader of the ecstasies took an omen for the  
march

Our madman girt up his loins for the desert.

<sup>1</sup> The office of looking after the *tankhūwāh* or assignments of land to private individuals.

<sup>2</sup> In 1111, 1699—1700. See Maṣṣir 'Ālamgīrī, 412.

<sup>3</sup> Girāmī's divān is mentioned in Stewart's Cat. of Tippoo Sultan's Library. See also A.S.B. Cat. 114, and Sprenger Oudh Cat. 412, and Ethé Cat. I. O., p. 889, No. 1625.

<sup>4</sup> I found both verses in the A.S.B.

MS. of Girāmī's divān. The first occurs before the middle of the MS. (not paged) and the second is towards the end of the volume. In the MS. the second line comes before the first. The divān seems to consist chiefly of love-songs. The poet says he made an ill-timed repentance in the season of flowers as that is the time of enjoyment.

*Another verse.*

The flower-season came and I made an ill-timed renunciation  
 How hard was I on the bowl, and how I abused the glass  
 Separated from my companions I could not join the march  
 Alas! I trod the fields of ecstasy alone.

The fourth was Kāẓim K. the Diwān of Multan. Mīr Ḥasan Ali the son of Kāẓim K. was the father of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah Shāh Newāz K. On his mother's side Samsāmu-d-daulah was descended from Mīr Ḥusain Amānat K. above mentioned (second son of Amanat No. 1) Mīr Ḥasan 'Ali, the father of Samsāmu-d-daulah, died at the age of nineteen<sup>1</sup> and had no opportunity of developing himself.

Be it known that the descendants of Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn Amānat K. became very numerous and occupied a large ward (Qutbpūra) in the city of Aurangabad. The diwānī of the Deccan and other high offices became appurtenances of the family. A world of men obtained shares in the bounties of the family. The diwānī of the Deccan after Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K. fell to his heir 'Ali Naqī K. and he got his father's title of Dīānat K. After his death this great office fell to his son Mīrak Muḥammad Taqī who obtained the title of Wazārat K. After his death his brother Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K. was appointed. He served in the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh afterwards, and was fully trusted. At last he received the title of Yamīnu-d-daulah Maṣṣūr Jang. He and Samsāmu-d-daulah were martyred on the same day.

I now proceed to give an account of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah. The virtues of his incomparable Amīr are beyond the powers of the pen to delineate, nor could a wide expanse of parchment contain them. Truly the eye of the world never beheld another Amīr with such a combination of excellencies, nor have the ancient heavens ever weighed in the balance of a vision a statesman of such an universality of talents. From the beginning of his development the marks of rectitude appeared on his forehead, and the lights of

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<sup>1</sup> He died in Lahore, and Samsāmu-d-daulah was a posthumous child. Maasir. III, 721.

future excellence shone on the brow of his actions. He was born on 29 Ramzān<sup>1</sup> 1111, 9th March, 1700, in Lahore. As many of his relations were in Aurangabad, he went there in early youth.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning he had an office on the establishment of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, and some time after he was appointed to the imperial diwānī of Berar. He was long in this office and discharged the duties well so that the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh remarked one day, that the work of Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq had vigour and smartness<sup>3</sup> (nimakī dārad). When Muḥammad Shah the ruler of Delhi summoned Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to his presence in 1150, 1737, and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went off to the capital, leaving his son and heir Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah Nāsir Jang as his deputy, Samsāmu-d-daulah became associated with the son. The latter made him diwān of his own office as well as royal diwān, and he conducted the duties of both offices with supreme ability and integrity.

When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh returned from Hindustan to the Deccan, wicked men instigated Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah to oppose his honoured father. Such was not the opinion of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah. On the contrary he urged him to agree with his father. As a great crowd of wicked men were gathered from every side, the words of Samsāmu-d-daulah were of no avail. On the day when the son and the father met in battle, Samsāmu-d-daulah was on a elephant following that of Nizāmu-d-daulah (i.e. Nāsir Jang). When Nizāmu-d-daulah's army was defeated and Āṣaf Jāh's men captured his elephant, Harz-Ullah<sup>4</sup> K., the grandson of S'aad

<sup>1</sup> 28th. 15 days after his father's death. Maasir. III, 721.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from I, 611 that he was in Lahore in 1127, 1715, where he saw Ḥamīdu-d-din. He was then 15. He left for the Deccan in that same year for he tells us at III. 722 that he left for the Deccan in the year that Ḥusain 'Alī the Bārha Saiyid left for the Deccan, and this was in 1127, or 1715. He was made diwān of Berar in 1145, or 1732. In the biography of his grandfather Muḥammad Kāzīm the author indulges in much rhetoric

about himself. At III, 728 he says he spent about six years in retirement. At p. 740 of Vol. III in the biography of Mubārīz the author mentions that he was with the Nizāmu-l-mulk in his campaign of 1136, 1724, when Mubārīz was defeated and killed. From the way in which he describes the battle etc., it would seem that he would have preferred if Mubārīz had been successful.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir III, 722.

<sup>4</sup> See Maasir II, 521, apparently he was the great-grandson of Shah

Ullah K. Vizier—who had an acquaintance with Samsāmu-d-daulah—said to him, “Nizāmu-d-daulah is going to his father’s house, where are you going? You have fulfilled the conditions of loyalty as far as was proper, you should withdraw from this dangerous place.” Samsāmu-d-daulah got off the elephant and withdrew.<sup>1</sup> For a time he was under Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh’s displeasure, and lived in retirement. During this period he engaged in drafting and writing the Maasiru-l-Umarā. He spent five years in this way. At last Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh at the close of his reign withdrew the ban in 1160, 1747, and made him diwān of Berar as formerly. Shortly afterwards Āṣaf<sup>2</sup> Jāh died and Nizāmu-d-daulah sat on the *masnad*. He summoned Samsāmu-d-daulah from Berar and made him his own diwān as formerly. He thoroughly discharged the duties of the entire diwānī which consisted of the viziership of the six provinces of the Deccan. When Nizāmu-d-daulah at the summons of Aḥmad Shah the ruler of India proceeded towards Shahjahanabad (Delhi) he left Samsāmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and at the time of departure gave him his own ring saying to him that it was Solomon’s seal (indicating that it was the seal of the prime minister). But when the Nawāb had come as far as the Narbadda he, in accordance with the orders of his sovereign, returned to the Deccan. When his army marched to Arcot, and he was victorious over Moẓaffar<sup>3</sup> Jang, Samsāmu-d-daulah represented to him that he should not remain there, but should leave Muḥammad<sup>4</sup> ‘Alī K. Anwāru-d-dīn K. Shahāmat Jang of Copāmau (in Oudh) there

Jahan’s Vizier. See what seems to be a not altogether candid account of the affair in Maasir III, 725—726.

<sup>1</sup> He went to the house of Matahwar K., for an account of whom see Maasir U. III, 108 in notice of Quṭb-d-dīn Khweshgī. Matahwar died in 1156. There is a long account of Matahwar K. in the third volume, p. 776. It is stated at p. 793 that the author was enabled by the exertions of Matahwar to take up his abode in the Deccan. Probably this means that he married into Matahwar’s

family, for he mentions at p. 722 of the same article that he married and so became fixed in the Deccan.

<sup>2</sup> He died in 1161, 22 May 1748 (Beale). Colonel Wilks in his Hist. Sketches I, 258, gives 24 March 1784 as the date, and says it happened on the same day as the battle of Myconda.

<sup>3</sup> His sister’s son and the grandson of Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Hidayat Moḥi-u-d-dīn (Wilks).

<sup>4</sup> Burke’s Nawab of Arcot.

along-with the English in order that they might chastise the French Christians of Pondicherry. Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah did not listen, and some short-sighted men who wished, for their own selfish ends, to stay there, induced the Nawāb to remain in that country until there happened what happened.<sup>1</sup>

After the martyrdom of Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah, the rule came to Mozaffar Jang. He turned away from the country, and was killed<sup>2</sup> near the city of Kurpa (Cudappah). Then Nawāb Šalābat Jang Amīru-l-Mamālik s. Āṣaf Jāh became ruler, and proceeded to Karnūl from Kurpa. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah was with the army up to this point, but in Karnūl he separated and went rapidly to Aurangabad. The writer of this notice accompanied him on this occasion. Samsāmu-d-daulah remained<sup>3</sup> for some time in his house and on 9 Rajab 1165, 12 May 1752, went to Haidarabad in order to appear before Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik (Šalābat Jang). He appeared before him and was appointed to the Subahdārī of Haidarabad. After some time he was dismissed from this appointment and went into retirement. At last Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik came to Aurangabad, and on 14 Šafr 1167, 11 December 1753, he gave him a robe of honour and made him prime minister and gave him the rank of Hafthazārī (7000) together with 7000 horse, and the title of Samsāmu-d-daulah. He filled the office for four years and discharged the duties in gross and in detail in an excellent manner. In spite of the want of materials he did wonders so that the wise were amazed. When he became prime minister, the affairs of Nawāb Amīru-l-Mamālik were in an extraordinary condition so that from want of money his household furniture had to be sold. Samsāmu-d-daulah put things to right in an admirable manner so that the waters which had departed returned to their channels (a phrase) and disorganization was succeeded by order. The refractory put the ring of obedience in their ear, and the crooked in thought the saddle cloth of rectitude on their

<sup>1</sup> Nāṣir Jang's assassination which took place on 5 December 1750, Wilks *id.* I, 267, note, and Grant-Duff II, 45.

<sup>2</sup> February 1751. He was killed at

Raichouttee about half of his journey to Golconda, Wilks. I, 272, and Beale.

<sup>3</sup> He was dismissed for a time at Bussy's instance and then restored by the same influence.



shoulder. Peace quickly returned to the country, and the peasantry, and subjects generally, enjoyed repose in the coolness of justice. In the space of four years he equalised the income and expenditure, and he used to say that next year, Please God! the receipts would exceed the disbursements.

To be brief, after he was established in the ministry he set the standards of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik in motion and proceeded towards Berar in order to chastise Raghū Bhonsla. He defeated him and took five lacs of rupees as tribute. From Berar he proceeded to Narmal.<sup>1</sup> Suryā Rāo, the zamindar of Narmal, had been in rebellion from the time of Āṣaf Jāh and had repeatedly defeated the government troops. Samsāmu-d-daulah contrived to imprison him, and confiscated his territory. He accomplished these two great things in the first year of his ministry. He spent the rainy season in Haidarabad and in the second year 1168, 1755, he brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Mysore and took fifty lacs of rupees from the Rajah of Mysore as tribute. In the beginning of the rainy season he returned to Haidarabad. At this time the Sultan of Delhi 'Ālamgīr the 2nd sent the insignia of<sup>2</sup> Mahī-u-Marātīb to Samsāmu-d-daulah. Some one made this versified chronogram.

*Verse.*

From the Shah of Ind came *mahī* and also *marātīb* 1168.

(*Az Shāh Hind āmiḍ mahī u ham murātīb.*)

In the third year 1169, he assisted Rāo Balāji. The circumstances are these. Rāo Balāji besieged the city of Savānūr.<sup>3</sup> The Afghans strengthened the fort of Savānūr and defended it vigorously. They made frequent sallies and smote the men in the batteries. Rāo Balāji was in difficulties and asked help from Samsāmu-d-daulah. Good God! Rāo Balāji who took possession of the territories of the Deccan and of Hindustan, and who shook the emperor

<sup>1</sup> In Telingānah, Jarrett II, 237, the Neermul of Grant-Duff's map; it is E. Nandair.

<sup>2</sup> "The fish and dignities." See Irvine, Army of the Moghuls, 33.

<sup>3</sup> It seems also to be called Bankapūr, Wilks. I, 19. Savānūr is in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay Presidency.

of Delhi and the pillars of his throne, turned for assistance to Samsāmu-d-daulah! He brought Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to his help, and conveyed an army to Savānūr. He set up batteries and put artillery in position so that the Afghans changed their tone and proposed peace. After this Samsāmu-d-daulah set about the overthrow of the Christians.

Be it known that when Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah Nāṣir Jang went to Arcot in order to put down Moẓaffar Jang, the latter with the help of the French Christians at Pondicherry showed fight and was defeated. The Christians slunk back to Pondicherry and Moẓaffar Jang was made prisoner. The Christians again made a disturbance with the help of the Afghans, and they martyred Nizāmu-d-daulah, and raised Moẓaffar Jang to power. As I have described at length in the Sarv Āzād, the Christians before this were confined to the ports and did not stretch their feet beyond their limit. They became bold after the martyrdom of Nizāmu-d-daulah and perceived the sweets of conquest. Part of the Arcot territory came into the possession of the French, and part was seized by the English. The also prevailed over Bengal and took the castle of Surat, et cetera. Such was the beginning of the Christian power.

In short, after the martyrdom of Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah, Moẓaffar took the French Christians into service, and made them his supporters. After he was killed, the Christians became the servants of Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and took as their fiefs Sikākul (Chica-cole), Rajbandari (Rajahmahendri) and other places, and became powerful. M. Bussy, the head of the Christians, received the titles of Saifu-d-daulah (Sword of the State) and 'Umdatul-mulk (Pillar of the Kingdom) and acquired fame. Ḥaidar Jang became the manager of his affairs. Ḥaidar<sup>1</sup> Jang's extraction and position were as follows. His real name was 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, and his father Khwāja Qalandar was of Balkh and came in the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh from Balkh and obtained consideration. He became governor (faujdār) of Machlibandar (Masulipatam), and the government accounts were in his charge. He had in Masulipatam become acquainted with some Christians and owing to this connection he

<sup>1</sup> See Wilks. I, 390.

went to Pondicherry and lived under the protection of the Christians. Haidar Jang was young then and the governor,<sup>1</sup> i.e., the captain or Hākim of Pondicherry, took a great fancy to him. When Mozaffar<sup>2</sup> Jang became Chief, the governor placed with him a body of Christians under the command of M. Bussy. 'Abdu-Rahmān was sent along with M. Bussy to be a link between the Muhammadans and the Christians. As he was a man of ability he got great promotion and had full control of the affairs of the Feringhis and received the title of Asad Ullah (Lion of God) Haidar Jang.

In fine, Samsāmu-d-daulah, after disposing of the affair of the Afghans of Savānūr, wanted to drive out the Christians, and Amīru-l-mamālik at his instigation dismissed them from his service. They went off to Haidarabad, and got possession of it. Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik followed them and besieged the city for nearly two months. There was fighting, but at last, owing to the treachery of officers, peace was made, and 'Umdatul-mulk (Bussy) and Haidar Jang came and had an interview (with the Nawāb). As during the siege the fiefs of the Christians had become disorganised, 'Umdatul-mulk and Haidar Jang took leave and went off to Rajamahendri and Chicacole and put the estates in order. Samsāmu-d-daulah spent the rains in Haidarabad and left it in the fourth year of his ministry 1170, 1756-57. Rām Candra<sup>3</sup> Mahratta held pos-

<sup>1</sup> Text Kūrūdūr كورندور *nām kap-tān y'ani hākim*. Wilson l. c. 278 has Captain Graven. There does not appear to have been any such person, but if the word was so written in Wilson's MSS. it might stand for Kerjean or De Kerjean, the Kirjean of Orme, who was Duplex's nephew and a noted soldier, though he never was governor of Pondicherry. Mr. Irvine has suggested Godeheu who was the governor after Duplex, but he only came to Pondicherry in 1754 when Haidar could hardly have been very young (*khurd sāl*) and the spelling does not agree. I have no doubt that the word is the Portuguese

Governador or Gobernador and that the first letter should be a G, Gāf and not Kāf. The fact of its coming from the Portuguese accounts for the d. See Hobson-Jobson, 2nd ed., 390. In a Persian petition of one Shāh Alāud-dīn Muḥammad in the Marsden MSS. B.M. Add., 9585, the word Kūrūdūr occurs, as applied to a Portuguese official.

<sup>2</sup> Ghulām 'Alī says in his *Khazāna 'Āmra* that Mozaffar was the first man to employ Feringhi soldiers (in the Deccan) and Orme says the same thing.

<sup>3</sup> Rām Candra Jadow, Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 106.

session, from the time of Aṣaf Jāh, of Bhālkī<sup>1</sup> and other estates appertaining to the province of Bidar and which yielded lacs of rental. From a bad disposition he did not perform the duties of a subject, and Samsāmu-d-daulah desired to take his estates from him. Rām Candra made preparations for war, but after some vain attempts he put the ring of submission in his ear, and his jagirs, except Bhālkī, were confiscated. In the beginning of the rains Samsāmu-d-daulah came with Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik to Aurangabad. At this time a force was sent to besiege Daulatabad. The fort was taken from the Bokhara Saiyids who had held it from the time of 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb). After this, the juggling heavens began to turn the page and girded up their loins for the discomfiture of Samsāmu-d-daulah. They took back from him all his wisdom and understanding. The brief account of these events is as follows. The pay of the soldiers was much in arrear. Wicked men stirred them up, and they made clamorous demands. Samsāmu-d-daulah could have quelled the disturbance by the expenditure of two lacs of rupees, but as the time of his downfall had come, he did not exert himself. On 6 Zī-l-q ada 1170, 23 July 1757, the soldiers brought Nawāb Shujā'-ul-mulk Basālat Jang, the son of Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh, out of his house and produced him before Amīru-ul-mamālik. They made him dismiss Samsāmu-d-daulah<sup>2</sup> and give the Khilāt of the prime ministry to Basālat Jang. There was a general riot, and the rabble and the market people made a commotion and wanted to fall upon the house of Samsāmu-d-daulah. But circumstances occurred which postponed the attack till evening. At night the leaders of the riot dispersed. Samsāmu-d-daulah was apprehensive that if on the morrow they made a demonstration, he would not be able to contend with his master. It would be better for him to withdraw. At midnight he put loads of necessary chattels on elephants and left property worth lacs, and various curiosities, and proceeded towards the fort of Daulatabad along with his household, male and female. Of his followers nearly 500, horse and foot, attended him. Torches were lighted, and he came out armed from his

<sup>1</sup> The Balkee of Grant-Duff's map. It is N. W. Bidar and Haiderabad.

<sup>2</sup> Grant-Duff Hist. of Mahrattas, II, 107.

house. He took the road to the Zafar gate of the city wall. The guards of the gate could not stand against him and fled. They (Samsāmu-d-daulah's party) broke the bolts of the gate and came out. Near morning on the 8, Zi-l-q'ada 1170, 25 July 1757, they reached Daulatabad. After his departure some of his goods were plundered, but most of them were confiscated to the government. After some time an army was appointed by the Government and the fort of Daulatabad was besieged, and fighting went on.

Samsāmu-d-daulah was adorned with pleasing qualities and amiable dispositions, but it sometimes happens that the Almighty casts his servants out of public favour, and in order to adjust their final rank places them in the world's judgment-hall, and exposes them to the evils of trial. This was exemplified in Samsāmu-d-daulah's case. In spite of his qualities and merits, he was now abandoned by all, high and low, courtiers and costermongers (darbārī-u bazārī). No one uttered a word except "Seize him and kill him." If anyone stood firm on the path of fidelity and preserved his affection for him, where had he the courage to say anything or to set in motion the chain of investigation? This poor man was the only one who made an agitation, and disregarded the enmity of the whole world. I had interviews with Nawāb Shujā'-ul-mulk and laid the foundations of a reconciliation. In order to bring about peace I repeatedly went to the fort, and by all sorts of stratagems and contrivances protracted the siege of the fort. The terms of peace had not been fully settled, when Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah the 2nd who was Naẓīm of the province of Berar came from Elchīpūr to Aurangabad. The Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik made him his successor and gave him the title of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He sent for the writer of this notice, and charged him with conciliatory messages for Samsāmu-d-daulah. He signed the list of his conditions in accordance with his (Samsāmu-d-daulah's) request and made it over to the writer. I took the list and went to the fort, and made Samsāmu-d-daulah eager to come into the Presence. The Nawāb Āṣaf Jah sent the chief officers to welcome him, and Samsāmu-d-daulah came out of the fort on 1 Rabī'-al-awāl 1171, 13 November 1757, and had an interview, in the precincts of the fort, with the officers who had come to meet him. On the

same day he waited upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd, and Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and was the object of various favours.

At this time Bālājī Rāo approached Aurangabad with hostile intentions, and made his son Biswās Rāo his general. Rajah Rām Candra had come from his own country in order to interview Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, and had reached <sup>1</sup> Sindkhair, 30 kos from Aurangabad. The Mahrattas besieged him there and put him into straits. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh marched from Aurangabad to Sindkhair and delivered <sup>2</sup> Rām Candra from the whirlpool of danger. There were great fights on the way and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh gave proof of heart and courage. A number of the enemy were slain by the sword. On this occasion Samsāmu-d-daulah waited on his stirrup. Meanwhile news came that "Umdatul-mulk M. Bussy and Haidar Jang had disposed of the affairs of the jagirs and intended to interview Amīru-l-mamālik. They arrived at Haidarabad, and Haidar Jang wrote letter after letter to Samsāmu-d-daulah. He showed such sincerity that Samsāmu-d-daulah fully believed in his honesty. He became quite oblivious of his trickery. The victorious army had returned from Sindkhair and had encamped in Shahgarha when Haidar Jang came to the Presence, and the whole camp came to Aurangabad, and settled down on the north side of the city.

Samsāmu-d-daulah completely surrendered into the hands of Haidar Jang the bridle of control, and the latter moved along the path of deception, gathering up the nets of fraud and deceit. Though acquaintances who knew his trickery, openly, and by hints, told Samsāmu-d-daulah about him, he did not believe them. He relied upon the honesty of foes and did not weigh in the balance of consideration the well-wishing of friends. At last on 26 Rajab 1171, 5 April 1758, Amīru-l-mamālik <sup>3</sup> went to visit the garden Bagh Begam in Aurangabad. Haidar Jang made ready his plot there, and when Samsāmu-d-daulah and Yamīnu-d-daulah—who has been mentioned—came, in obedience to a summons—to that garden, both of them

<sup>1</sup> It is east of Aurangabad.

<sup>2</sup> Grant-Duff speaks of the rescue as a farce, II, 109.

<sup>3</sup> "He went to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father some miles from Aurangabad." Wilks I, 390.

were put under arrest. They were taken to the camp and put into separate tents. Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy K., Mir 'Abdu-s-Salām K. and Mir 'Abdu-n-nabī the sons of Samsāmu-d-daulah were also sent for and confined in their father's tent which was surrounded by Christian sentinels. Samsāmu-d-daulah's house was plundered of what had been a second time gathered together and the veiled ladies of the Saiyids were turned out of doors. Samsāmu-d-daulah's connexions and those who were in his confidence and were possessed of abilities were put into strict confinement. Their money was taken from them, and such was the oppressions practised on the Saiyids that the catastrophe of the Karbalā was renewed.

In fact these proceedings did not turn out well for Ḥaidar Jang. The Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh 2nd conceived the idea of wiping out his existence. One reason for this was that Ḥaidar Jang had broken faith with Samsāmu-d-daulah and that he could not be trusted. Another reason was that Ḥaidar Jang had first deprived Āṣaf Jāh of his plumage, and then imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah. The account of this is that Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh brought a powerful army from Berar, and took the management of political and financial affairs into his hands. Ḥaidar Jang saw that this influence could not exist along with Āṣaf Jāh's, and set about overthrowing him. By various tricks he separated the troops from the Nawāb, and distributed from his own purse eight lacs of rupees as the soldiers' pay. Thus he reduced the Nawāb to solitude. After that he imprisoned Samsāmu-d-daulah, and so made himself at ease on both sides. He wished to send Āṣaf Jāh to Haidarabad on the pretence of making him the Ṣubahdār thereof, but intended to confine him in the fort of Golconda. The field would then be open for his own evolutions. He did not know that fate (taqdīr) laughed at plans (tadbīr). On 3 Ramṣān 1171, 11 May 1758, at about midday<sup>1</sup> Ḥaidar Jang came to the tent of Āṣaf Jāh who had already determined with his councillors to assassinate him. The household servants seized and killed him, and Āṣaf Jāh mounted a horse and came out alone from the camp. The whole park of artillery of the Feringhis remained in empty bewilderment

<sup>1</sup> *Qarīb ba istawā.* Istawā is again used in the sense of midday at p. 37.

and Āṣaf Jah displayed a courage<sup>1</sup> such as threw into the shade the feats of Rustum and Afrāsyāb. After the slaughter of Haidar Jang, 'Umdatul-mulk M. Bussy and the other officers lost their senses. During the confusion, the waiters upon events martyred Samsāmu-d-daulah, his young son Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ghānī, and Yemīnu-d-daulah. The good thing was that Haidar Jang, the real murderer of these Saiyids, was killed four hours before them! Samsāmu-d-daulah heard with his own ears of his death and said "Now our safety does not appear to me" (does not look likely) and so he devoted himself to prayer (*lit.* sate fixed in contemplation of the *qibla*). At last Lachmanān, a Hindu, one of the followers of the Christians, came and killed them. Father and son were buried in the grave of their ancestors on the south side of the city, near the shrine of Shāh Nūr,<sup>2</sup> and Yemīnu-d-daulah was buried in the grave of his ancestors at the foot of Shāh Nūr's dome. The writer found the date of the martyrdom of all three Saiyids in the glorious verse. *Wujūh (un) yaumaiz (in) musfirah.*<sup>3</sup> "On that day the faces of some shall be bright" 1171. He also put the death of Samsāmu-d-daulah into this verse.

*Verse.*

Samsāmu-d-daulah went from the world,  
The third of the illustrious month of Ramṣān

<sup>1</sup> The courage consisted in ordering an assassination, and then flying! The Nawāb fled to Burhanpur 150 m. N. of Aurangabad. Haidar Jang was stabbed to the heart, and not slain by having his throat cut as the translation of the Siyar Mutākhirīn has it. Orme ed., 1778, II, 349, says Nizām 'Alī fled at midnight to Brampur (Burhanpur) and after he knew of the killing of Shah Nawaz and his son. It was this circumstance which disconcerted his plans. Bussy judged it better not to try to catch the Nizām and bring him to justice. Ghulām 'Alī repeats his account of these matters in the

*Khazīna 'Āmra* and gives the same details about Ibrāhīm K. Gārḍī. See his account of Ṣalābat Jang.

<sup>2</sup> A saint who died 2 February, 1693, and is buried near Aurangabad (Beale 367).

<sup>3</sup> This verse is in the 80th Surā, entitled "He frowned", verse 38, and is translated by Sale "On that day the faces of some shall be bright, laughing and joyful," etc. The letters w, j, u, h, y, a, m, i, z, m. s, f, r, h give 1171 (1758) according to *abjad*. The chronogram is a neat one.



The Saiyid himself declared the year  
 "Slain we by 'Abdu-r-Rahman'" (1171).<sup>1</sup>

The writer also composed this quatrain.

*Quatrain.*

Samsāmu-d-daulah the great Amīr, the sage,  
 Wrongfully slain in treachery's ambush, Alas for the op-  
 pressed, alas!

Āzād presents the date. Hear, O friends!

"Wretches martyred the Saiyid" 1171, "We are God's."<sup>2</sup>

Be it known that Mir 'Abdu-l-Hayy and Mir 'Abdu-s-Salām remained safe on the day of their father's martyrdom. The reason was that Mir 'Abdu-l-Hayy had been separated from his father one day before, and that Mir 'Abdu-s-Salām had been sent from the tent to a house on account of sickness. Because the lives of both brothers were predestined, God put it into the hearts of their enemies to separate them from their father. In the safety of Mir 'Abdu-l-Hayy and Mir 'Abdu-s-Salām, the writer of this notice received the flash of inspiration that "Names descend from heaven." The names Hayy (God) and Salām<sup>3</sup> (safety) did their work and preserved both their namesakes.

After Haidar Jang was killed, Amīru-l-mamālik, Shujā'-al-mulk, 'Umdatul-mulk M. Bussy, and Zū-l-fiqār Jang the brother of Haidar Jang—who became his representative—went off to Haidarabad. After coming there Zū-l-fiqār Jang went off to his fiefs of Rajamahendri and Chicacole, and 'Umdatul-mulk went to Pondicherry. War broke out between the Zamindar of Chicacole and Zū-l-fiqār Jang and the latter was shamefully defeated. His soldiers were routed and the contents of his jewel room and wardrobe as well as his elephants and artillery fell into the hands of the Zamindar.

<sup>1</sup> It would have been more correct to say that they were killed by Āṣaf Jāh the 2nd. for it was his assassination of Haidar that caused their deaths.

<sup>2</sup> Innā Allah "We are God's, and unto Him shall we surely return"

Koran, Sura II, v. 151. (Sale) The words, shahīd nāḳasan Saiyidrā yield 1171.

<sup>3</sup> Salām is one of the names of God and Hayy means "The living" (God); see Redhouse R.A.S.J. for January 1880, on "the most comely names."

He and a few others saved their lives. Laçmanân<sup>1</sup> the murderer of Samsâmu-d-daulah was killed and also Muḥammad Ḥusain the Jam'adâr of the Gârdîs.<sup>2</sup> He had been put in charge of Samsâmu-d-daulah and his friends and connexions, and had ill-treated them, and both he and his men were killed.

'Umdatul-mulk M. Bussy who went towards Pondicherry, be-seiged Cinâpatan (Madras) the English port and made several fiery attempts (*âtîsh kârzâi*). At last the English were victorious and 'Umdatul-mulk had to fly, completely broken, to Pondicherry. In a few months retribution<sup>3</sup> for the blood of the Saiyids blossomed out. Or rather, retribution in the case of Ḥaidar Jang's person was heard of by Samsâmu-d-daulah with his own ears.

Nawâb Samsâmu-d-daulah was a congeries of perfections and was familiar with all the sciences. The questions of every science were present in the treasury of his memory and he was unique in the comprehension of poetry. He knew well the idioms of the Persian tongue, and foreign Mirzâs (Persian literati) who met him were astonished at his idiomatic knowledge. He used to say "I lay claim to two things. One is justice, for in intricate questions I arrive at a right conclusion, and I distinguish between truth and falsehood. The other is a knowledge of poetry." One day he said to the writer "This opening stanza of Faizî's is well known.

*Verse.\**

Two griefs have befallen me in love's path  
I'm the doomed one, and the beloved is the slayer.

According to the apparent meaning, one grief is that the lover is slain, and the other is that the beloved is the slayer:

<sup>1</sup> Grant-Duff II, 114. He thinks he was probably killed at Condore in the battle between Forde and Confians in December 1758.

<sup>2</sup> See *Siyar Mutâkharîn* trans. III, 355 n. Gârdî is from the French garde. See Hobson-Jobson, new edition.

<sup>3</sup> Şalâbat Jang Amîru-l-mamâlik also had a violent death. He was

imprisoned by his brother Nizâm 'Âlî (the same man who killed Ḥaidar Jang) and after two years was murdered by Nizâm 'Âlî's orders in 1763. See Beale, Wilks I, 479, and *Khazîna 'Amrâ* 61.

\* The verse is quoted in the *Āin*, Blochmann 535, but the translation there given is wrong.

Therefore escape is impossible. But another meaning occurs to me. One grief is that the lover is the doomed one (*khūngiritta* 'at the point of death'), God forbid that another than the loved one should slay him! The second grief is that the beloved has become a murderer. God forbid that he should kill anyone but the lover! Both of these things are unendurable by the lover!"

He was an unrivalled Secretary, and his letters have a special charm. Alas that they have not been collected! If they were, readers would have an exquisite<sup>1</sup> eye-salve. He was the unique of the age in historical knowledge, especially as regards the history of the Timuride kings of India and their ministers. This book, the *Maasiru-l-Umarā*, is a proof of it which masters of the science will recognise. He had collected a large library of Arabic and Persian books, and he often compared and corrected them with his own hand. At this time his library is in confusion. His virtues were greater than can be described. He had a lofty nature and a firmness of mind such that Aristotle might have been his pupil. He had a sedate and majestic soul, and was also affable, sympathetic, just and modest, faithful, pure, straightforward, truthful. He was very indignant against falsehood and never esteemed a liar. Whenever he got money, he spent a tenth of it on the needy and he had a separate tithe-treasury and disbursed from it to the deserving. He was an office-adorning officer. When he sate on the *masnad* he graced it without formality. Two days in the week, Tuesdays and Fridays, were set apart for the administration of justice. He had plaintiff and defendant brought before him, and exerted himself to get at the real issue. He had at his finger-ends the regulations of the country, and in the matter of consultations about public matters he had no off-time either by day or by night. He had no privy councillor. The wise of the day were mirrors of astonishment on beholding his lofty perception and his powers of reasoning. After reciting the morning prayer he set to business and was occupied till midday when he took a *siesta*. Then he recited the afternoon prayer and again occupied himself with business. Up to midnight

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<sup>1</sup> This is very doubtful if, as the writer says, they were modelled on Abūl Faiz's. See I.O.M.S. Ethé, 1464, p. 143b, for Faizi's couplet.

or even later he was engaged in political and financial matters. He examined all applicants face to face and had no one to introduce them. He presided with dignity on the bench, and he was humble and pleasant in privacy.

Nawāb Sālār Jang Bahādūr related that Samsāmu-d-daulah after coming out of the fort of Daulatabad said to him "I have come to know that these external<sup>1</sup> circumstances (of prosperity) which have been gathered round me have no permanency." I (i.e. Sālār Jang) asked him "how he knew" and he replied "God has informed me." The same Nawāb told that "On the day they took the ministry from him, and there was a great commotion I and many others spent the night in his house and could not sleep on account of anxiety. At dawn when I met him he said 'This night I slept quietly.'" He also told that the Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah said to him "Before going into the fort, stock was taken of the carpet store-room and there were found 200 odd carpet and rugs; on the day I went to the fort not one carpet was found." Under these circumstances there was not the least change in his feelings. The writer of this notice tells that when Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah came to Arcot and was victorious over Moẓaffar Jang, the officers of the district were summoned to the presence. On account of the *Diwānī* a tent had been pitched for them, at Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah's entrance. One day I came out of his tent, and a man came running up and said, "Hājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a former officer says, 'I'm in the hands of the *sazāwals* (apparitors) and am not allowed to move!' Do you push severity to such an extent as this?" I had no acquaintance with the officer in question, but I saw that it would be cruel not to visit him. I went, and he complained about the calling for accounts, and his being confined by the *sazāwals*. I immediately went back to Samsāmu-d-daulah and said, "Hājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr an officer ('āmil, a collector) who is reckoned among the officers is at the entrance, and you should send for him." The Nawāb replied "It is not according to rule that a collector whose accounts are under examination should

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<sup>1</sup> The sentence is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that Samsāmu-d-daulah felt that the present return to favour would not last.

be brought into the Presence." I said "I don't say that he should be excused his rendering accounts, but still I should like that he should be summoned to your presence." The Nawāb was for refusing, but I persisted. At last the Nawāb sent for him, and saw his condition, and was very sympathetic. He said "To-morrow be present at the door of Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah's house." He also charged the ushers to let him know whenever he came. Next day Hājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr appeared at the door and the usher (*chōbdār*) reported the fact. Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah represented to Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah. "Hājī 'Abdu-sh-Shakūr, a collector among the collectors whose accounts are under examination has been summoned. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī told me he should be introduced, and I said that a collector under examination does not come into the Presence. Though I persisted in my refusal, the Mīr would not let me off, so I was helpless and sent for him. Now I make the same petition to you, viz., that he may be once for all brought into the Presence." Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah ordered that he should be introduced. As soon as he came in at the door, the Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah looked at him, and what did he see? A bowed old man (*pīr*) ninety years of age! He had his tunic (*pīrāhan*) on his breast, a green turban on his head, and a staff and rosary in his hands. He was a saintly figure and an object of compassion. Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah called him to his side and gave him a seat and asked after his health. He put the signature of acquittance on his accounts and assigned him a daily maintenance and gave him a carriage (*sawārī*) from the government store, and then dismissed him.

The description of the virtues of Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daulah which has been made is but a drop from the clouds, and a single ray from the sun. May God receive the deceased into special mercy and adorn the chief place of Paradise with his presence!

Be it known that after the martyrdom of Samsāmu-d-daulah when the army went to Haidarabad, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Hayy K. was taken with them and imprisoned in the fort of Golconda. Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām K. remained in Aurangabad on account of sickness and was sent to the fort of Daulatabad. Nawāb Asaf Jāh Sāni (the 2nd) after the killing of Haidar Jang went off rapidly on horse

back towards Berar. He prepared an army and addressed himself to the chastisement<sup>1</sup> of Jānojī, the son of Raghū Bhonsla. Though he had a small force and the enemy was numerous he was victorious. After that he went to Hajdarabad. Nawāb Amīru-l-mamālik, who had gone to Masulipatam to arrange matters, turned his rein and the two brothers had an interview in Hajdarabad. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh according to the former arrangement sate on the *masnad* of the heir apparency, and took the bridle of the management of the political and financial affairs into his hands. On 15 Zūl-q'ada 1172, 29 June 1759, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy<sup>2</sup> was brought out of the fort and had fresh life granted to him. His old title was Shamsu-d-daulah Dilāwar Jang, but after coming out of the fort he received his father's title of Samsāmu-d-daulah Samsām Jang and the rank 6000 with 5000 horse, and was an object of favour. Mīr 'Abdu-s-Salām K. was also, in accordance with orders, brought out of the fort of Daulatabad, and met his family. May the Peace of God be upon them!

<sup>3</sup> In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

Praise be to God and peace be upon true believers!

The poor man 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Alḥusainī Alkhwarazimī Alaur-angabādī who from the beginning of the years of understanding, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Grant-Duff II, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Ghulām 'Alī has a notice of 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy in the K. 'Āmrā lith. p. 296. There his pen-name seems to be given as *Sināram* which might mean 'My plane tree.' But though *Sināram* seems to be the reading in the I.O.M.S. of the K.A., No. 2979, p. 224b, it is probable that the true reading is *Sārim* "a sharp sword" as given in 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's conclusion to the *Maasir* III, 974. He there says that this pen-name was adopted on account of its associations with his other title, and as *Samsām* means a sharp sword, *Sārim* seems appropriate. Ghulām 'Alī says 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy's pen-name was at first *Waḡār*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the pious ejaculation

which as Ghulām 'Alī has said above, he added to 'Abdu-r-Razzāq's preface.

This life by Ghulām 'Alī should be compared with Shah Newāz's account of himself and his ancestors in the biographies of his great grandfather Amānat K. and his grandfather Muḥammad Kāzīm K. at Vol. I, p. 258, and Vol. III, 715, of Bib. Ind. ed. of the *Maasir*. See also Elliot and Dowson VIII, 187. At Vol. III, p. 117, the author, in his biography of Qil'adār K. informs us that his grandmother was one of the four daughters of Qil'adār K. by a daughter of M. Jamshid Beg. At p. 680 of the *Maasir*, Vol. III, Shah Newāz mentions the interesting fact that he was

<sup>1</sup> PREFACE TO TABLE OF CONTENTS (p. 42 of VOL. I.

(BY THE SON OF THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR).

It should be known that some of the biographies written by the founder of this work were left as imperfect drafts owing to excess of materials and to postponements. I have done my best to complete and correct them, and I have supplied a list of the biographies, and have added in red ink, the letter *qāf* to the supplementary names so that the words of that great man (his father) may be distinguished from those of an insignificant person like myself. The glorious collection contains 730 biographies as the following list shows.

very intimate with *Khāfi Khān*, the historian.

For *Ghulām 'Ali*'s own biography see his *Yad Baiza* and his *Maasir-ul-Ikrām*. He was born at *Bilgrām* on Sunday, 25 *Ṣafr* 1116, 18 June 1704, and was the son of *Muḥammad Nūḥ*. He went in 1143, 1730-31, to *Scinde* and returned in 1147. He went to *Mécca* in 1150.

<sup>1</sup> This preface is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy. He has marked his additions with *Qāf* as an abbreviation for *Ilḥāq* "supplement" See *Rieu I*, 341, col. 2, and *Ethé I*, O. Cat., pp. 253-55, 'Abdu-l-Hayy's list does not contain quite 730 biographies, but perhaps the discrepancy is the result of his mode of counting. Occasionally two or more names are put under one head. His list does not always tally with those in the *Bib. Ind.* ed. in the index vol. In the latter there are one or two omissions, the result of oversight. The total of the lists in the index volume is 720. The total in 'Abdu-l-Hayy's list according to the total numbers for each letter comes to 726. As a matter of fact the number of the biographies contained in the three volumes is considerably more than 726 for most of the notices end with accounts of the sons and grandsons of the subject of the biography.

At the end of the third volume of

the *Maasir* III, 973, 'Abdu-l-Hayy, the son of the original compiler of the work, gives a short account of himself and some specimens of his verses. He says he was born in 1142, 1729-1730, and that in 1162, he received a *mansab* and the title of *Khān* from the martyred *Nāṣir Jang* and was made *Diwān* of the province of *Berar*, and superintendent of *Nāṣir Jang*'s fiefs there. In the time of *Salābat Jang* he was made governor of *Aurangabad* and governor of the fort of *Daulatabad*. Afterwards the *Nāwab Nizamu-l-mulk Nizāmu-d-daulah* patronized him and he received his hereditary title and was made *Diwān* of the provinces of the *Deccan*, and the *Nawāb*'s companion in the battle and the banquet. The title of *Samsāmu-l-mulk* was conferred on him and he assumed the pen-name of *Sārim* (a sharp sword). 'Abdu-l-Hayy *Samsāmu-l-mulk* died at the fort of *Kaulās*, 15th *Jumāda I*, 1196, (28 April 1782) and was buried in his garden (cemetery?) at *Haidarabad* (*Rieu I*, 342). *Kaulās*, marked in some maps *Kowlās*, is in *Haidarabad* State and N. N. W. of *Haidarabad* and N. of *Bidar*. There is an account of 'Abdu-l-Hayy in the *Yad Baiza* of *Ghulām 'Ali*, and also in the *Khazina 'Amrā* lithograph, p. 296, under the name of *Sārim*.

## 'ABDU-L-'AZĪZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

Shaikh Maqbūl-i-'Ālam (a world-favourite) was descended from S. Faridu-d-dīn Ganjshakar—May his grave be holy. The abode of his ancestors was the village of Asiya<sup>1</sup> near Bilgrām. His grandfather was called S. 'Alāu-d-dīn, but was commonly known as S. Alhadiya. They say that Saiyid Abū-l-Qāsim S. Saiyid K. Muḥammad S. Saiyid Maḥmūd of Tatta<sup>2</sup> had three sons. Of them Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm and Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Qādir were the offspring of a wife who was one of his kinsfolk. By another wife he had Saiyid Badru-d-dīn who married in the village of Asiya. As Saiyid Badru-d-dīn had no son, his wife adopted her brother or sister's child and he got the name of S. Alhadiya (the gift). When Saiyid Fāzil S. Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm was acting as diwān of one of the Amīrs in Daulatabad, S. Alhadiya was with him. The Amīr perceived his capabilities and sent him to the royal camp as his agent. As S. Alhadiya behaved well in business he gradually prospered. He had three sons, and the third of them was 'Abdu-r-Rasūl K. who was the father of the subject of this notice.

Firūz Jang (Ghāzi-d-dīn) Bahādur introduced him ('Abdu-l-'Azīz) to royal service in the time of Aurangzeb. Afterwards he obtained suitable rank and the name of Khidmat Talab Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Naldrug in the province of Bijapur, and also of Ausā in the province of Muhammadābād Bidar. Afterwards he was, in the time of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, made governor of the fort of Junair, and became a favourite of his. When the Nizāmu-l-mulk left Nāṣir Jang the martyred in the Deccan and went off to Muḥammad Shāh, and Bājī Rāo, the Mahratta leader, raised the head of sedition, and the carpet of strife was widespread, Nāṣir Jang was concerned about collecting men and summoned 'Abdu-l-'Azīz from Junair, as he was famed for courage and was acquainted with the Mahratta tactics, and consulted with him. After the war with the

<sup>1</sup> The Asiya of J. II, 178, and the Asiwan in the Unao district of Oudh of the I.G. VI. 13. See also Beames A.S.B.J., for 1884, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Text Bhata, but B.M.M.S. has Tatta and this is probably the correct reading.



Mahrattas was ended, he made him Naib (Deputy) Sūbahdār of Aurangabad. When after the return of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jah from Upper India there was a disagreement between father and son, and Nāṣir Jang retired to the Khuldābād cemetery (Aurangzeb's cemetery) (Rauṣa) which is two *kos* from the fort of Daulatabad, 'Abdu-l-'Aziz took leave and went off from the Rauṣa to Āṣaf Jāh. He, on perceiving a want of favour, made a pretext to come to Aurangabad, and by letter and message induced Nāṣir Jang to come out of the Rauṣa, so that at last he hastened to Mulhair and collected a force and came against his father in front of Aurangabad, and then there happened what happened. When the business failed, 'Abdu-l-'Aziz went off to Junair. After that, having contrived by various means—the best of which was the clemency<sup>1</sup> and prudence of Āṣaf Jāh—to have his offences forgiven, he secretly wrote and sent verbal messages to the court of Muḥammad Shāh and asked for a *sanad* in his own name for the province of Gujarat, which was in the possession of the Mahrattas. When Āṣaf Jāh had his camp near Trichinopoly, he ('Abdu-l-'Aziz) enlisted many men and proceeded towards the province. The Mahrattas stopped him on the way and a battle took place, and as fate would have it, 'Abdu-l-'Aziz was martyred in 1156, 1743. He was a bold man and acquainted with the work of making collections ('amildārī). He had no scruples about getting in money with or without reason. One of his sons was Maḥmūd 'Ālam K., who after his father was made governor of the fort of Junair and stayed there a long time. When the Mahrattas became very powerful, and there was no hope of assistance, he received an estate from the Mahrattas and surrendered the fort to them. At the time of writing he is still alive. Another son was Khidmat Talab K. who was at last made governor of the fort of Naldrug and died. (Q.)

#### 'ABDU-L-'AZIZ KHAN, SHAIKH.

A connection of S. 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf<sup>2</sup> of Burhanpur. As Aurangzeb had many associations with the latter, or rather was devoted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II, 77, nine lines from foot  
*ḥilm u guzash'.*

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II, 553, etc.

to him on account of his virtues and piety, the Shāikh recommended 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, and he was enrolled as a servant. In the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh he showed zeal and received one and twenty wounds, and was rewarded with a robe of honour and a horse. When Aurangzeb marched from Agra to Delhi in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz received the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse and the title of Khān, and was made governor of the fort of Raisīn in Malwa. In the 7th year he was summoned to court, and in the same year he was made, on the death of Mīr Bāqir K., faujdār of the Chakla of Sirhind. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Asīr, a dependency of the province of Aurangabad, and in the 20th year when Sīvā Bhonsla got his men up to the top of the fort by means of lassoos, he was active and slew them, and for a long time remained firm there. In the 29th year corresponding to 1096, 1685, he died. After him, his son Abū-l-Khair succeeded him, and in the 33rd year had charge of the fort of Rājgarha. When the Mahratta army<sup>1</sup> sent him a message to evacuate the fort, he became terrified and asked for quarter and came out with his family and necessary effects. The Mahrattas cast aside the agreement and seized whatever property they could get. When this transaction was made known to the emperor, he dismissed Abū-l-Khair and appointed a strict *sazāwal* to see that he went to Mecca. Though his mother made great efforts and obtained a revocation of the order, yet before this came he had already embarked at the port of Surat. On his return he again became an object of favour and received his father's title, and was put in charge of the tomb of Shāh 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf which was in the city of Burhanpur. His son was Muḥammad Nāṣir K. *alias* Miyān Maṣṭī (the mad Miyān), who is serving other people. At last he too has gone to the final lodging. (Q.)

#### 'ABDŪ-L-HADĪ KHWAJA.

Eldest son of Safdar K. Khwāja Qāsim. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he was in the town of Sāronj which was his

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II, 392. On the same page mention is made of 'Abdu-l-'Azīz as a slave who had been brought

up by the family of Bairām K. Khān-Khānān and as having been in charge of the fort of the Khaibar.

father's fief. In the 4th year when Khān Jahān Lodī in concert with Dariyā K. Rohilla hastened from the Deccan to Malwa, and came to that town, he took charge of its protection. Up to the 20th year he had a *mansab* of 900 with 600 horse, and in the 21st year he rose to the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse, and in the 23rd year he had an increase of 200 horse. In the 26th year he went off with Prince Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to take Qandahar. At the time of departure his rank was 2000 with 1000 horse and he had the gift of a khilāt, and a horse with a silvern saddle. In the 27th year he had the distinction of a flag. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066, 1656, he died. His son Khwāja Jāh had in the 30th year the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

‘ABDU-L-MAJĪD OF HERAT (ĀṢAF K. KHWĀJA).

He was descended from Shaikh Abū Bakr Tāibādī.<sup>1</sup> When Timur in 782, 1380-1381, conquered Herat which was held by Malik Ghiāsu-d-dīn, he came to Tāibād and sent to the Shaikh and asked why he did not come to wait upon him. The Shaikh replied, “What have I to do with him?” The Amīr then went in person and said, “Why did you not advise Malik Ghiāsu-d-dīn?” He replied, “I did advise him, but he did not listen. God has sent you against him, I now advise you to be just. If you do not listen, He will send another against you.” The Amīr used to say, “During my Sultanate with whatever darvish I consorted, I perceived that each of them was in his heart thinking about himself, except the Shaikh whom I found separated<sup>2</sup> from himself.”

Khwāja ‘Abdu-l-Majīd was one of the servants of Humāyūn, and on account of his honesty and skill he was made Diwān at the time of the conquest of India. When the world renewed its youth by the accession of Akbar, the Khwāja was exalted from the diwānī to the rank of commander (*sirdārī*) and united the sword with the pen. When Akbar proceeded to the Panjab in connection with the affair of Bairām Khān, the Khwāja got the

<sup>1</sup> B. 366. As pointed out by Blochmann, there is an account of Abū Bakr in the *Nafhātū-l-Uns*; but it

does not tell the story about Timur. See lith. ed., p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> *mīn khudra dar hajāt*.

title of Āṣaf K. and acquired reputation as governor of Delhi. He received a drum and a flag and an office of 3000. When Fatū K., the slave of Adilī, who had taken possession of Chunār, showed a desire to surrender it, Āṣaf K. in accordance with the king's orders went along with Shaiḡh Muḥammad Ghauṣ, and obtained peaceable possession of the fortress. The charge of Sarkār Kara Mānikpūr was made over to him. At that time Ghāzi K. Tanūrī, who was one of the leading Afghan officers, and had for a time served Akbar, absconded and went off with some men to the country of Panah, which was an independent kingdom. There he was in security and set about being seditious. Āṣaf K. in the 7th year conveyed to Rajah Rām Chand, the ruler there, the message that he should become tributary and deliver up the rebels. The Rajah in his presumptuousness joined with those wretches and prepared for war. Āṣaf K. behaved with energy and killed the refugees. The Rajah was defeated and took refuge in the fortress of Bāndhū which was the strongest fortress in that country. At last, by agreeing to make submission, and at the intercession of Rajahs who were near Akbar, an order was issued to Āṣaf K. to abstain from attacking the Rajah. Āṣaf therefore withdrew, but as he had acquired much power by his victory he formed the idea of conquering Garha. It was an extensive territory south of Panah and was commonly known as Gondwāna. It was 150 *kos* in length and 80 *kos* in breadth. They say that in old times it contained 80,000 villages.

The inhabitants are Gonds, which is a low-caste tribe, and one looked down upon by Hindus. Formerly many Rajahs ruled it, but at this time the power was in the hands of Rānī Durgāvati. She by her courage, dexterity, and justice had united the whole country. Garha was a great city in that country and Katanga was the name of a village which was subordinate to it. Āṣaf K. ascertained by means of spies the modes of access to the country, and in the 9th year invaded it with 10,000 cavalry. The Rānī, who had not at that time collected her forces, came with a few troops to give battle. She said, "How can I, who have ruled this country so long, think of flying? It is better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." Her officers

represented that it was a fine thing to resolve upon fighting, but that to cast aside the thread of counsel was not courage. They should strengthen some places until they could collect their army. This was done. When Āṣaf K. took Garha and did not retreat, the Rānī called together her officers and said, "I want war. Whoever desires it, let him come with me. There is no third course. It is a case of victory or death." She turned to fight. When she was told that her son Bīr Sāh had received wounds, she bade them remove him from the battle-field to a safe place, and when she herself was wounded she said to a confidant, "I have been conquered in battle. God forbid that I be conquered in name and fame; do your duty, and put an end to me with a dagger." He had not the courage to do so; and she stabbed herself. Āṣaf K. set off to seize Chūragarha, which was a fort and a capital, and had many buried treasures, and which Bīr Sāh had strengthened. After a struggle in which Bīr Sāh bravely fell, the fort was taken. After this victory, which was the greatest of Āṣaf K.'s achievements, he became possessed of boundless treasures, and grew proud and arrogant. He went astray, and out of 1,000 elephants he sent (only) 200 to H.M. In the 10th year Khān Zamān Shāibānī, in conjunction with the Uzbek officers in the eastern districts, raised the standard of rebellion and besieged Majnūn K. Qāqshāl in the fort of Mānik-pūr. Āṣaf K. came to his assistance with 5,000 cavalry. When Akbar came to that country to put down the rebellion, Āṣaf K. appeared before him, and presented as *peshkash* the rarities of the spoils of Garha, and held a review of his troops. He was again treated with favour and sent to pursue the rebels. But the imperial clerks,<sup>1</sup> who had had a taste of his bribes, out of cupidity and envy, hinted at his accumulation of wealth and his embezzlements, and talebearers exaggerated these remarks and filled Āṣaf K. with fears. On 20 Šafr 973, 16 September 1565, he out of vain suspicion took to flight. In the 11th year, when Mahdī Qāsim K. was appointed to the government of Garha, Āṣaf K. left, with many regrets, that country, and with his brother Wazīr K.

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<sup>1</sup> Akbarnāmah, II, 256.

accepted an invitation from the *Khān Zamān* and joined him in Jaunpūr. On the first interview he perceived the *Khān Zamān*'s tyranny and arrogance and repented of his coming, and when he saw that his cupidity was excited by his possessions he sought an opportunity of leaving him. At this time the *Khān Zamān* sent him and his (own) brother Bahādur K. against the Afghans, but kept Wazīr K. with himself. Hence both the brothers resolved to fly and went off to Mānikpūr. Bahādur K. pursued them and fought with them. Āṣaf K.'s men were defeated and fled, and he was captured. Suddenly Wazīr K. arrived and learned what had happened. As Bahādur K.'s men were engaged in plundering, Wazīr K. attacked and Bahādur K. fled. He gave a sign to kill Āṣaf K. who was fastened on an elephant. He was struck once or twice, his fingers were cut, and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr K. arrived and relieved him. Both brothers in the year 973, 1565-66, came to Kara. Āṣaf K. sent Wazīr K. to Agra to Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in order to obtain pardon through his intervention. Moẓaffar K., who in obedience to a summons went to the Punjab in 974, took Wazīr K. with him and produced him before Akbar in the hunting-field, and interceded for him. An order was given that Āṣaf K. together with Majnūn K. should guard the boundaries in Kara Mānikpūr. In the same year Akbar made a rapid expedition against *Khān Zamān* and Bahādur K., and slew them. In this battle Āṣaf K. displayed zeal and showed perfect loyalty. In the year 975, 1567, he obtained the pargana of Biāna<sup>1</sup> as his fief in supersession of Ḥājī Muḥammad Sistānī in order that he might go there and make preparations and act as the advance-force in the matter of Rānā Uday Singh. When in the middle of Rabiū-l-awāl of that year, September 1567, Akbar marched from Agra to punish the Rānā, the latter left Jaimāl—who was formerly in Mīrtha—in charge of Chitor, and retired to

<sup>1</sup> Text pargana Biāk. B. 368 has read this as Piyag, i.e. Allahabad. But the Maasir is here copying the T. Akbarī, and that has (see Elliot V, 324) Biāna, which is on the way from Agra to Chitor. Ḥājī Muḥammad

apparently got a fief in Malwa in exchange, A.N. II, 313. Āṣaf and his brother's going on in advance of Akbar's army is referred to in A.N. II, 313.

the corners of the hills. Āṣaf K. did excellent service in the siege of that fort. Chitor lies on the top of a hill which is nearly a *kos*<sup>1</sup> in height, and this hill is in the midst of an open plain which has no elevation. Its circuit is at the foot six *kos*, and three *kos* where it is walled in. Besides large stone tanks which are filled by rain-water, there are springs high up in it. After 4 months and 7 days the fort was taken on 25 Shābān of the 12th year, 24 February 1568, and the whole Sarkār of Chitor was assigned<sup>2</sup> to Āṣaf K. as his fief.

### 'ABDU-L-MATLIB KHĀN.<sup>3</sup>

Son of Shāh Budāgh K., and one of Akbar's Amīrs of the rank of 2500. At first, he was appointed along with M. Sharafu-d-dīn Husain to take Mīrtha, and did good service on that occasion. Afterwards he became one of Akbar's personal attendants. In the 10th year he went with Mir M'uzzu-l-mulk to punish Sikandar K. Uzbeg, and Bahādur K. Shāibānī. When the king's army was defeated and scattered he too took his own road. After that he was sent off with Muḥammad Qulī K. Barlās against Sikandar K. who had made a disturbance in Oudh. After that he for a while lived on his fief in Malwa. When in the 17th year the Malwa officers were ordered to assist the Khān A'zim Koka, he came to Gujarat and in the battle with Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā bravely engaged in single combats. By orders he came with the Khān A'zim Koka and did homage at the time when the king was besieging Surat, and then was allowed to go back to his fief. In

<sup>1</sup> This is taken from the Tabaqāt, see Elliot V, 325; but Nizām-u-d-dīn must mean that the height, *balandī*, extended for a *kos*, i.e., the ridge was so long, not that the elevation was a *kos*. See account of Chitor in Rājputana Gazetteer III, 51. "The fort stands on a long narrow hill...extreme length of fort from wall to wall 5,735 yards." "The hill averages about 450 ft. above the surrounding country."

<sup>2</sup> A.N. II, 324. The article ends

rather abruptly, and, as B. has pointed out, does not mention when 'Abdu-l-Majīd died. B. adds that he must have been dead in 981, 1573-74, as in that year the title of Āṣaf K. was bestowed on another noble. A. F. places him among the holders of 3000. The T.A. adds to its notice of him that he entertained 20,000 horse.

<sup>3</sup> B. 403. 'Abdu-l Matallib was the name of Muḥammad's grandfather.

the 23rd year when Quṭbu-d-dīn K.'s men arrested Moẓaffar Husain M and were bringing him to court from the Deccan, he as a precaution joined them with some Malwa troops. In the 25th year he was appointed along with Ism'ail Qulī K. to chastise Niyābat K. 'Arab,<sup>1</sup> and displayed zeal and devotion. In the 26th year he was accused<sup>2</sup> of having killed Faṭḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost Bārbegī, but after some time was received into favour. In the expedition to Kabul he had command of the left wing. In the 27th year when Akbar went to the eastern districts and came near Kālpī—where 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib had his fief—he at 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's request visited his residence. In the 30th year he went to the south as one of the auxiliaries of the Khān 'Azīm Koka, and in the 32nd year<sup>3</sup> he went with a large force to punish Jalāla Tārīkī. One day, when Jalāla Tārīkī attacked the men of the rear-guard, though 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib did not mount his horse, the other officers rushed forward and defeated the enemy and slew many of them. But 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib from excessive anxiety and mental disturbance became mad and came to court in a helpless condition. At last he died at his appointed time. Sherzād his son attained to the rank of 500 with 200 horse during Jahangir's time.

'ABDU-N-NABĪ ṢADR. (SHAIKH).

Grandson of S. 'Abdu-l-Quddūs\* of Gangoh, who was a descendant of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa of Kūfa, and one of the later celebrities of India. He died in the year 944, 1537-38. S. 'Abdu-n-Nabī was the first of his time in literary (naqlīya) sciences, and had a

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 328.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III, 354, and also Iqbāl-nāma which tells us that the father of the murdered man declined to prosecute. Faṭḥ Dost had just been made a member of the Divine Faith.

<sup>3</sup> See A.N. III, 520-521. B. wrongly says it was the son that was attacked. A. F. mentions that the general could not mount his horse, but does not give the reason. Perhaps all that is meant is that he could not get back to the scene of battle.

The text of the A. N. spells 'Abdu-l-Maṭlib's name as 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib. A.F. says he was sent in as he was insane. He does not say why he became mad. The battle is also described by Niẓāmu-d-din. See Elliot V, 456.

<sup>4</sup> J. III. 374, where the date of death given is 950, 1543. The Khazīna Aṣṣfiyā has 945. Apparently 945 is the correct date. Rieu II, 830a XV. For 'Abdullah, see B. 457.



high place in the science of Hadiṣ (tradition). In spite of his great acquirements, he was assiduous in following the practices of the noble order of Chisht. He could so hold his breath that he for the space of a watch (pahār) could without breathing occupy himself in mental utterance (zikr qalbī).<sup>1</sup> In the 10th year of Akbar's reign he attained through the influence of Mozaffar K. the chief diwān, the office of principal Ṣadr<sup>2</sup> of India. In the course of time the chief transactions of State were carried on in accordance with his recommendations. His intimacy with the king became so great that Akbar used to go to his house to hear the Traditions. As at that time Akbar, at the instigation of the Shaiikh, showed great zeal in the performance of exemplary acts and the non-performance of what was prohibited, he personally recited the Azān (call to prayer) and acted as Imām (leader of the prayers), he even went so far as to sweep the mosque in order to acquire merit. One day on the occasion of the anniversary of the accession,<sup>3</sup> the colour of saffron had been put on the king's clothes. The Shaiikh was angry and in open diwān so wielded his staff that it reached the king's skirt and tore it. The king was displeased and went to his mother and complained, saying that the Shai kh should have made his remonstrance in private. Miriam-Makānī said, "My son, don't be vexed. This will be a cause of salvation to you on the last day. Till the day of the Resurrection they will tell how a poor Mullā dealt with the king of the Age, and how the king of happy augury submitted."

As the Shaiikh and Makhdūmu-l-mulk every day displeased the king by their censures and bigotry, his heart became alienated from them. Shaiikh Faiẓī and Shaiikh Abū-l-faẓl perceived this and represented that their science was greater than that of those hypocritical Shaiikhs who under the screen of religion (dīn) had gathered things of the world (daniyā). "If Your Majesty will support us we'll silence them by convincing proofs." Accordingly one day there was food containing saffron<sup>4</sup> on the table-

<sup>1</sup> See account of Zikr in Hughes' Dict. of Islam. 'Jahangir read the Forty Traditions with 'Abdu-n-nabī.

<sup>2</sup> Bada'yūnī II, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Sālgirih. It may have been the anniversary of the birthday.

<sup>4</sup> Dishes containing saffron are described in the Āīn. B. 59, 60.

cloth. When 'Abdu-n-nabī partook of it, Abū-l-faḡl said, "Oh Fie, Shaikh, if saffron be licit, why did you make all those strictures on H.M. the Vicar of God, and if it be illicit, why have you partaken of it so that for three days the effects will remain?" There were repeated altercations between them. At last in the 22nd year there was an inquiry into *siyūrghāl* and other tenures, and it appeared that the Shaikh in spite of his devotion and austerity did not observe the due degrees of moderation and regard to merit. In every province a separate Ṣadr was appointed. And when in the 24th year Akbar had an assembly of 'Ulamā and sages, it was agreed by them that the reigning king "Pādishāh-i-Zamān" was the Imām of the time, and Muḡtahid (Doctor) of the world. Whichever of the conflicting opinions of former Doctors he adopted was to be received by mankind; that is to say, in matters of Faith, as to which Muḡtahids differed, whatever side His Majesty adopted, for the soothment of the world, and the tranquillity of the men of Islam, was binding upon mankind, and whatever order he might issue which was not contrary to the Law and the *Ṣunnat*, and was for the good of the people, could not be opposed without incurring loss in this world and in the next. For the rank of a just king was above that of a Muḡtahid. A document was drawn up to this effect and it was attested by the seals of 'Abdu-n-nabī, the Makhdūmu-l-mulk Sulṭanpūri, Ghāzī K. Badakshī Ḥakīmu-l-mulk and other 'Ulamā. This<sup>1</sup> took place in the month of Rajab 987, August 1579.

When different statements were made by 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and it appeared that they were saying that they had been made to attest the document by force and against their will, Akbar, in the same year, made the Shaikh the leader of the caravan and sent him off with a sum of money for the chief men of Mecca, and for the indigent there, and he also dismissed Makhdūmu-l-mulk. In this way he exiled them from his territories, and gave the order that they should always remain there in the practice of devotion and not return unless they were summoned. When the coming of M. Ḥakīm and the rebellion of the officers of Bihar and Bengal caused confusion in India, 'Abdu-n-

nabī and Makhdūmu-l-mulk—who were watching for such an opportunity—heard exaggerated accounts and resolved to return. In spite of the admonishment of the Shārīf of Mecca, and in opposition to the king's command, they made the voyage, and in the 27th year arrived at Aḥmadabad. Though the Begams of the Harem interceded for them, yet as the rebels renewed their improper language, the Shaikh was sent for, and was imprisoned<sup>1</sup> with great severity on the pretext of his having to render accounts. He was put into the charge of S. Abū-l-faẓl, and he knowing that the king would not question about his murder, secretly had the Shaikh strangled,<sup>2</sup> in consequence of the old enmity, in the year 992, 1584. Or perhaps he died a natural death.

‘ABDU-L-QAWĪ (I‘TIMĀD K. SHAIKH).

He is famed for his excellency, laudable qualities, piety and orthodoxy. He was long in the service of prince Aurangzeb and was his personal attendant. He<sup>3</sup> was highly honoured and trusted on account of his honesty in speech and act. When Aurangzeb left the Deccan for Agra for the purpose of assuming the sovereignty, he was raised from 900 to a *mansab* of 1500, and was in attendance on Aurangzeb's stirrup at all the battles. After the Accession he attained high office and became an Amīr. In the 4th year he received the title of I‘timād Khān, and became a favourite above all his contemporaries. As he advanced in the service and was in the king's confidence and was distinguished for tact, he became more intimate with the king than the other pillars of the empire. They say that he used to sit with the king in private and that his suggestions were listened to and approved of. But he never recommended anybody and kept the gate of liberality closed. On account of his connection with sovereignty and the pride of being the king's teacher he did not pay attention to men, and was very pompous. He was also very bigoted.

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī. Lowe 321, and also 244.

<sup>2</sup> There is a full account of ‘Abdu-n-nabī in the Darbār Akbarī, and in a note at p. 327 it is pointed out that M‘ūtamad K. in his Iqbāl-nāma (Part

II) distinctly says that A.F. killed ‘Abdu-n-nabī. See also the account in Badayūnī III, 79, where 991 is given as the date of death, but in II. 312 the date is given as 992.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ‘Ālamgīr-nāma, pp. 982-83.

Sa'idāī<sup>1</sup> Sarmad was a Jew by origin and was regarded as a Rabbi. When he became a Muhammadan he studied under Mir Abū-l-Q'asim Qandarsakī. He came from Kāshān to Tatta (Scinde) for purposes of trade and there fell in love with a Hindu's son and threw away everything that he had. He did not even cover his private parts. When he came to Delhi, he associated with Darā Shikoh who had much faith in distracted persons. Afterwards, when the Fates put the reins of power into Aurangzeb's hands, he, who was very strict in religious matters, ordered Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qawī to send for Sarmad, and make him wear clothes. When he was brought, the Mullā said, "Why are you naked?" Sarmad replied, "Satan is powerful,"<sup>2</sup> and he recited this quatrain.

<sup>1</sup> Rieu II, 547a, and III, 1089b, 'Allah Yār's Ḥadiqatu-l-Aqālim lith. ed., 109, Bernier II, 124 of ed. 1699, Manucci, translation I, 223 and 384; but the best account of him is in the Dabistān. Cal. lith., p. 298, etc. The author of that work saw him at Haidarabad (in the Deccan) in 1057, 1647. I think the statement that Sarmad was an Armenian is a mistake for Rabānīan, and the meaning is that he was a Rabbi. See Dabistān I (which seems to be the Maasir's authority). The word Qanduz in text seems a mistake for Qandarsakī. This is one of the variants, and it is supported by the Dabistan. Sarmad's name was Muḥammad S'aid, but presumably this name was assumed after he became a Muhammadan. He was put to death in 1071, 1660-61. I have altered the statement in text that Sarmad was reported to be an Armenian. It is Qandarsagī in the Dabistān and in the variant to the text of the Maasir, but *qāf* and *fā* only differ by a dot. According to the Burhan Qāṭi and Vullers II, 693b, where Abū-l Qāsim Fandarsagī is mentioned, Fandarsag is a village in the district of Astrabad, on the S.E. coast

of the Caspian. But for the statement of Burhān Qāṭi<sup>1</sup> one would be inclined to read the word as qandazsagī and to connect it with Abū-l-Qasim of Nishāpūr and Naṣrabad, about whom a story is told of his giving up the benefit of his forty-five pilgrimages in order to feed a dog. Qandazsag might mean a fox or a dog. See the Ḥadiqa-ul-Iqālim, p. 399, and the Khazina Aḥfiyā's notice of Abū-l-Qāsim II, p. 207. It is true that this saint died in 367 A.H., 977-78, but perhaps the passage in the Dabistān only means that Sarmad studied his writings. There is a notice of Sarmad in the Khazina A. II, p. 352. An Abū-l-Qāsim of Andijān in Ferghāna is mentioned as a leading Shaikh and as having come to India in the time of Shah Jahan. See biography of Khwājah 'Abdu-r-Rahim Maasir I, 792. Perhaps it was this Abū-l-Qāsim who was Sarmad's teacher. Apparently Sarmad was still a Jew when the author of the Dabistān met him.

<sup>2</sup> Is there an allusion here to 'Abdu-l-Qawī's name? The words are Shaitān Qawīest.

He is pleased with so debasing me (?),  
 His evil eye has ta'en the cup from my hand (?),  
 He lies in wait, and I'm at his beck,  
 A strange robber<sup>1</sup> has made me naked.

The Mullā and the other lawyers decided that he should be put to death, and the Mullā made this quatrain which denied the Ascension of Muḥammad a reason for this.

*Verse.*

He who was aided by the Prince of Truth  
 Was himself wider than the wide heavens.  
 The Mullā says, "Aḥmad ascended to heaven."  
 Sarmad says, "Heaven descended to Aḥmad."

The truth is that the main reason for putting him to death was his companionship with Dārā Shikoh, otherwise there were many thousand naked enthusiasts like him in every lane and street.<sup>2</sup>

In short, Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qawī was a very strict censor. In the ninth year, 1077, 1666-67, an unknown Turkoman Calendar killed him with a sword. This event was of a surprising nature. The details are as follows:—When Tarbiyat K. had gone off as ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās the second, he did not perform the duties of the etiquette of an embassy in a proper manner, and made the Shāh, who was of a lunatic disposition, more irritated than ever. The old friendship became clouded over and it came to the leading of armies against one another. At this time Saiyid Amīr Khān, the governor of Kabul arrested some Moghul Turkomans as spies and sent them to court. I'timād was bidden to examine them. He sent for one of these men—who was a Turkoman soldier—and had him brought in to his private room unbound and unchained, and proceeded to examine him. At this time, he, whose daring mind was suffused with ignorance, suddenly moved from his place, and approached a servant, who was keep-

<sup>1</sup> Text *dard* but the MSS. have *dārd* "a thief or robber" and I have adopted this reading.

<sup>2</sup> Ghulām 'Alī Āzād says in the *Yad Baiẓa* that Sarmad's tomb is near the Jama' Masjid of Delhi.

ing charge of his weapons outside, and, taking a sword from him, struck the Khān a blow which killed him. The attendants slew him. The deceased Khāfi K. has told the story in a different manner in his history. Although the reliance (*tahqiq*) which that author—between whom and the writer there was great intimacy—placed upon the Mirātu-l-‘Ālam and the ‘Ālamgirnāma<sup>1</sup> is well known, yet as his account<sup>2</sup> was derived by him from the Calendar’s companions, and is still more extraordinary (than the current story), it is here set down. It is that the Calendar was one of the professional athletes, *pahlwānān*, and conjurors of Persia. These men by impudence and swagger<sup>3</sup> force money from gentlemen, and then fling it away. This man too had performed wonderful feats in Surat and Burhānpūr. When he came to Delhi in the course of his travels he was received with honour by the Persian Amīrs, and collected together some qalandars. Every day he spent in gardens with music and singing. This became notorious, and some charged him with alchemy and some with thieving and robbery. At last it was represented (to Aurangzeb) that he was a spy of the Shāh. As all knew his courage, the Kotwāl caught him while he was asleep, and conveyed him in chains to the king’s presence. I‘timād K. was directed to examine him. After examination, although he said that he was a wandering beggar by profession, it was of no avail, and the Mullā used threatening language to him. The doomed man saw that there was no release for him, and said, “If you will assure my safety, I shall tell the truth to the ear of the Nawāb.” When he approached, he bent down as if to speak, and though both his hands were bound he quickly seized with his

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ālamgirnāma 982, Maasir A., 57.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II, 203, etc. The text is rather curiously worded. The expression *dar janab* “on the side” or “with regard to” is to me somewhat obscure and some of the MSS. have a different reading, viz. *jinnat* or perhaps *jambat*. I do not think that the writer can mean that Khāfi K. was less trustworthy than the other two writers.

*Sargala zadan*, which might mean “striving for pre-eminence,” and literally is “acting as head of the herd.” The Bib. Ind. ed. of Khāfi K. II, 203, has *sirkalima*, s.v. the true reading seems to be *sirkala-zadan*, which means to butt, or fight with the head and horns like rams or deer. See Bahār-i-‘Ājam s.v. Here it seems to mean to extort by threats, to blackmail.

fingertips a short sword (nīmcha shamsher) which had been left on I'timād's dais (masnad), and so smote him on the head with the scabbard thereof that he was at once slain.<sup>1</sup> The king was much grieved at his death and showed favour to his family and promoted his sons and other relatives to *manṣabs* and showed them other kindnesses.

### 'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM BEG UZBEG.

Brother of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg the guardian of 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. the (eldest) son of Naṣr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh. In the 11th year of Shah Jahan's reign he came<sup>2</sup> from Balkh and did homage. The king gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, and a sword with golden accoutrements and enamelled work, and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and a sum of Rs. 25,000 in cash. Afterwards<sup>3</sup> he received an increase of 500 with 200 horse and a fief in the province of Bihar, and went off there. After he came there, as owing to the harsh measures of 'Abdullah K. Bahādur, the governor of the province, there was disagreement between him and the governor, he, considering this to be an injury to himself, feigned illness for some days and represented himself as dumb.<sup>4</sup> For a year he entirely refrained from speech, so that even his women did not know what was the matter. When the king heard of this, an order was passed for his coming to court. In the thirteenth year he came<sup>5</sup> and used his tongue. When he mentioned the cause of his dumbness the audience were astonished. As the king was going to Kashmīr this year, he conferred on him the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and directed him to remain in the capital. In the 22nd year he was appointed to accom-

<sup>1</sup> *bakadū k̲hiyūra gardīd* "made him like a cucumber" (?). The variant is *Ikdu janāza gardīd*. I.O.M.S., No. 628, has *ika janāza gardīd* "he became the same as a corpse." I think there can be no doubt this is the correct reading and that the phrase is an allusion to the inscription on Prince Daniel's *gun bar har ka Khurda t̲ir-i tū iku u janāza*, Tūzuk

Jahāngīrī, p. 15. "Who'er receives thy ball becomes a corpse." Compare Maasir III, 13, last line, where the phrase is repeated. There is an account of 'Abul-Qāwī's death in Manucci II, 147.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshahnāma I, Part II, 243.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* 275.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. I, 571.

<sup>5</sup> *id.* 169.

pany Prince Aurangzeb to Qandahar. From thence he went with Qulij K. to Bust, and did good service in the battle with the Persians. Consequently, in the 23rd year he attained the rank of 2500 with 1000 horse. In the 24th year he went to Bihar along with J'aafar K. the governor of that province. In the 26th year he went with Dārā Shikōḥ to Qandahar, and from there he went with Rustum K. to take Bust.

### 'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM<sup>1</sup> OF LUCKNOW. (SHAĪKH)

One of the noble Shaikhzādas of Lucknow city. That is a large city in the province of Oudh on the bank of the Gumti; the tract is called Baiswāra.<sup>2</sup> The Shaikh had the good fortune to enter Akbar's service and by good conduct attained to the rank of 700, which was a high rank in those days. As he was very intimate<sup>3</sup> with Jamāl Bakhtiyār—whose sister was one of Akbar's favourite wives—he was led into drinking habits. He became madly addicted to wine-bibbing, and as intoxicants injure the soul and reason, his intellect became clouded, and he shewed signs of folly.

In the 30th<sup>4</sup> year, at the time of returning from Kabul, when the camp was at Sialkot, the Shaikh became deranged in Ḥakīm Abū-l-fath's quarters and wounded himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. People took it out of his hand, and they sewed up the wound in Akbar's presence. They say the emperor did so with his own hand.

Though experienced physicians considered that the wound was incurable, and it became so bad that after two months he was given up, yet the king always gave him hopes, and when he was yet at the point of death he recovered in a short space of time. Afterwards he died in his native land at the appointed time.

They say he had a Brahman wife who was called Kishnā. That clever woman after the Shaikh's death built houses and

<sup>1</sup> B. 470.

<sup>2</sup> The country of the Bais tribe of Rajputs. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 13.

<sup>3</sup> A. N. III, 371. Blochmann, 425,

calls the sister the superintendent of Akbar's harem.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. III, 470. Badayūni, Lowe, 359.



made a garden, a serai, and a tank. She also took villages in farm, and looked after the adornment of the garden in which the Shaikh was buried. Whoever passed by that way—from a *panj-hazārī* to a common soldier—was entertained by her suitably to his rank. And though she became old and blind she did not give up her kindly ways, and for about sixty years she kept her husband's name alive.

*Verse.*

Not every woman is womanish, or every man manly.

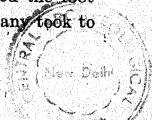
(MĪRZĀ) 'ABDU-R-RAHĪM KHĀN-KHĀNĀN

son and heir of Bairām K. His mother was of the family of the Khāns of Mewat. When<sup>1</sup> in 961, 1554, Humāyūn became for a second time seated on the throne of India and had established himself at Delhi, he, in order to give assurance and encouragement to the zamindars, instituted marriages with their daughters. When Jamāl K. the cousin of Husain K. of Mewat—who was one of the influential zamindars of India—waited upon Humāyūn, he possessed two daughters. Humāyūn married the eldest, and gave the second to Bairām. On 14 Safr 964, 17 December 1556, in the end of the first year of Akbar's reign, M. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm was born in Lahore. When his father fell a martyr at the hands of the Afghans in Pattan-Gujarat, 'Abdu-r-Rahīm was four years old. The rioters attacked the Khān's camp. Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, Bābā Zambūr, and his mother rescued the Mīrẓā from that tumult and set off for Aḥmadabad. They fought with the Afghans who followed in the rear and arrived at the city. After four months Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna and some other servants proceeded towards the court with the Mīrẓā. In Jalaur an order reached them, summoning the child. In the beginning of the sixth year, 969, 1562, he did homage, and Akbar, in spite of the importunities of evil-speakers and evil-thinkers, perceived in him the marks of nobleness and nourished and cherished him.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. II, 48. Humāyūn did not reach Delhi till Ramẓān 962,

July, 1555, so that the date 961 is wrong.

When he came to years of discretion he received the title of Mirzā Khān and was married to Māh Bānū, the sister of the Khān-A'zam. In the 21st year he was nominally appointed to the government of Gujarat, while the management of affairs was entrusted to Wazīr K. In the 25th year he was made Mir 'Arzī (inspector of petitions). In the 28th year he was made guardian of Prince Sultan Selim, and in the same year he gained a victory over Sultan Moẓaffar of Gujarat. The details of this are as follows:—Sultan Moẓaffar, in the first Gujarat expedition fell into the hands of the royal servants and was imprisoned. He was sent to Mun'im K. the Khān-Khānān. When Mun'im died, Moẓaffar was sent back to court and was made over to Shāh Maṣṣūr. In the 23rd year he made his escape and came to Gujarat. He reposed there in the neighbourhood of Jūnāgarh and under the protection of the Kāthīs. The officers regarded him as unimportant and paid no attention to him. When I'timād K. got the government of Gujarat in succession to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, some servants of the late governor became disloyal and raised the head of disturbance. Moẓaffar joined them and became a leader and took possession of Aḥmadabad. Akbar appointed Mirzā K. with a good force. As there were 40,000 horse with Moẓaffar and the whole of the royal troops was only 10,000, the officers did not advise a battle, and the king also wrote that till Qulij K. and the other auxiliary officers from Malwa joined, he should not engage. Daulat K. Lodī who was his companion and chief swordsman (Mir shamsher) said, "At that time you will have partners in victory; if you want to be Khān-Khānān (Lord of Lords), you must win victory alone. 'Tis better to be killed than to live with an unknown name." Mirzā K. encouraged his companions and made them all keen to fight. A severe engagement took place at Sarkej three *kos* from Aḥmadabad. On every side the heroes contended with one another. Mirzā Khān was stationed with 300 braves, and 100 elephants, when Moẓaffar came to meet him with 6 or 7000 horse. Some well-wishers seized his rein and wanted to turn him back. Mirzā K. advanced the foot of boldness, and some of the enemy were slain and many took to



flight. Moẓaffar, who had been exulting in his arrogance, became confused and fled. He went to Cambay and took goods from the merchants and again raised the head of sedition. Mirzā K. took with him the Malwa officers who had now arrived, and marched (against Moẓaffar), and several times chastised him (Moẓaffar) Moẓaffar went off to Nadot and there again caused strife. The brave men on both sides fought on foot (i.e., dismounted) and did wondrous things. At last Moẓaffar turned his face from battle and went off to Rajpīpla. Mirzā K. received from court the rank of Panj hazāri and the high title of Khān-Khānān.

They say that on the day of the Gujarat victory he gave away all that he had. At last, a man came to him and said he had got nothing. A standish had remained over and he gave him that. After he had put the distracted country of Gujarat into order he left Qulij K. there, and came to court. In the 34th year he presented to Akbar the Memoirs of Bābar—which he had translated from Turkī into Persian—and was much praised. In the same year 998, 1590, he was made Vakīl, and received Jaunpūr in fief. In the 36th year Multan was given him as his fief and he undertook the conquest of Tattah and the territory of Scinde. Shāikh Faiẓī found the chronogram, Qaṣḍ-i-Tatta (999). "Tatta was the object." When the Khān-Khānān had by skill and rapidity passed by the foot of the fort of Sihwān which they call Sīvistān, and got possession of Lakhī—which is the gate of that country,—like Garhī of Bengal, and Bārahmūla of Kashmir,—Mirzā Jānī the ruler of Tatta—who had come to war—suffered defeat after severe fightings, and in the 37th year proposed terms. The conditions<sup>1</sup> were that he should surrender the fort of Sihwān—which is on the river Indus—and accept Mirzā Īrij the son of the Khān-Khānān as a son-in-law, and after the rains go to court. As on account of paucity of provisions the imperial army was also in distress, the Khān-Khānān yielded, and having made over the fort to Hasan 'Alī 'Arab encamped twenty *kos* from Sihwān. When the rains came to an end, Mirzā Jānī made excuses for not

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III, 615.

proceeding further. The Khān-Khānān was obliged to go to Tattah. The Mirza (Jānī) came <sup>1</sup> out from the city (Tattah) as far as three *kos*, and tried manœuvres, but all at once the imperial forces were victorious, and Mirzā Jānī became a suppliant and made over the whole country to the imperialists, and went off with all his family in company of the Khān-Khānān to court. He was received with favour. Mullā Shikebī<sup>2</sup>—who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān—wrote a *maṣnavī* about this victory. This verse is from it.

*Verse.*

A Humā which was moving over the heavens  
You seized and freed from delusion. (*dām*)

The Khān-Khānān gave him a thousand *ashrafs* as a present, and M. Jānī also gave the Mullā a thousand *ashrafs*, and said, "It is by God's mercy that you called me a humā. Had <sup>3</sup> you called me a jackal, who'd have checked your tongue?"

When Sultan Murād at the king's orders set out from Gujarat to conquer the Deccan, he halted in Broach in expectation of the arrival of the auxiliaries. The Khān-Khānān,—who had been appointed to accompany the prince,—made some stay in Bhilsah, which was his jagir, and then proceeded to Ujjain. The prince was displeased at this and sent him an angry message. He wrote in reply that he was engaged in conciliating Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khandes, and that he was going to bring him with him. The prince became indignant and set off for the Deccan with the troops he had. The Khān-Khānān made over the camp and the park of artillery to M. Shahrukh and went on rapidly along with Rajah 'Alī K. He joined the prince at Candaur thirty *kos* from Ahmāda-bad. After some time he was admitted to an interview, but no graciousness was shown towards him. The Khān-Khānān became annoyed and withdrew his hand from the work. Though in the

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III, 634.

<sup>2</sup> B. 335n, and 576. Badayūnī III, 253, who styles him Ispahānī. In the *Tārīkh Tāhiri* the poem of Mullā Shikebī is called the *Sāqīnāma*,

and he is said to have been rewarded with a present of Rs. 12,000.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. has *giri/ta* instead of *gusta* in the first clause. *dām* in the verse also means "a snare."

end of Rabī'ul-akhīr 1004, end of December 1595, Ahmadnagar was invested, and arrangements were made for erecting batteries and driving mines, yet owing to the prudence and courage of Cānd Bibī Sultan, the sister of Burhān Nizām Shāh and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur, who was defending the fortress in concert with Abhang K. the Abyssinian, and also owing to the treachery of the officers, and their spoiling one another's work, the conquest of the fortress was not one to be easily made.

When the besieged became aware of the discord among the leaders, they proposed a peace to the effect that Bahādur the grandson of Burhān Nizām Shāh should be brought out of prison and that to this boy should be given the title of Nizāmu-l-mulk, and that he should be made a servant of the empire. Also that the prosperous territory of Ahmadnagar should be given to him in fief, and that the territory of Berar should revert to the imperialists. Though men of experience represented the want of food of the besieged and their distress and duplicity, they were not listened to on account of the dissensions. Also at this time it was believed that Suhail K. the eunuch, M'atmadu-d-daula of Bijapur, was approaching to assist the Nizām Shāh troops, and so peace was made by the intervention of Mir Murtaza, and the army turned away to Bālapur in Berar. When Suhail K. with the Bijapur army on the right wing, Qutbu-l-mulkī troops on the left wing, and the Nizāmu-l-mulk army in the centre became presumptuous and drew up in battle-array, the prince wished to engage them, but the officers disloyally refused to do so. The Khān-Khānān, M. Shahrukh and Rajah 'Alī K. set out from Shāhpūr against the enemy. In the end<sup>1</sup> of Jumāda-al-akhīrī 1005, February 1597, a battle took place near the town of Ashtī, twelve *kos* from Pāthri. There was a severe engagement, and the ruler of Khandes with five<sup>2</sup> Sardārs and 500 men. who there opposed the 'Adilkhānīs, bravely lost their lives. The enemy thought they were the centre and that M. Shahrukh or the Khān-Khānān was killed, and set about plundering. The Khān-Khānān also routed the force opposed to his own, and in the darkness of the night the hostile forces got

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta has 17 Jumāda-ug-gānī.

<sup>2</sup> Thirty-five. A.N. III, 719.

separated, and halted. Each thought it had gained<sup>1</sup> the victory and spent the night on horseback. At dawn the imperial army, which consisted of 7000 men, as it had spent the whole night with thirst, proceeded hastily to the river. The enemy came forward to meet them with 25,000 horse. Many leaders of the three armies of the enemy were killed.<sup>2</sup> They say that Daulat K. Lodi—who was in the Khān-Khānān's vanguard at the time when Suhail K. had put the elephants and artillery in motion and was advancing—said to the Khān-Khānān, “We are 600 horse in all. To advance in front (of such a force) is to lose ourselves, (yet) I’ll<sup>3</sup> attack the enemy’s centre.” The Khān-Khānān said, “You’re losing<sup>4</sup> Delhi.” Daulat K. replied, “If we defeat the foe, we shall have made a hundred Delhis, and if we die the work is with God.” When he desired to urge on the horse Qāsim Bārha and the Saiyids were beside him. He (Qāsim) said, “We and you are Hindustanis. There is no resource but to die. You should ask the Khān as to what his wish is.” Daulat turned round and said to the Khān-Khānān, “There is a great force in front of us, and victory depends on heaven. Tell us where we shall find you if you are defeated.” The Khān-Khānān said, “Under the corpses.” Daulat K. and the Saiyids penetrated by the centre (*kamargāh*) and drove off the enemy. In a short time Suhail took to flight. They say that on that day the Khān-Khānān had with him 75 lacs of rupees. He gave<sup>5</sup> them all away, and only two camel-loads remained. In spite of so great a victory affairs did not go on well. The Khān-Khānān was summoned to court, and he did homage in the 43rd year. His wife Māh Bānū<sup>6</sup> died in this year.

<sup>1</sup> B. 336. “Each party believing itself victorious.” The original is *gumān firuzī baḥūd barda*, and it would seem better sense if the meaning were “each party doubting if it had gained the victory.” But see account in *Ferishta*.

<sup>2</sup> Akbarnama III, 719.

<sup>3</sup> A. The meaning seems to be, “We shall all be killed but yet I’ll attack the centre.” See *Darbār Akbarī*, 618, line 11.

<sup>4</sup> The *Darbār Akbarī*, p. 613, says that the Khān Khānān was much attached to Delhi and used to remark, “If I am to die, I’ll die in Delhi.”

<sup>5</sup> *Lit.* He gave them all away to be scrambled for. *Hamara ighmāi sākht*. See *Darbārī Akbarī*, 619.

<sup>6</sup> She died at Umballa in 1007, December 1598.

When Akbar consulted the Khān-Khānān about the affairs of the Deccan, he recommended the recall of the prince, and the giving the control of matters to himself. The king did not approve of this and was displeased with him. When Prince Murād died and Sultan Daniel was sent to the Deccan in the 44th year and Akbar resolved to go there himself, the Khān-Khānān was again received into favour and sent to the prince. In the end of Shawāl of the 45th year, 1008, May 1600, the prince in company with the Khān-Khānān besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. On every side great efforts were made. Cānd Bibī proposed an agreement, and Cita<sup>1</sup> K. the eunuch rebelled against this view, and in concert with some wicked people put that noble lady to death. Guns were discharged from the fort, and hostilities were renewed. After thirty yards of the wall had been blown up by a mine, the besiegers entered by the Lailī<sup>2</sup> bastion and put many to the sword. Bahādur the son of Ibrāhīm—whom they had made the Nizām Shāh—was made prisoner. The fort was taken after a siege of four months and four days. The Khān-Khānān took Nizām Shāh and presented himself before Akbar in Burhanpur. At the time of the king's return to the capital he gave Khandes the name of Dandes and made it over to Prince Daniel, and gave Jānā Begam the Khān-Khānān's daughter in marriage to that prince. He sent the Khān-Khānān to chastise R'ajū Manā who had set up the son of Shāh 'Alī, the uncle of Murtaza Nizām Shāh, as ruler and was stirring up strife. After the death of Akbar a great breach occurred in the Deccan. In the third year of Jahangir 1017, 1609, the Khān-Khānān came to court and undertook<sup>3</sup> that if in addition to the troops already assigned to him 12,000 cavalry were given him, he would finish the affairs of the Deccan in two years. Accordingly, he immediately was given leave to go to the Deccan. Prince Parvez under the guardianship of Āsaf K. J'āfar, the Amīru-l-umarā Sharif Khān, Rajah Mān Singh Kachwāha and Khān Jahān Lodī, were appointed one after the other to assist him. When it appeared

<sup>1</sup> Or Jitā. A. F. III, 774., has Habsha Khān. See B. 336. The Lucknow edition of A. F. has Jitā.

<sup>2</sup> Text Balbālī, but see A. N. III, 775.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot VI, 318, and Tūzūk J. 71.

that the Khān-Khānān had in the height of the rains taken the prince from Burhanpur to the Bālāghāt (the Highlands), and that on account of the discord among the chiefs plans had been neglected, and that the army had been reduced to great straits by the scarcity of corn and the deaths of the quadrupeds, and that the Khān-Khānān had been compelled to make a dishonourable peace, and such as was unworthy of the empire, with the enemy, and then had returned, the affairs of the Deccan were made over to Khān Jahān, and Mahābat K. was sent to recall the veteran general.

When he came to court in the 5th year, he obtained leave to go to his fiefs in Kālpī and Qanauj in order that he might put down disturbers in that quarter. In the 7th year when a severe defeat happened in the Deccan to 'Abdullah K. (Fīrūz Jang), and the work did not make progress under Khān Jahān, it was perceived to be necessary to send the Khān-Khānān, and so he was despatched there with Khawāja Abū-l-Ḥasan. As on this occasion also, in spite of the presence of Prince Parvez and of leading officers, the work did not take proper form, Jahangir in the 11th year, 1025, 1616, sent off Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) to the Deccan, and gave him the title of Shāh—which no prince had had since the days of Sāhib Qirān (Timur),—and himself in Muḥarram 1026, January 1617, came to Malwa, and took up his abode in Māndū. The prince made Burhanpur his headquarters, and sent capable men to the rulers of the Deccan, and at the same time took in marriage, by Jahangir's orders, the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. the son of the Khān-Khānān. After the arrival of Shah Jahan's envoys, 'Adil Shāh sent as a present 50 elephants as well as cash and jewels to the value of 15 lacs of rupees, and shewed marks of servitude and obedience. Accordingly, at the request of the prince, he was distinguished by the title of *farzand* (son), and Jahangir with his own hand wrote<sup>1</sup> this impromptu verse at the beginning of the firmān.

*Verse.*

At Shah Kharram's instance thou'rt become  
Famous the world o'er as our son.

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<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I, 704.



Qutbu-l-mulk also sent presents of the same value and was treated with favour. Malik 'Ambar also placed the head of service within the cord of obedience, and made over the keys of the fort of Ahmadnagar and of other forts, as well as the parganas of the Bālāghāt, of which he had taken possession.

When the prince was satisfied about the arrangements for the Deccan, he made over the government of Khandes, Berar and Ahmadnagar to the Sipahasālār (the Khān-Khānān), and appointed Shāh Newāz K., the eldest son of the latter, to manage the conquered parts of the Bālāghāt, and assigned every estate in fief to the officers of the contingents and left 30,000 horse and 7,000 musketeers,<sup>1</sup> and in the 12th year waited on his father in Māndū. At the time of the interview Jahangir involuntarily rose up and went two or three steps to welcome the prince. He gave him the rank of 30,000 with 20,000 horse and the title of Shah Jahan and the right of sitting on a chair near the throne, which was a special favour and was not the custom of the dynasty from the time of Amīr Timur. Jahangir himself came down from the *jharoka* and poured a small tray of jewels and a trayful of gold on his son's head. When in the 15th year Malik 'Ambar broke his agreement, and the oppression of his banditti (*bargiān*,<sup>2</sup> perhaps Mahrattas) made the imperial thānadārs quit their posts, so that Dārā M. returned from the Bālāghāt and came to Bālāpur, and then too could not maintain himself but came to Burhānpur and was besieged there along with his father, Prince Shah Jahan received a krur of rupees for expenses of the expedition and a present of ten krors of *dāms* from the conquered territories and was hastily sent off a second time.

They say that when petition after petition from him (the Khān-Khānān) were produced before the king to the effect that he was in a difficult position and he had determined to follow the custom of *johar* (immolation of self and family, literally "life-

<sup>1</sup> *topōi*. The word is clearly used in Iqbāl-nāma 271, line 2, for musketeers. They represented the infantry.

<sup>2</sup> Bargi is the name often applied

to a Mahratta, and in Captain James Kerr's History of the Mahrattas, London, 1783, it is stated that Malik 'Ambar was at one time in league with the Mahrattas.

abandonment"), Jahangir said to the Prince that as Akbar<sup>1</sup> had by a hurried march rescued the Khān 'Aẓam when besieged by the Gujaratis, he should now rescue the Khān-Khānān from his dangerous position. When the Deccanis heard of the coming of Shah (Shah Jahan) they dispersed. The Prince reached Burhanpur and again undertook the administration of the Deccan.

When in the 17th year Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī advanced to besiege Qandahar, the Prince was recalled as quickly as possible. He brought the Khān-Khānān with him. Meantime things took another turn, and by the machinations of foolish persons a household quarrel of such a grave character arose that no thought was given to the commotion of foreigners. The Prince was obliged to return with the Khān-Khānān and to take up his abode at Māndū. Jahangir, at the instigation of Nūr Jahān Begam, appointed Sultan Parvez with Mahābat K. as commander-in-chief. After the treachery of Rustum K.,—whom the prince had sent to encounter the imperial army,—Shah Jahan crossed the Narbada with the Khān-Khānān, and after leaving Bairam Beg Bakhshī to watch the river, proceeded to Burhanpur. At this time a letter of the Khān-Khānān's which he had secretly written to Mahābat K., and which had this verse on the margin, came under the prince's observation—

*Verse.*

A hundred persons are watching me  
Otherwise I'd fly from discomfort.

He sent for the Khān-Khānān and showed it to him. He had no excuse that could be listened to. Accordingly, he and his son Dārāb K. were put under surveillance. When the prince was passing by Asīr he made father and son over to Saiyid Mozaffar K. Bārha and sent them to the fort. Inasmuch as the imprisonment of the innocent Dārāb K. was unjust, and he did not approve of letting him go and keeping the father, he sent for them both and let them go after taking promises from them. When Mahābat K. came with Sultan Parvez to the bank of the

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<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I. 305.

Narbada and saw that Bairam Beg had taken off the boats to the other side and blocked the ferries with guns and muskets, he had recourse to fraud, and secretly sent a letter to the Khān-Khānān and led away that old and experienced man. The Khān-Khānān wrote to the prince that the heavens were unpropitious. If he made a truce for some days the servants would certainly obtain repose. The prince, who was always desirous to compose disputes, regarded this occurrence as a great gain, and called the Khān-Khānān to a private interview. Again he took an oath from him on the holy book, and when satisfied about this, let him go, in order that he might stay on this side of the Narbada and do what was right for both parties. As by the arrival of the Khān-Khānān and the rumours of peace there had come to be slackness in the guarding of the ferries, Mahābat K.—who was awaiting his opportunity—caused a number of active young men to cross over the river at night. The Khān-Khānān was deceived by the false letters of Sultan Parvez and Mahābat Khan, and from love of the world behaved disloyally and forgot his recent oaths and joined Mahābat K. The prince was helpless and did not think it right to remain in Burhanpur and went off to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Mahābat K. came to Burhanpur, and having joined with Khān-Khānān crossed the Tapti and pursued Shah Jahan for some way. The Khān-Khānān wrote to Rajah Bhīm (son of the Rānā of Udaipur), who was one of Shah Jahan's officers, that if the prince would release his sons he would contrive to turn back the imperial troops. Otherwise affairs would become difficult. Rajah Bhīm wrote in reply that they had still five or six thousand devoted followers, and that whenever he approached, his sons would be put to death, and he himself would be attacked. After the Prince had settled the affairs of Bengal he proceeded to Bihar and released Dārāb K. and made him governor of the province (Bengal). Mahābat K., at the time when he proceeded to Allahabad to oppose the Prince, kept the Khān-Khānān under surveillance, as he doubted him on account of his trickery and duplicity. In the 20th year Jahangir summoned him to the Presence from being with (*i.e.*, from being under the charge of Mahābat) Mahābat K., and forgave him. He himself apologised,

saying, "All this has been the result of fate. It was not in your or our power, and I feel more ashamed than you." He gave him a lac of rupees and confirmed him in his rank and title, and the jagir of Malkūṣah.<sup>1</sup> The old man who, from love to the world had given name and fame to the winds, engraved this verse on his ring—

*Verse.*

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir  
Has<sup>2</sup> twice given me life and twice the Khān-Khānān.

Mahābat K. apologised when he was summoned to court, and did not fail to provide him with equipages and strove to remove the cloud from his mind. As it happened, the Khān-Khānān had taken leave to go to his *jagir* and had halted in Lahore, when Mahābat K. turned back and came to Lahore to see the king. The Khān-Khānān made no inquiries after his health, and Mahābat K. was disgusted at his want of courtesy, and when he was dominant at the bank of the Jhelam he appointed men to make him go back (from Lahore). The Khān-Khānān cast anchor in Delhi. At the same time the juggling heavens played another trick. At the time of the king's returning from Kabul, Mahābat K. became a vagabond. Nūr Jahān Begam summoned the Khān-Khānān and appointed him to follow Mahābat with an army. She presented him from her own stores with twelve lacs of rupees, with elephants, horses and camels. She also assigned to him Mahābat Khān's fief. But life did not give him time. He fell ill in Lahore, and came to Delhi and died there at the age of 72 in 1036, 1627, at the end of the 21st year of Jahangir. The chronogram is Khān Sipahsālār ko, "Where's the Khān Commander-in-chief?" (1036). He was buried near Humāyūn's tomb.

<sup>1</sup> Malkousah of Supp. Glossary. II. 90. It was in Qanaui, J. H. 184. There is an account of the Khān-Khānān's interview with Jahangir in Kāmgar Husāinī, B.M.M.S.—Or. 171, p. 187a. It occurred in the 20th year. See also Tūzūk J., p. 398. But the expression of Jahangir that he

felt more shame than did the Khān-Khānān occurs in the annals of the 10th year Tūzūk, 141. Apparently the author of the Maasir has mixed up the two incidents.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to his having been twice forgiven. Tūzūk 141 and 398.

The Khān-Khānān was in respect of ability the unique of the age. He was versed in Arabic, Persian, Turkī and Hindī. He understood poetry well, and wrote it. Rahīm was his *takhallas*. They say that he could converse in most of the languages of the world. His liberality and magnanimity are proverbial in India. Some extraordinary stories are told of him. They say that one day he was signing *barāts* (orders on the Treasury). On the warrant <sup>1</sup> (*barāt*) for a foot-soldier (*piāda*) he had signed for a thousand rupees instead of for a thousand *tankas* (pice), and he did not alter it. He several times weighed poets against gold when giving a present. One day Mullā Nazīrī <sup>2</sup> (B. 579) said : "How big a heap is a lac of rupees? I have never seen it." The Khān-Khānān ordered the amount to be brought from the treasury. When they had brought it together, the Mullā said : "Thank God that by means of my Nawāb I have seen so much coin." He ordered all to be given to the Mullā, so that he might now give thanks to God. He continually, both openly and secretly, gave large sums to dervishes and to learned men, and yearly sent money to people at a distance. The gatherings of men eminent in every science in his time were like the time of Sultan Husain K. and Mīr 'Alī Shīr.

In fine, he was in courage, generosity, and political skill the greatest man of the age. But he was malevolent, worldly and time-serving to a very great extent. His favourite saying (*bāgīr kalāmash*, "The burden of his song") was, "Enmity to an enemy should come out under the guise of friendship." This stanza was composed about him—

Verse.

A span in height and a hundred twists in the heart,  
A tiny handful of bones, and a hundred frauds.

<sup>1</sup> For *barāt* see Irvine A. of M. 56. It was an order on the Treasury for payment. A *tanka* here probably means the same thing as a *dām*, viz., 1/16th of a rupee.

<sup>2</sup> See Khazāna 'Amīrā, page 437, where it is said that the story is told in the Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn. Nazīrī died in Ahmadabad in 1021, 1012.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear from this couplet that the Khān-Khānān was small of stature. There is a play on the word *gīrīh* in the first line, as it means both a knot or twist, and a cubit. There is also a play on the word *takhlīl* in the second line which means frauds, and also may mean 'figures' (*ishkāl*).

He served in the Deccan at intervals for thirty years. Whenever any of the princes or officers came as his auxiliaries they saw the obedience and loyalty of the Deccan princes to him, and ascribed to him hypocrisy and sedition. So much was this the case that S. Abū-l-faḡl frequently gave judgment (fatwa) against him as a rebel. In the reign of Jahangir he was suspected of friendship for Malik 'Ambar, and so was dismissed. Muhammad M'aṣūm<sup>1</sup> a confidential servant of his became unfaithful to him and denounced him to the king, saying that the correspondence of Malik 'Ambar was with Shaikh 'Abdu-s-Salām, of Lucknow, who was a servant of the Khān-Khānān. Mahābat K. was ordered to inquire into the matter. He tortured the poor man, who died without opening his lips.

The Khān-Khānān was one of the great officers of the Sultanate. His name is perpetuated in the writings of the period. In Akbar's time he did great deeds. Among them there are three conspicuous ones,—the victory of Gujarāt, the conquest of Scinde, and the defeat of Suhail K., of Bijapur. These have been described at length in their place. With all his wisdom and ability he had to endure mortifications. He did not withhold his hand from the love of splendour. They say that he had a great avidity for court-news, so that every day two or three persons sent him journals by relays of couriers. There were spies appointed in the court-houses, and offices and terraces (cabūtra), and even in the market-places and streets, who wrote every popular rumour. In the evening he read them all and then burnt them. They say that many things were in those days peculiar to his family,—for instance, the feathers of the humā which no one wore except princes.

Though his father was an Imāmīya in religion he professed to be a Sunnī. But people suspected him of reserve (taqīya). But his sons were bigoted Sunnis. He had other sons besides Shāh Newāz K. and Dārāb K. One was M. Raḥmān Dād, whose mother belonged to the Saudha tribe of 'Amarkot. In his youth

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<sup>1</sup> M'aṣūm is mentioned in the Tūzūk J. 81 as being 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm's vakīl and as having brought to Jahangir on his behalf a valuable copy of the Yūsef and Zulaikha.

he was adorned with splendid qualities, and his father loved him much. He died in Mahkar<sup>1</sup> about the same time as Shāh Newāz K. (i.e., M. Īrij) passed away. No one had the courage to report it to the father. At the request of the ladies, Ḥazrat Shāh 'Īsā, of Scinde—may his grave be holy—came to the house of the Khān-Khānān and condoled with him and comforted him. Another son was Mirzā 'Amr Ullah, who was the offspring of a slave-girl. He remained without education and died young.

The best of the Khān-Khān's servants was Miṣṣān Fahīm. Though it was reported that he was a slave he was really a Rajput by descent. He was brought up like his son and possessed great ability and steadfastness. To his last breath he never failed in the night prayer, the forenoon prayer, and the prayer at sunrise. He loved dervishes. He ate with the soldiers like a brother, but he was of a hot disposition. The sound of the whip was ever loud.

They say that one day he saw that Rajah Bikramājī<sup>2</sup> Shah-Jahānī was reclining beside Dārāb K. on the same sofa. He abused him and said: "Does a brahman like you sit alongside of the grandson of Bairām K. Would that this one (Dārāb) had died instead of M. Īrij." Both of them made excuses. When at last the Khān-Khānān's disposition had become alienated from him, he was brought to account about the faujdārī of Sarkār Bijāgarh. He behaved very rudely to the Nawāb and slapped the face of Ḥafīz Nasr Ullā who was the Diwān, and then left the city. They say that the Khān-Khānān went himself at midnight and brought him back. He was proverbial for courage and rash daring. When Mahābat K. was planning the imprisonment of the Khān-Khānān, he in the first place wanted to seduce Fahīm by the bribe of high rank and other promises. He did not agree. Mahābat K. said: "How long will you plume yourself upon your soldiering?" Though Fahīm said to the Khān-Khānān that fraud and deceit

<sup>1</sup> Sarkār Mahkar in Berar. J. II. 230, 237. The Tūzūk 315 says he died in Bālāpūr. I do not know why B. says (339) he was dissolute. Can he have read *khābiyat* for *haiṣiyat*? The Tūzūk gives him a high character

and describes him as dying under heroic circumstances. He died at Bālāpūr.

<sup>2</sup> Rajah Rai Rayān Sūnar Dās. He was a brahman. See Maasir II. 183.

were being practised, and that he should be on his guard against falling into disgrace and contempt; he should arm himself and be ready to go to the Presence; the Khān-Khanān did not agree. When he was put under arrest, Mahābat K. previously sent the king's men against Fahīm. Fahīm said to his son Firūz K.: 'Watch the men for some time until I have performed my ablutions and said two prayers in peace.' After finishing them he with his son and forty of his servants gave up their lives for honour.'

#### 'ABDU-R-RAHĪM KHĀN.

Fifth son of Islām K. of Mashhad. After his father's death he received a suitable rank, and in the 30th year of Shah Jahan was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣṣān*). In the second year of Aurangzeb he had the title of Khān, and in succession to Himma K. Badakhshī was made *darogha* of the *ghusal-khana*. In the 23rd year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Bahramand K., and in the 24th year he was removed from this post and made third bakhshi and received a jade inkstand. In the 25th year corresponding to 1092, 1681, he died.

#### 'ABDU-R-RAHĪM KHĀN (KHWĀJA).

His ancestors belonged to Andījañ in the country of Ferghāna (Kokhand). His father Abū-l-Hāsim was one of the leading Shaikhs of that country, and in the reign of Shah Jahan came to India. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm was in his youth a favourite of Dārā Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he obtained service with him, and as he was observant of the Law he acquired consideration and received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year he was appointed to the chamberlainship (*hajābat*)<sup>2</sup> of Bijapur, and on returning from there he received the present of an elephant. In the 32nd year he was appointed, in succession to

<sup>1</sup> B. 338-339. See Darbārī A 646. The Darbārī A. says his name is still proverbial in India for courage.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 228 and 255. Apparently *hajābat* here and in other places means being sent as an envoy.

Bijapur had not been conquered then. In the 20th year we find 'Abdu-r-Rahīm taking part in the conversion of two Hindu boys. Maasir A., p. 273. For other notices of 'Abdu-r-Rahīm see also pp. 312, 335 and 349.



Muhsin K., to the charge of the *Biyūtāt* (household matters). When in the 33rd year the fort of Rāhīrī was taken he was appointed to take possession of the effects there. Afterwards, on the death of M'utamid K., he was appointed also superintendent of the branding and the verification<sup>1</sup> (*dāgh u taṣḥīḥa*). In the 36th year corresponding to 1103, 1692, he died. He had several sons. The second son was Mīr N'aamān K., and his son Mīr 'Abdu-l-Mannān came to the Deccan and was for a time a servant in the household of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. At last he confined himself to his house. He composed poetry, and his pen-name was 'Itrat (a ball of scent). This verse is his :

Verse.

How shall I tame thy wild-deer eyes,  
Haply I may make the knots of my heart a net for thee.

The eldest of his ('Abdu-l-Mannān's) sons was M'utamidu-d-daula Bahādur Sirdār Jang. He was Salābat Jang's diwān, and died in 1188, 1774-75. His second son Mīr N'aamān K. was killed in a Mahratta battle in the time of Salābat Jang. The third Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir died of disease in his youth. The fourth, Aḥsanu-d-daula Bahādur Sharza Jang, and fifth, Mafawwāz Ullah K. Bahādur Jang Īkatāz, are still alive, and are friends of the writer.

#### 'ABDU-R-RAHMĀN, AFZAL KHĀN.

He is the son of Āllāmī Fahāmī (the very learned) Shaikh Abū-l-faḡl. He was brought up in his father's service. In the 35th year of Akbar's reign the brother's daughter of S'aadat Yār Koka was given to him in marriage. When a son was born, the king gave him the name of Bishotan, which was the name of Isfandyār's brother who was one of the heroes of Persia. At the time when S. Abū-l-faḡl was commander-in-chief in the Deccan, 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was the "arrow at the mouth of the Shaikh's quiver." Whenever there was any work to be done, and wherever there was an urgency, the Shaikh sent off 'Abdu-r-Rahmān there, and he by courage and smartness accomplished the task. In the 46th year

<sup>1</sup> B. 250, n. 3, who says it is "life-certificate": see Irvine 46 and 53.

when Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian captured 'Āli Mardān Bahādur the governor of Telingāna in battle, and took possession of that country, the Shaiikh sent<sup>1</sup> him from the bank of the Godavery with a brave army in that direction. He also sent Sher Khwāja, who was in Pāthri,<sup>2</sup> to help him. S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān in conjunction with Sher Khwāja crossed the Godavery near Nander, (Nandair of I. G.) and engaged Malik 'Ambar near the river Manjara and obtained a victory.<sup>3</sup> Certainly S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was by skill and bravery the fortune (rozgār) of the Shaiikh (A. F.). In spite of the feelings which he on account of his father entertained towards Jahangir he served the latter well and was favoured by him. He received the title of Afzal K. and the rank of 2000. In the third year he was promoted by an increase of rank and by being appointed to the charge of Bihar and Patna in the room of Islām K. (A. F.'s brother-in-law). As Gorakhpur, which is 60 *kos* from Patna, was given to him in fief, he left S. Husāin Banarasi and Ghiyās Beg, who were the *bakhshī* and the *diwān* of the province, in charge, along with a number of other officers, and went off to Gorakhpur. By chance an unknown man by name Quṭb ' from Ūch came to the country of Ujaina (Bhojpūr), which is near Patna, in the disguise of a dervish and gave himself out as Sultan Khusrau and enticed the seditious there by various devices, and got them to join him. In a short time he collected a force and proceeded on the wings of swiftness to Patna and entered the fort. S. Banarasi was too bewildered to make the fort secure. Together with Ghiyās Beg he got out by a window on to a boat and fled. The rebels took possession of the Afzal K.'s goods and of the royal treasure, and after proclaiming the administration of justice set about collecting men. As soon as Afzal K. heard the news he

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 789.

<sup>2</sup> Patri of the maps, W. Nandair.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 791, but the fruits of the victory were soon lost. See l. c. 796.

<sup>4</sup> See Elliot VI, 321, and Tūzuk J. 83, 84, and B. XXXV, XXXVI. The affair occurred on 4 Šafr 1018, 18 April 1610. Bishotan the son of

'Abdu-r-Rahmān died in 15th year of Shah Jahan's reign. B. XXXVI. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān died in 1613. Though Gorakhpūr is the name given here and in the Tūzuk as the fief of 'Abdu-r-Rahman, I believe that it should be Kharakpūr, for it was that place which was given him as fief.

hastened to punish the rioters. The impostor strengthened the fort and prepared for battle on the banks of the Pun-Pun. After a short struggle his troops were dispersed, and he came to the fort a second time. Afzal K. followed close at his heels and entered the fort. The impostor after causing the deaths of some people was captured and executed. When Jahangir heard of the affair, he issued <sup>1</sup> an order that the *bakhshi* and *diwan* and the other officers who had shown slackness in protecting the city should have their heads and beards shaved, be clothed in women's head-dress (*m'ijar*) and be placed on donkeys with their faces to the tail and sent off to court. Also that they should be pilloried in the cities and towns on the road, so that they might be a warning to other cowards and short-sighted men. At the same time Afzal K. was attacked by a sudden illness and was summoned to court. After he had paid his respects he suffered from an abscess for a long time and died in the 8th year.

#### 'ABDU-R-RAHMÂN SULTAN.

Sixth son of Nazr Muḥammad K. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan Prince Murād Bakhsh went with a large army and—after Nazr Muḥammad K. with his two sons Subhān Qulī and Qutlaq Muḥammad had fled—took possession of Balkh; he summoned Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the sons of Nazr Muḥammad, and his grandson Rustum, who was the son of *Khusrau*, and made <sup>2</sup> them over to Lohrāsp K. In the 20th year S'aid Ullah K., who, after the resignation of the Prince, had been appointed to settle the country, sent in accordance with orders all three to court along with Rajah Bethal Dās and others. On their arrival the Ṣadru-Ṣadūr Saiyid Jalāl received them at the *Khayābān* (avenue) and brought them into the Presence. The king presented Bahrām with a robe of honour, a *cārqab* sewn with gold, a *jigha* (turban-ornament), and a decorated dagger, a *phul* kaṭāra, and conferred on him the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse, and two horses with golden saddles, ten <sup>3</sup> *taqūz* (nine pieces) of cloth and a lac of *shāhīs*, which

<sup>1</sup> *Khāfi* K. I. 261. This punishment was witnessed by Hawkins. Hawkins' Voyages, Hakluyt Society, 1878, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* II. 541.

<sup>3</sup> B. 364, note 2. qu. 90 pieces

amount to Rs. 25,000. To 'Abdu-r-Rahmān he gave a robe, a *jīgha*, a decorated dagger, a horse with golden trappings, and five *taqūz* (nine pieces) (45?) of cloth. To Rustum he gave a robe of honour and a horse. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, who was the youngest of the brothers, had a daily allowance of Rs. 100 and was made over to Dārā Shikoh.

The Begam Sāhib (Shah Jahan's eldest daughter) sent for the *Khān's* (Nāzr Muḥammad) wives and soothed and comforted them in various ways. Afterwards, at various times he received presents of horses, elephants, and cash. When Balkh was given back to Nāzr Muḥammad, he, after various disturbances with the Uzbegs and Almänān, and after putting them down and acquiring a settled power, moved the king for the return of his sons and their connections (wives, etc.). Inasmuch as *Khusrau* had been on bad terms with his father before the taking of Balkh and Badakhshan and had come to the Presence, he was neither sent for by his father nor was he willing to go to him. Bahrām, too, would not turn away from the pleasures of India. In the 23rd year 'Abdu-r-Rahman received a robe of honour, a decorated *jīgha*, a sword and dagger, and a shield with ornamented armour, and two horses with gilded saddles and Rs. 30,000 in cash, and went off with his father's ambassador Yādgār Chūlāq. When he came to his father, the latter gave him the territory of Ghori. Subhān Qulī the fourth son was displeased and came to Balkh with 1000 cavalry and put the *Khān* into difficulty, so that he was obliged to recall 'Abdu-r-Rahmān. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was going back when the Qalmāqs—who were on good terms with Subhān Qulī—blocked the road, made him prisoner and took him before Subhān Qulī. He imprisoned him, but 'Abdu-r-Rahmān won over his guards and in the 24th year arrived at court and was given a robe of honour, a decorated *jīgha*, a *phūl kutāra*, and the rank 4000 with 500 horse, a horse with gilded saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash. In the 25th year, when news came of the death of Nāzr Muḥammad K., *Khusrau*, Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Rahman his sons received mourning dresses. In the 26th year, when he showed improper conduct, the king grew displeased with him and sent him to Bengal. After Aurangzeb sate on the throne, he was in the army-centre in the battle with *Shujā'*

(and on his side). When Shuja' fled, he joined the king. Up to 13th year he and Bahrām were alive and occasionally received presents in cash and horses and elephants from the king.

### 'ABDU-R-RAZZĀQ K. LĀRI.

At first he was servant of Abū-l-Ḥasan K. ruler of Haidarabad, and had the title of Muṣṭafa K. When Aurangzeb in the 29th year of his reign invested the fort of Golconda where Abū-l-Ḥasan had taken refuge, most of the servants of the latter owing to the necessity of the time turned to Aurangzeb and received high posts and titles. But 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was faithful to his salt, and continually sallied from the fort and attacked the batteries, and never spared himself. A royal *fīrmān* holding out hopes to him, which was sent in order to conciliate him, was rejected by him on account of his loyalty, and he tore <sup>1</sup> it in pieces with expressions of disgust. One night when the king's officers, in concert with some of the garrison, entered the fort, and there was a great uproar, he without stopping to gird up his loins, got upon a horse with a *chārj-āma* (a saddle-cloth, a saddle without a tree) and a sword and shield, and with some 10 or 12 followers rushed <sup>2</sup> to the gate. When the royal troops had negotiated the gate of the city-wall and were advancing to the citadel like a flood of evil, 'Abdū-r-Razzāq met them and smote with his sword every one who approached. He was wounded by the imperial troops and had twelve wounds on his face, till at last the skin of his forehead covered his eyes, and his horse carried him off to under a (cocoanut) <sup>3</sup> tree near the citadel. Someone recognised him and had compassion on him and took him to his house. When the occurrence became known to the officers, and by them was told to the king, he approved of his loyalty and sent surgeons <sup>4</sup> to him.

They say that when a hope of his recovery was reported to Aurangzeb, he sent him a message that he should send his sons for service and that he himself too would obtain service. He after

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 363. and Stanley. Lane-

Poole's Aurangzeb, pp. 185-87.

<sup>4</sup> "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāfi K. 366.

returning thanks said<sup>1</sup> that though his tough existence had not come to an end, yet he was wounded hand and foot and could not serve. Even if he could serve, one whose flesh and skin (gosht u post) had been nourished by Abū-l-Ḥasan's salt could not serve King 'Ālamgīr. The king's countenance showed displeasure at this reply, but from a feeling of justice he ordered that when he had quite recovered, his condition should be reported. When he had recovered, an order was sent to the governor of Haidarabad that he should comfort him and send him to the Presence. As he again refused, an order was given to send him as a prisoner. Khān Fīrūz<sup>2</sup> Jang interceded for him and summoned him before himself. He kept him for some time with him and brought him round. In the 38th year he received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was enrolled among the servants, and received the title of Khān, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made faujdār of Rahīrī. In the 40th year he acquired renown as faujdār<sup>3</sup> of the Konkan 'Ādil Shāhī', which is on the sea-shore and near the port of Goa. Afterwards, he by urgency obtained leave to go to Mecca, and set off. After coming to his home in Lār (Persia) he went into retirement there. The king, on hearing of him, sent his ('Abdu-r-Razzāq's) son 'Abdu-l-Karīm with a firmān, summoning him and a thousand young<sup>4</sup> men of Lār. Meanwhile news came that he, at the summons of the king of Persia, had left his home and died on the road. Two sons, one Razzāq Qulī K., and the second, Muhammad Khālīl, were in Aurangabad and lived and died on their jagīrs. The writer was acquainted with the second one.

(SAIFU-D-DAULA) 'ABDU-Ṣ-ṢAMAD KHĀN BAHĀDUR  
DILER JANG.

A descendant of Khwāja Āhrār. His uncle Khwāja Zechariah had two daughters, one of whom he gave to him in marriage, and

<sup>1</sup> "Two Indian and European surgeons," Khāfi 367.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 373.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir. A. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Do. 459. A cheque on Surat

for Rs. 50,000 was also sent. There is a good account of 'Abdu-r-Razzāq in Major Haig's Historic Landmarks of the Deccan.

the other was the wife of I'tmādu-d-daula Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahādur. Saifu-d-daula came to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and at first had the rank of 400. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh his rank rose to 700. In the battle of the four princes, the sons of Bahādur Shāh, he joined with Zū-l-fiqār K. and distinguished himself in the slaying of Sultan Jahān Shah. In reward he got high rank. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar his rank was 5000 with 5000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and was made governor of Lahore. He was appointed to finish the campaign against the Sikh Gūrū who from the time of Bahādur Shāh had practised various kinds of oppression in that country over both Muḥammadans and Hindus. The Khān-Khānān Mun'im K. had been sent with 30,000 cavalry to chastise him and had besieged him in Lohgarha, and the emperor had himself gone in that direction, but the Gūrū had escaped from the fort. Afterwards Muḥammad Amīn was sent in pursuit of him with a large force, but was not successful.

The history of the Sikh tribe is this. Formerly Nānak Rām, a faquir, became notorious in that country. He attracted many followers, especially from among the Khettris of the Panjab. His followers were called Sikhs. A large number collected, and they proceeded to oppress the country-side. They laid hands on and plundered everyone whom they found from the city (Delhi) up to near Lahore. Some faujdārs left their parganas and came to court, and some who remained lost their property and their lives. At the time of writing also the province of Lahore and part of the province of Multan are in possession of this tribe. The Shāh Durrānī armies which are in possession up to Kabul have once or twice suffered defeat at their hands and have withdrawn from attacking their country.

Diler Jang showed courage and skill in this affair and established himself with a large force near Garhī (Gurdāspūr), which is the residence of the Gūrū. The Sikhs came out several times and had hand-to-hand fights. The Khān remained firm and stopped the coming in of supplies. After a long time, when they were in straits from want of grain, and many had been reduced to misery, they sent a message asking that their lives should be spared and

brought<sup>1</sup> their leader, with his young son, the diwān, and those who had escaped the sword. He put a number to death and brought the Gūrū (Banda) and some others to court. For this good service he was rewarded by the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and the title of Saifu-d-daula (Sword of the State). On the day of arrival at the capital he by orders put some of the prisoners into collars (takhta-u-kalah) and caps and brought them into the city. This affair occurred in 1127, 1715. In the 5th<sup>2</sup> year of Farrukh Siyar and while Saifu-d-daulah was governor (of the Panjab), 'Isā K. Mabīn was put to death. He had gradually come from the position of a zamindar to that of a royal servant and had become a leader, and behaved with haughtiness (exhaled the breath of "I and no other)." An account of him has been given in his biography.<sup>3</sup> When Husain K. Khweshgī, the talūqdār of Qasūr, which is 18 kos from Lahore and on the way to Multan, became rebellious and indulged in presumptuous ideas, in the time of Rafiū-d-daula, Saifu-d-daula took the field against him, and after much fighting put an end to him. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh he came to court and was graciously received. In the 7th year when the government of the province of Lahore was given to his son Zechariah, who was the brother-in-law of I'tmādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K., he was made governor of Multan. He died in 1150,<sup>4</sup> 1737-38. He was a valiant commander, and cultivated much the men of his own country.

### 'ABDU-L-WAHĀB AQZĪU-L-QAZĀT QĀZĪ,<sup>5</sup>

grandson of S. Muḥammad Tāhir<sup>6</sup> Bohra who lived in Pattan-Gujarāt. Muḥammad Tāhir was adorned with excellences and

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 761, etc., and the Siyar Mutākharin, translation I. 861, etc. Elliot, VII. 456.

<sup>2</sup> The executions took place in Muḥarram 1127, January 1715. It was the 4th year of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir, II, 825.

<sup>4</sup> Beale says he died in 1739, 1151-52, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh.

<sup>5</sup> "Most remote, i.e., highest or best of Qāzīs."

<sup>6</sup> See biography in Mirāt Ahmadi lith. ed., Part II, 77, and in Khazīna Asfiyā, I. 436. S. 'Ali Muttāqī is mentioned in Rieu, I. 356p. There is a notice of him in the Saifnau-l-Auliya. There is a notice of 'Ali Muttāqī Chishtī in the K. Asfiyā, I. 429.



perfections and went to the holy places (Mecca), and (there) met in with Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī—May God have mercy on him! He became his disciple, and succeeded in becoming the unique of the age for piety, asceticism and the science of Tradition. When he returned to his native country, he did away with the heresies in belief and practice which had become prevalent in his tribe, and laboured to put down the Mahdavi sect of the followers of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. For the use of students of theology he drew up a Rule (Midād) in accordance with the last precepts of his Shaikh, and gave expository lectures thereon. He used to say why should one man be hindered <sup>1</sup> by another (?). The *Mujma'-al-bahār ghariba-l-laghātu-l-Ḥadīth*, "The gathering of the seas of the rare words of Tradition", is a well-known work of his. In 986, 1578, a number of men attacked him on the road between Ujjain and Sārangpūr and killed <sup>2</sup> him. They say he had made a vow that until the blackness of Shiism <sup>3</sup> and other heresies had been cleansed from the hearts of his tribe he would not bind his turban on his head. When in 980, 1572-73, Akbar entered Gujārāt, he had an interview with the Shaikh and with his own hand fastened on his turban, and said, "The satisfaction of your vow is in my charge." He appointed M. 'Azīz Koka to the government of that country, and the Shaikh, with the help of the Mīrzā, abolished many of the customs of his tribe. After some time, when the government fell to one of the Persian Amīrs, that set with his (the new governor's) help became perverted again, and the Shaikh took the turban off his head, and set off towards Agra. In spite of the warning of Saiyid Wajī-u-d-dīn<sup>4</sup> Gujrāti, he would not be dissuaded, and then there happened what happened (i.e., his murder). His body was taken from Malwa to

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is, "Why should one not be benefited by the knowledge of another?"

<sup>2</sup> The *Mīrāt Aḥmadī* II. 77 gives date as Shawāl 986, 6 December, 1578. The same work also states that the name of the son of 'Abdu-l-Wahāb who is known as Shaikh-ul-Islām was

Muḥammad Ikrām.

<sup>3</sup> *tashīya*'. Perhaps it means here sectarianism or heresy, and not the special doctrines of the Shias.

<sup>4</sup> It appears from the *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, lith. ed., pp. 393, 395, that there were two saints of this name.

Nahrwāla, which is another name for Pattan, and was buried in the tomb of his ancestors.

Qāzī 'Abdu-l-Wahāb had great skill in the science of theology, and in the time of Shah Jahan was for a long period Qāzī of Pattan, which was his birth-place. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed to the government of the Deccan the Qāzī hastened to serve him and was received with honour. From the time that Aurangzeb sate upon the throne of India 'Abdu-l-Wahāb acted as Qāzī of the army and was highly considered. None of his predecessors held such a dignified position as he, for the king was disposed to uphold religious principles, considering that the maintenance of so wide a country depended upon the penal laws (for heresy). The qāzīs of the cities and towns used in concert with the governors and magistrates to sell the right of retaliation<sup>1</sup> for gold. The Qāzī of the Presence—who shewed himself as an ascetic and a stickler for religion—reformed matters in every particular and spread out the banner of "I and no other." The high officers were afraid of him and burnt with envy. Yet with all this (piety, etc.) they say that the Qāzī had a long arm for hauling and snatching, and collected large sums of money. Mahābat<sup>2</sup> Luhrāsp was famous for his audacity, and once when he was sent off to the Deccan campaign and had halted for some days in the vicinity of the capital to get advances<sup>3</sup> for the troops he found out that three or four lacs of rupis worth of Kashmir and Agra goods, which had been purchased by the Qāzī, were being sent along with the goods of merchants to Ahmadabad. He was on bad terms with the Qāzī and he laid hold of all the things and gave them to the soldiers as maintenance. When this was reported to the king, Mahābat replied that out of necessity he had borrowed the goods from the merchants and that he would return them with the profit thereon. The Qāzī saw that he could do nothing but wink at the transaction. In the 17th<sup>4</sup> year on account of continued illness

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣār ba zar mā farokhtand* "sold blood for bullion." But there are various readings.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfī K., II, 216. He was the second son of the Mahābat of Jahangir's reign.

<sup>3</sup> *masā'ada*. See Blochmann, 265.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfī K. adds that Mahābat proposed that the Qāzī should estimate the profit!

<sup>5</sup> Mansir 'Ālamgirī, 143.

he was obliged to go from Ḥasan Abdāl to the capital. Saiyid 'Alī Akbar Qāzī of Lahore was appointed as his deputy. In the beginning of the 19th year, 18 Ramzān 1086, 26 November 1675 o.s., he died in Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

He had four sons. The eldest was Shaiḵhu-l-Islām who was made Qāzī of the capital. He came to the king in obedience to a summons on the death of his father and was made Qāzī of the camp. There was no hypocrisy in his piety. He did not take a single *dām* of the property left by his father and which amounted to a lac of *ashrafīs*<sup>2</sup> and five lacs of rupees, besides jewels, etc., but distributed his share to the other heirs. He led a good life. He perceived the turbulence of the age in which men were prone to lying and violence, and did not decide disputes upon evidence and witnesses but exerted<sup>3</sup> himself in order to bring plaintiff and defendant to an agreement.

They<sup>4</sup> say that the king asked his advice about the lawfulness of the expeditions against Bijāpūr and Haidarabad, and that he gave a reply contrary to the king's wishes. In the 27th year he had a divine call<sup>5</sup> and withdrew from service and shook out worldly affairs from his skirt. In spite of royal favours, and instigations, he would not turn back or withdraw from his abandonment of service. At his recommendation, the office of Qāzī of the camp (Urdū) was bestowed on Saiyid Abū S'aid, the son-in-law of Qāzī 'Abdu-l-Wahāb, who was in the capital. In the 28th year he took leave to go to Mecca, and on his return to Surat, Aurangzeb sent for him and lavished favours on him. For instance<sup>6</sup> he several times with his own blessed hands smeared 'aṭṭ on his garments, and pressed him to accept the Qāzīship and the office of Ṣadr. He refused, and begged to be allowed to go for a while to his home, in order that he might visit the tombs of his ancestors and see his family, and then come back. After that he used to pray to God that he might not again be defiled by the king's business. In the 42nd year an affectionate order was sent along with his brother

<sup>1</sup> *id.* 148.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K., II. 247, who says there were two lacs of *ashrafīs*.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K., II. 379.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K., II. 343.

<sup>5</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgiri, 239.

<sup>6</sup> Khāfi K., II. 414.

Nūru-l-ḥaqq to the effect that on coming to the Presence he would get the office of Ṣadr if he would take it. As he was helpless he unwillingly set out from Ahmadabad, for he was always eager to be with the real Lord and anxious not to mix in state-matters. At the same time he was taken dangerously ill and he died in the year 1109, 1698 (*lit.*, he hastened to the quarter to which he had been attracted). The king grieved for his death and said, "Happy he in that after pilgrimage he has not defiled himself with worldly affairs." In this Timuride dynasty of 200 years there has been no Qāzī like him for honesty and piety. While he was Qāzī he was always seeking to retire. The king did not let him go till on the occasion of the affair of Bījāpūr, which was a war against Muhammadans, he withdrew himself.<sup>1</sup>

Those who sell religion for worldliness (*dīn ba danyā*, "faith for fortune"), regard this noble office as a very easy one and spend money in bribes (to obtain it) in order that by doing away with the rights of men they may extort a hundred times more. They regard *nikāḥāna* (fees on marriage) and *mahrāna* (fees on dowers) as more their due than their mother's milk. What shall be said of the hereditary Qāzīs of the townships, for to be in touch with science is the lot of enemies (*i.e.*, is a misfortune), and the registers of the *deśpāndya* (village-accountants) and the words of zamindars are their law and holy books. Though in honour of Qāzīs there is the "tradition" with reference to knowledge and practice that out of every three Qāzīs one is paradisaical, *Khawājah Muḥammad Pārsā*—may his tomb be holy—has said in the *Faṣl-ul-Khiṭāb*, "Yes, that paradisaical Qāzī is there, but he is a Qāzī of paradise" (*i.e.*, not an earthly Qāzī). Who can estimate the irregularities and darkness of this tribe who are worse than ignorant?

That deceased (the Shaikhul-Islām) had four children. Among them was *Shaikh* Sirāju-d-dīn who was the diwān of Berar. He renounced<sup>2</sup> the imperial pay (?) and at last assumed the cloak of

<sup>1</sup> See Khāfi K.'s eulogium II, 438-39.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu Cat. II. 862, 864. The book is an account of the twelve Imāms. He died in Medina 822 A.H., 1419 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> *Zīrhāi pādshāhi ba sarf āwarda.*  
"He turned away from the royal moneys." (?)

a dervish, and became the disciple of *Khawāja* 'Abdu-r-Rahmān who for a long time had said goodbye to rank and income and had knocked at the door of reliance upon God and become a master of ecstasy and vision. After the death of Aurangzeb he came with his *Shaikh* to the capital and died at his appointed time. Another son was Muḥammad Ikrām who was long the Sadr of Ahmadabad. He got the title of *Shaikh*-al-Islām and at last became blind and retired to Surat. He died in the time of the present sovereign (*Khusrau-i-Zamān*).<sup>1</sup> Among the sons of Qāzī 'Abdu-l-Wahāb were Nūru-l-Ḥaqq and 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq who were extremely like one another in appearance. One day the king was in doubt as to which was which. The elder was Provost-marshal (*iḥtisāb*) of the army, and the other was *darogha* of the Presence. The son of 'Abdu-l-Ḥaqq Muḥammad, Muḥammad M'uālī Khān was addicted to drink and enamoured of music. He himself used to perform without any shame. He was very fond of hunting. He was for a long time during the present reign *faujdār* of Malkāpūr in Berar, which is 18 *kos* from Burhānpūr. Eighteen years ago, more or less, he died.

It should be known that *bohara* means a merchant in the Indian language. As many of this tribe are merchants they have become known by this name. They say that about 450 years before this, at the exhortations of a learned man named Mullā<sup>2</sup> 'Alī, and whose tomb is in Cambay, a number of the people of Gujarāt, who at that time were for the most part idolaters, embraced the Muḥammadan religion. As that person belonged to the Imāmiya seṭt they all joined it. After that when Sultan Ahmad, who was a confidential officer of Firūz Shāh; the king of Delhi, came to the country and spread the Muḥammadan religion, some of the people aforesaid became Sunnis at the teaching of the 'Ulamā of the time who were all of that religion. As between the two parties there have prevailed from of old strife and contention the dust of dispute has arisen between them.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Irvine observes that *Khusrau-i-Zamān* means reigning sovereign, and therefore means here Muḥammad Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> Mirāt Ahmadi, II. 86, where there is a long account of the Borahs.

<sup>1</sup> Those who have remained Shīas always adhere to a pious and learned man of their own tribe and bring before him the questions of the Law. They send one-fifth of their property to the Saiyids of Medina, and they give alms to the learned headman above spoken of, and he distributes them among the poor of the tribe.

(SAIYID) 'ABDULLAH K. BĀRHA.

also called Saiyid Miyān. At first he was servant of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur. He was appointed along with Rūḥ Ullah K. in the affair of the Konkan, and in the 26th year of Aurangzeb he received the rank of 1000 with 600 horse and entered the royal service. In the 28th year he went with the abovementioned prince to chastise Abū-l-Ḥasan, ruler of Haidarabad, and in that campaign did good service, and was wounded. <sup>2</sup> One day when he had charge of the rear-guard, and there was a hot engagement, he drove off the enemy and came to the assistance of his own right and left wings. When on that day the enemy had wounded Bindrāban <sup>3</sup> the prince's diwān and were driving off his elephant, Abdullah attacked them and after a struggle released the diwān and brought him with him. As during the siege of Bijapur the prince became an object of suspicion to his father, and some of his companions were ordered to be dismissed, an order was also issued about 'Abdullah, and he was <sup>4</sup> imprisoned. Afterwards, by the intercession of Rūḥ Ullah K., he was made over to him to be kept under surveillance; gradually by Rūḥ Ullah's influence his faults were forgiven. When during the siege of Golconda, Rūḥ Ullah K. came to court, upon summons, from Bijapur, 'Abdullah was left there as his deputy. After some time he was made substantive governor there. In the 32nd year, when news came that <sup>5</sup> Rāmā, the brother of Sambhā Bhonsla, had fled from the fort of Rāhīrīgarha which Zūlfiqār K.

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with the *Mirāt Ahmādī* l.c., p. 87, which seems to ascribe these customs both to the Sunnis and the Shīas of the Borah tribe. Manucci refers to 'Abdu-l-Wahāb, I. 381, II. 5, 188, and there is a portrait of him at III. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K., II. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Author of the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh*. Elliot, VII. 168, and Rieu, I. 228b.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K., II. 321.

<sup>5</sup> Rajah Rām M. 'Ālāmgīrī, 327.

was besieging, and of his having taken refuge in the territory of the ruler above mentioned (Abū-l-Ḥasan), an order was sent to ‘Abdullah to search for him and to arrest him. He marched three days and three nights and came upon him. Many influential leaders were seized, but Rāmā himself escaped. On this account, in spite of such great services, the king was not pleased. Besides this, as an order had been given for confining the prisoners in the citadel of Bijapur, and several of these escaped from such a place, ‘Abdullah was in that year removed from Bijapur. In the 33rd year he was made *ḥawḍār* of Nandair in succession to Sirdār K. He died at his appointed time. He had many sons,<sup>1</sup> two of whom were highly distinguished, viz., Quṭbu-l-mulk ‘Abdullah K. and the Amīru-l-Umarā Ḥusain ‘Alī K. Of the others there was Saiyid Najmu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. Accounts of all three have been given.

(SAIYID) ‘ABDULLAH KHĀN,<sup>2</sup>

son of Mir Khwānanda. From his early years he was cherished and employed by Akbar, and attained to the rank of 700. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with other officers, to pursue ‘Abdullah K. Uzbeg, who had fled from Malwa to Gujarāt. In the 17th year when there was an intention to conquer Gujarāt, and the Khān Kalān was sent on in advance, he was chosen as one to accompany him. In the 18th year he was sent off with Mozaffār K. who had been appointed to Malwa. In the 19th year, when the king went in person to the eastern districts, he was one of his attendants. Afterwards when the Khān-Khānān was appointed to conquer Bengal, he accompanied him. On the day of the battle with Dāūd the son of Sulaimān Kararānī, he was in the van-guard with the Khān ‘Ālam. From there he for some reason came to court. In the 21st year he was sent off by relays of horses to the eastern districts to convey to the officers the news of the king’s approach. In the middle of that year he brought the news of victory and travelled a great distance in eleven days and arrived at court and was received with favour. So much gold and silver was poured into his skirt that he could not carry it off.

<sup>1</sup> The famous Saiyids of Bārha.

<sup>2</sup> B. 465.

They say that when the king had sent him off, he said to him, "You'll bring news of a victory." In the 25th year, when Khān A'zim Koka was appointed to Bengal to put down the rebellion, the Khān in question was sent off along with him. He was in the left wing at the battle between Shahbāz K. and M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdī. As things did not go right in the province,<sup>1</sup> he was, in the end of the 31st year (995), sent off to Qāsim K. who had been appointed to the government of Kashmir. One day, when it was his turn to be on duty, he cleared a small hill of the enemy, but as he was returning without proper arrangements, when he came to the defile, the rebels assailed him on every side with arrows and bullets, and nearly 300<sup>2</sup> men lost their lives. The Khān died in the same province of fever in the 34th year, 997, 1589.

#### 'ABDULLAH KHĀN S'AĪD KHĀN.

Fourth son of S'aīd K. Bahādur Zāfar Jang.<sup>3</sup> As by good fortune and good service his father was continually being advanced, he attained a suitable rank. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made the protector of Lower Bangash. In the 17th year his rank was 1000 with 400 horse and he was given leave to join his father in Qandahar. When his father died in the 25th year, 'Abdullah's rank was 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the end of the same year he had the title of Khān and the gift of a horse with a silver saddle. He was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed for the second time to the Qandahar campaign. Afterwards he was for a long time in charge of the city of Kabul. In the 31st year his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse and he had the gift of a flag and drum, and afterwards he had an increase of 500 and the gift of a drum. He was attached to Sultan Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to act against Sultan Shujā'. Afterwards, when the heavens assumed a new aspect, and Dārā

<sup>1</sup> viz. the eastern districts. See A.N. III, 516.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III, 522. According to B. 465 he was killed on this occasion. The circumstance is not mentioned by A. F. The statement in the Maasir

is derived from Badayūnī, Lowe 380, who says that Saiyid 'Abdullah, whom he calls Chaugānbeḡī, died of a fever a year after the engagement with Y'aqūb.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 466.



Shikoh after the battle of Samogarh fled to Lahore, he separated from the above-mentioned prince and entered the service of Aurangzeb. He received a robe of honour, and the title of S'a'id K. and his rank became 3000 with 2500 horse. No further account of him appears.

‘ABDULLAH K. UZBEG.<sup>1</sup>

One of the officers of Humāyūn, and he was among those who were magnanimous and jeopardized their lives. In Akbar's time, after the victory over Hemū he received the title of Shujā'at K., and was made fief-holder of Kālpī. As in the conquest of Malwa he had assisted Adham K. and had become acquainted with the country, in the 7th year, when Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī, the governor there, was drowned in the Narbada, and Bāz Bahādur laid hold of Malwa as his hereditary property, Akbar raised ‘Abdullah Uzbek to the rank of 5000 and appointed him to chastise Bāz Bahādur and to settle the country. He was given full powers there. When ‘Abdullah went properly equipped to conquer Malwa, Bāz Bahādur was unable to resist him and fled, and the country came again into the imperial possession. ‘Abdullah K. came to Māndū—which was the capital of the rulers of Malwa—and distributed the cities and townships among the officers.

As power soon corrupts those deficient in loyalty ‘Abdullah K. quickly became haughty and rebellious. In the 9th year, 971, 1563-64, in the height of the rains, Akbar came to Narwar and Sipri on the occasion of elephant-hunting—which were then plentiful there—and thereafter went on rapidly to Māndū. The thunder and lightning and the rain, the floods and the mud, and the holes, and hollows which exist in Malwa made the march difficult. The horses had to swim like sea-horses, and the camels had to traverse tempestuous seas like ships. The animals' feet sank in the mud up to their chests, and many of the porters of the camp stuck in the ground. But Akbar hurried on from Gagrūn, as the object of this terrific journey was to come suddenly on ‘Abdullah K., who did not think it possible that troops could come to Malwa

at such a time. Ashraf K. and I'timād K. were sent ahead to give him—who was apprehensive on account of his evil actions—the good news of the royal grace and to bring him into doing homage, so that he should not become a vagabond in the fields of misfortune. Akbar in one stage travelled 25 Malwa *kos* which are equal to 40 of the ordinary Delhi *kos*, in all the mud and water, and reached Sārangpur. When he came to Dhār he learnt from his envoys that though they had urged him (to come in) they had not succeeded on account of his fears. He had made some wild suggestions, and had then fled with his family and belongings. Akbar turned his rein from Māndū and sent on a number of his officers as van-guard that they might block 'Abdullah's path. He himself pressed on still more. When the van-guard came up with 'Abdullah, he thought that, as they had come a long march, there would be few men present and so turned round and fought. When the engagement grew hot and the arrows of the enemy passed over the king's head, Akbar ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, and said to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān that there was now no time for delay, and that the enemy must be attacked. The Khān-Khānān said, "It is good, but it is not the time for combating singly; when I have collected the men, I shall attack." Akbar got angry and was on the point of attacking. I'timād K. in the excess of his zeal seized his rein, and the king got angry with him and pressed on. As the Divine protection watched over him, the enemy fled; though 'Abdullah K. had more than one thousand cavalry and Akbar had not more than 300, yet he suffered his chief men to be killed, and quitted the field, and went by the way of Āli<sup>1</sup> Mohan to Gujarat. Akbar sent a body of troops under Qasim K. of Nishāpūr after him. The land-owners of the neighbourhood joined the force out of loyalty and fell upon 'Abdullah's camp near the defile<sup>2</sup> of Campānir. He got bewildered and turned<sup>3</sup> off his women into the desert, and taking his son with

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has Abī. Āli Mohan or 'Āli Rājpur is a native state in S.W. corner of Central India. See also J. II. 251 and A.N. II. 228.

<sup>2</sup> A hill or defile, from which Cam-

pānir is visible. A. N. II. 228. The troops did not enter Gujarat.

<sup>3</sup> Left them in the desert. A. N. II. 229.

him went off. The officers seized all his belongings—especially his women and elephants—and halted there. The king traversed ‘Ali<sup>1</sup> and came there and after returning thanks to God returned with much spoil. ‘Abdullah K.—who had escaped half-alive from the battle-field—went off to Gujarat and joined Chingez K. who was powerful there. Akbar sent Ḥakīm Ainu-l-mulk to Chingez K. to request that he would either send the wretch to court, or expel him from his country. He petitioned to the effect that he was not averse to submitting to the royal command, and that he would send him to court if Akbar would forgive him. If Akbar did not agree to this, he would expel him. When the message was repeated, Chingez K. turned him off and he came to Malwa and raised a disturbance. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K.—who had been previously sent to manage Malwa—led a well-equipped army against him in the 11th year. ‘Abdullah was nearly being captured. After a thousand difficulties he joined<sup>2</sup> ‘Ali Qulī K. Khān Zamān and Sikandar K. Uzbek, and died there (*i.e.*, in Bengal or Bihar) a natural death.

#### (KHWĀJA) ‘ABDULLAH KHĀN.

His family was from Tūrān. At first he and his brother Khwāja Raḥmat Ullah K. were in attendance on ‘Imādu-l-mulk Mubārīz K., and both held the collectorships of Sikākul (Chicacole) and Rajendri. When, after Mubārīz K.’s being killed, Nizāmu-l-mulk Aṣaf Jāh came to Haidarabad, both brothers appeared before him. ‘Abdullah was made Khānsāmān together with the management of the Rajendri estates, and his brother was made diwān of Aṣaf Jāh’s establishment. Khwāja Raḥmat Ullah soon died. After his death Khwāja ‘Abdullah became diwān, and when Aṣaf Jāh went to the capital (Delhi) for the second time he left Khwāja ‘Abdullah in the Deccan as guardian of his son the martyred Nāṣir Jang. When Aṣaf Jāh returned to the Deccan he was always a confidential courtier. When S’aādat Ullah K. the t’alūqdār of the Carnatic Haidarabad died, and Dost ‘Ali K. his brother’s son and Ṣafdar ‘Ali K. (Dost ‘Ali’s son) came to their end<sup>3</sup> in the man-

<sup>1</sup> Text *abī*, “a stream.”

<sup>2</sup> B.A.N. II. 271.

<sup>3</sup> They were killed in battle with the Mahrattas, vol. II, 513.

ner described at length in the account of S'aadat Ullah K., and the fort of Trichinopoly—which is a famous fort in that country—came into the possession of Murār<sup>1</sup> Rāo Ghorpura, Āsaf Jāh appointed Khwāja 'Abdullah to the said t'alūq of the Carnatic and addressed himself to the taking of the fort of Trichinopoly. When he returned<sup>2</sup> after taking it, he conferred a drum upon 'Abdullah and sent him off to the t'alūq. On the same night, 1157, 1744, he was relieved from the troubles of this world by a sudden death. *Naqqāra-i-ākhir*, "The last drum," is the chronogram. He was of a saintly family (*wilāyat zai*) and a man of a quiet disposition, and famed for his charities, but he was of an iracund nature. If he were angry with anybody, and another person chanced to come in, he treated him with harshness and severity. The best of his sons was Khwāja N'iamat Ullah K. who after his father's death was for some time collector of<sup>3</sup> Rajbandarī. In the time of Šalābat Jang he was made deputy-governor of Bijapur and had the title of Tahawwur Jang Bahādur. After a while he became mad and rolled up the carpet of life. Other sons were Khwāja 'Abād Ullah K., and Khwāja Sa'd Ullah K. who were in the service of Shujā-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā. The second had relations with learning Q

#### 'ABDULLAH KHĀN (SHAIKH).<sup>4</sup>

A worthy son of the great Shaikh of the Shattārī order S. Muḥammad Ghaṣ of Gwalior. Of the sons of that saint S. 'Abdullah and S. Ziyā Ullah were the most distinguished. The first was known by the name of S. Badrī. In the science of incantations (*d'awat*) and *takṣīr*<sup>5</sup> (increasing?) he was his father's pupil and in the guiding and directing of men he took his father's place. By fate's decree though he was a faquir and a dervish he entered into the king's service and became one of the great Amirs. In the campaigns he continually did good service, and jeopardded his life.

<sup>1</sup> The Merari Row of Orme.

<sup>2</sup> "to Šahan Buniyād." Is this Arcot, or another name for Aurangabad? Mill mentions a report that 'Abdullah was poisoned.

<sup>3</sup> There is the variant Rajendri.

<sup>4</sup> B. 457.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently this is a mistake for *tashīr*, enchantment. See Badayūnī, Ranking, 459.

in battle. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he attained the rank of 1000. They say he attained to the rank of 3000 and died in the prime of his age.

The second son was Ziyā Ullah; he did not serve, but lived as a dervish. In his father's life-time he went to Gujarat, and waited upon Wajīu-d-dīn<sup>1</sup> 'Alawī who was very learned in exoteric sciences and had written valuable commentaries upon many books, and was a disciple of his (Ziyā Ullah's) father. Under him he acquired science, and in the town of Pattan he obtained from S. Muḥammad Ṭāhir<sup>2</sup> Muḥaddiṣ (traditionist) Bohra a knowledge of Ḥadīṣ (traditions). At that time he received from his father a certificate and the grant of the *khirqā* (robe) of succession. On the death of his father, which took place in 970, 1562-63, he took up his abode in Agra, and made a house and a *khānqā* there. For a long time he applied himself to the attainment of final reward, and professed Sufism in a pleasing manner. On 3 Ramzān 1005, 10 April 1597, he died.<sup>3</sup>

They say that in the year when Akbar was wounded at Lahore in the testicles by a deer's horn, when he was watching their fight, and he was in great pain, many leading men came from various quarters to visit him (and prescribe for him). One day the king said, "S. Ziyā Ullah has not remembered me." S. Abū-l-faẓl informed Ziyā Ullah of this remark and he came to Lahore. By chance, after some time, one of Prince Daniel's wives<sup>4</sup> became pregnant, and the king ordered that she should be taken for her confinement to the Shaikh's house. The latter remonstrated, but in vain, and the lady was brought. As the Shaikh was disgusted with life, he died a week afterwards.

As the opportunity has occurred, some account will now be given of the honoured father<sup>5</sup> of those two brothers. S. Muḥam-

<sup>1</sup> Khazīna Asfiyā II. 336. His shrine is in Ahmadabad.

<sup>2</sup> Khazīna Asfiyā I. 436. He was a Bohra by caste and was killed in 984. The Mirāt Ahmadi says he was killed in 986, 1578.

<sup>3</sup> There is a reference to Ziyā Ullah in Badayūni, Lowe, 204. Akbar gave

him a lodging in his Ibādatkhāna. See Persian text, p. 202. See also Badayūni III. 121. See also A.N. III. 723.

<sup>4</sup> A.N. III. 712.

<sup>5</sup> One of his wives gave birth to a son in 1005. A.N. III. 729.

<sup>6</sup> Badayūni, III. 4.

mad Ghaus and his elder brother S. Bahlūl<sup>1</sup> were descended from S. Farīd 'Attār, and they were among the noted saints of the time. Both of them were of perfect skill in incantations by the Names (of God) and could hold their breath. S. Bahlūl was a disciple of Shah Qamīṣ<sup>2</sup> who is buried in Sādhaurāh (in Sarkār Sirhind). Humāyūn became his follower, and though he had been the pupil of Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd the grandson of Khwāja Naṣīru-d-dīn Ahrār he broke off the connexion, and became a pupil of the Shāikh. The Khwāja was indignant, and abandoned Humāyūn's companionship and went off from India to his own country. And he recited this verse.<sup>3</sup>

*Verse.*

Say, O Humā, ne'er cast thy shadow

In a land where the parrot is less accounted than the kite.

When in the year 945, 1538-39, Bengal was conquered, the climate suited Humāyūn and he opened out the carpet of enjoyment, and became absorbed in sensual pleasures. M. Hindāl the younger brother of the king had received Tirhut as his jagir. By the companionship of some intriguers he became imbued with evil thoughts and went off, in the height of the rains, to the capital without obtaining leave. Mir Faqīr 'Alī the governor of Delhi—who was one of the pillars of the empire—came to Agra and by good advice brought the Mirza back to loyalty, so that he soon went to Jaunpūr to chastise the Afghans. Meanwhile some officers fled from Bengal and joined the Mirzā in Jaunpūr.<sup>4</sup> They suggested the reading of the Khuṭba in his name, and his ascending the throne.

<sup>1</sup> Phūl in text but the variant Bahlūl is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> The Khazīna Aṣṣiyā mentions I, p. 135, Shah Qamīṣ Gilānī who died in Bengal in 992, 1584, and is buried in Sālūra Khizrābad. 'Abdu r Razzāq commonly called S. Bahlūl was his disciple. Sālūra seems a mistake for Sādhaurāh. He died in Bengal,<sup>3</sup> but his body was brought away and buried in Sādhaura. The I.G. XXI, 347 mentions Shāh Qumais' shrine in Sādhaura in the Ambāla division.

<sup>3</sup> T. Rashīdī, Ney Eliās and Ross

399, and Badayūnī, Lowe 45. The Humā here stands for Humāyūn; M. Haidar generally calls Khwāja Khāwand, Khwāja Nūra.

<sup>4</sup> It does not appear that Hindāl went to Jaunpūr. The officers joined him in Agra. See A.N. I, p. 336, etc. This Nūru-d-dīn is the father of Salīma Sultan Begam who became the wife of Bairām and afterwards of Akbar. She was born in this very year of 945, 1538-39, as the chronogram, Khush ḥāl, preserved by M. Muḥammadi, shows.

and the Mirzā resumed his evil thoughts. When Humāyūn heard of this, he sent S. Bahlūl to give the Mirzā advice. The Mirzā went out to receive him and brought him to his quarters, and treated him with respect. The officers were perplexed and annoyed by the Shaikh's arrival, but at last they united on condition that he should be put to death, for until the veil was removed from their actions there would be no harmony. M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad seized the Shaikh in his tent on the charge of his being in concert with the Afghans, and beheaded him in a sandy place near the royal garden. S. Muḥammad Ḡhaṣ found the chronogram, *Fa qad māta shahīda*, 945, 1538-39. "Verily he was martyred." His tomb is in the vicinity of the fort of Biāna, on the top of a hill.

Humāyūn was much grieved at the slaying of the Shaikh, and condoled with his brother Muḥammad Ḡhaṣ. The latter was a pupil of Ḥājī Ḥamīd of Gwalior and Ghazni, who, again, was the pupil of S. Qāzan<sup>1</sup> Bangālī, who was the pupil of S. 'Abdullah Shaṭṭārī. His proper name was Abū-l-mūīd Muḥammad, and he had the title of Ḡhaṣ from his father's side. He lived<sup>2</sup> in the hill-country of Chunar in Bihar as a hermit (*pīr*), and in the year 929, 1523, wrote in that retirement the famous book called the *Jawāhar*<sup>3</sup> Khamṣa (The five jewels). At that time he was 22 years of age. When Sher Shah in the year 947, 1540, conquered Upper India, the Shaikh became alarmed on account of his connexions with Humāyūn and fled to Gujarat. There he built a lofty *khāṅga* (monastery) and communicated spiritual advantages to many men of that country. When in the year 961, 1554, the standards of Humāyūn were unfurled in India, the Shaikh resolved to return there and in 963<sup>4</sup>—which was the commencement of Akbar's reign—he came to Agra *viā* Gwalior.

<sup>1</sup> Qāzan in *Khazīna Aṣṣiyā* II. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 28, who says he saw in Chunar the cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years. Perhaps the cave is the one described in Fuhrer's *Inscriptions of the N.W.P.*, etc., Vol. II of *Archæological series*, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> See account of this book in

Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. D'awa. As stated in text, Abū-l-Mūīd or Muwayyid is another name for M. Ḡhaṣ. The date of the book given in Hughes is 956. If M. Ḡhaṣ was 80 when he died, as Badayūnī says, he must have been about 40 in 929.

<sup>4</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 28, says he came to Agra in 966.

The king welcomed him, and showed him much respect. S. Gadai Kambū the Šadru-s-Šudūr, on account of his old enmity with the Shaikh, again girded up the loins of animosity and brought to the notice of Bairām K. the treatise (*risāla*)<sup>1</sup> which the Shaikh had written in Gujarat, called M'irājiyya, and which gave an account of his own M'irāj (ascent), and which the learned men of Gujarat had denounced. Gadai made the Khān averse to the Shaikh and so he did not give the Shaikh the royal reception which he had expected. So he took his leave and returned in displeasure to his residence at Gwalior. On Monday, 17 Ramzān 970, 10 May 1563, he left this dustbin of a world. The chronogram is *Banda-i-Khudā shud*. "He became a servant of God." (970). They say that he<sup>2</sup> received from Akbar a pension of a *kror* of *dāms*. In the *Ẓakhīra-ul-khwānīn* it is stated that the Shaikh had a jagir of nine lacs of rupees, and that he had forty elephants. It appears even from the *Akbarnāma* that it is true, as is reported, that Akbar was his pupil, though S. Abū-l-faẓl, from the rivalry of Shaikhs, or from prejudice, or from consideration of the king's disposition, has represented the matter differently. He has stated that in the 4th year, 966—which some have mentioned as the date of the Shaikh's return from Gujarat—Akbar came out of Agra to hunt and arrived at Gwalior. It appeared that Qiboāq<sup>3</sup> (Tartary) cattle had come from Gujarat along with S. Muḥammad Qhaṣṣ, and an order was given that they should be purchased from the merchants at a proper price. It was represented that the Shaikh and his people had better cattle than these, and that if Akbar at the time of returning from hunting should pass by the Shaikh's quarters, he would certainly present them as an offering (*peshkash*). When Akbar visited him, the Shaikh regarded his coming as a great honour, and as an amulet against his ill-treatment by Bairām

<sup>1</sup> See Badayūnī, Lowe, 28 and 62.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī says in his history a *kror* without specifying the coins, but doubtless it was *tankas* or *dāms* and not rupees. Badayūnī III. 5 says it was a *kror* of *tankas*.

<sup>3</sup> So in text, but I think there must be some mistake, for I am not aware

that Gujarat cattle have anything to do with Tartary. The MSS. in B.M. have a word which I can't read, but which certainly does not begin with a Q. The A.N. which is the Maasir's source has *be-badl* "unequalled."



K. He presented all the cattle his men had, and other curiosities and rarities of Gujarat. He also produced sweetmeats and perfumes. At the end of the interview he asked the king if he had given the hand of fealty to anyone. H. M. replied "No." The Shaikh stretched <sup>1</sup> out his own arm and laid hold of the king's, and said, "We have taken your hand." The king smiled and departed. It is reported that the king said, "On that same night we returned to our tents and had a wine-party and enjoyed ourselves, and laughed over the way to catch bullocks, and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm."

Verse.

'Neath their varied robes they hold nooses

See the long arms of those short-sleeved gentry.

Afterwards this self-pleasing simpleton exulted in public over what he had done. He (A. F.) also added some <sup>2</sup> words to the narrative, but to copy them out here would be improper.

Abū-Faḡl has written still more (strangely) about S. Bahlūl, viz., that as Humāyūn was interested in incantations the Shaikh was honoured by being allowed to practise them, and that he sometimes claimed Humāyūn as his disciple and sometimes boasted of being his loyal servant. In fact (says A. F.) the two brothers were destitute of excellencies or learning, but at one time had sate in hermitages in the hills, and practised incantations by the Divine names; and made this the means of their own renown, and influence. By companionship with princes and nobles they succeeded in their craft by the help of simpletons and put up the things of saintship to sale and by specious pretences acquired villages and hamlets. In fact all this talk <sup>3</sup> is S. Abu-l-faḡl's abuse such as he practised towards the great Shaikhs of the time because of a secret grudge and the envy of a rival, for his father was also one of the religious leaders of the time, and claimed to be equal to M. Ghaṡ, though he was not accepted as such. Or it was the result of the

<sup>1</sup> See the story in Akbarnāma II. translation, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to A.F.'s reflections on the occurrence and on the Shaikh's conduct.

<sup>3</sup> M. Ghaṡ is included in the Āin among those who understand the mysteries of the heart. B. 539. Badayūni III. 5 says that Akbar became M. Ghaṡ's disciple.

eccentricity and unbridled speech which is opposed to good-will and rejects the common opinions. Whatever may be the case with regard to the saintship and the *ghauṣiyat* (Aid) which see hidden things, it is perfectly clear that Humāyūn believed in those two brothers. The letter which Humāyūn wrote to S. Muḥammad Ghaus after Sher Shah's victory, and which has been copied into the *Gulzār-i-Abrār*<sup>1</sup> (the rosarium of the pious), and the reply of the Shaikh, will show this, and they are therefore set down here.

#### THE KING'S LETTER.

“After respects and kissing of hands I beg to represent that the favour of the Almighty together with the guidance of your Reverence and of all the dervishes have brought me out from the defiles of difficulty into ease. What has occurred from intriguing fate has not grieved me further than that it has excluded me from serving your Reverence. At every breath and at every step my thought was how will those demon-natured men (Sher Shah and the other Afghans) behave to that angelic personage. When I heard that your Reverence had at about the same time departed to Gujarat my heart was somewhat relieved from this anxiety. My hope in God is that as He has brought you out from the trouble of that worthless one, He will also free me from the pain of seeming separation. Good God! How shall I render thanks for His goodness in guiding me? In spite of many calamities which to outward appearance have involved me, in the core of my heart, the abode of worship of Oneness, there has not been a tittle of rift or failure. May the path of coming and going always be trodden and be wide enough for the transit of the caravan of my good wishes!”

#### REPLY.

“The arrival of the distinguished letter of the sovereign, and the perusal of the honoured writing of Humāyūn have brought the blessing of life to the faithful in this country. It conveyed also the intelligence of the health and wealth of the servants of the stirrup. What has been written is in accordance with the essence of things. There is no grief for what has occurred.

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<sup>1</sup> Rieu III. 1041b.

## Verse.

The word which comes from the heart assuredly settles  
in the heart (of the recipient).

My prayer is, May my lord's crowned head be not disturbed  
by the sad events !

## Verse.

To the traveller in the right path whatever happens is for  
his good.

Whenever God designs to lead His servant to perfection He cherishes him both by His beautiful and His terrible attributes. The beautiful attributes have had their cycle ; now, for some days, is the time of the terrible ones. As has been said, " With pleasures come pains, with pains come pleasures." The time of the beautiful attributes will soon come again, for according to the Arabian<sup>1</sup> Canon, One pain comes between two pleasures. And because the extent of the enclosed is less than the extent of the enclosing, the bride of success will soon take her seat on the marriage-dais. May God grant this, and praise be to God both now and hereafter."

In short S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ was one of the later leaders among the Shattārī in India. He had many distinguished successors and disciples. Saiyid Wajīu-d-dīn of Gujarat, who wrote commentaries on didactic books, and was very learned in exoteric sciences, was his disciple. One said to the Saiyid, " Why have you, with all your learning and wisdom, given the hand of adherence (*inābat*) to the Shaikh (who does not possess so much learning)." He replied, " It is a thing to be thankful for that my Prophet (Muḥammad) was ignorant (*umī*) and that my Pīr is so<sup>2</sup> (also)." The Shattārī order goes back to the Sultānu-l-'Arifīn Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī. Accordingly in Turkey this order is called the Bisṭāmī. As one of the links of this order was S. Abū-l-ḥasan 'Ishqī—May his

<sup>1</sup> By the expression " Arabian Canon," *Qānūn 'Arabīyya* the Shaikh means the Koran. The reference is to Sura 94, vv. 5 and 6. " Verily a difficulty shall be attended with ease."

The repetition is taken to mean that for every difficulty there are two pleasures.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iqbāl-nāma*. 109.

grave be holy—the order is called the *Ishqīya* in Persia and Tūrān. They call the Pīrs of this order *Shattārī*<sup>1</sup> because they say that they are keener and more enthusiastic than the leading *Shaikhs* of other orders. The great men of this order in the Arabian and Persian 'Irāq continually light the lamp of guidance for travellers on the Path. The first person who came to India from Persia was S. 'Abdullah *Shattārī*, who by five descents was connected with the *Shaikh* of *Shaikhs*, *Shaikh* *Shihābu-d-dīn* *Sahrawardī*, and by seven descents with *Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī*—May his grave be holy! He took up his abode in Māndū in Malwa and died in 890,<sup>2</sup> 1485, and is buried there. His successors are occupied in various parts of India in instructing pupils.

(MULLĀ)<sup>3</sup> 'ABDULLAH ANṢĀRĪ MAKH DŪMU-L-MULK.

Son of S. *Shamsu-d-dīn* of Sultanpur. His ancestors came from Multan to Sultanpur and adopted it as their home. Mullā 'Abdullah studied under Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir of Sirhind, and acquired a complete knowledge of the sciences of Law and Theology. The renown of his learning spread over the world. He wrote scholia (*hāshiya*) on the Mullā's<sup>4</sup> commentary, and the *Minhājū-d-dīn* (Highway of Faith) on the life of the Prophet. The Peace of God be upon him and on his family! The princes of the age paid great respect to him, and Humāyūn was devoted to him. When Sher Shah's turn came, he gave him the title of *Ṣadru-l-Islām*. They say<sup>5</sup> that one day Selīm Shah saw him in the distance and said, "Bābar Pādishāh had five sons, four went away and one

<sup>1</sup> *Shattārāt* means fearlessness, and *Shattār* means a courier.

<sup>2</sup> Beale says he died in 809 or 1406, and refers for an account of the *Shattārīs* to J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 216. There is an account of 'Abdullah *Shattārī* in the *Khazīna Asfiyā* II. 306, and it is stated there that he died in 832 (1429).

<sup>3</sup> B. VII. 172 and 544. The family originally came from Herat. For other notices see *Badayūnī* III. 70. *Darbārī Akbarī* 311, *Khazīna Asfiyā* I. 448-49 of ed. of 1894, and *Tabaqāt*

*Akbarī*, end of account of Akbar's reign.

<sup>4</sup> B. 544, copying *Badayūnī*, says his works were the '*Asmatu-l-Anbiyā*', and a commentary on the *Shamā'ilu-n-nabī*. The Mullā referred to in text is perhaps the *Tirmīzī* referred to by D' Herbelot under the heading of *Shamail-Al-Nabi*. But possibly the work of *Jamālū-d-dīn Aṭā Ullah* is referred to, as 'Abdullah said he had written scholia on it; *Badayūnī* III. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Badayūnī*, Ranking 534.

remained." Sarmast K. said, "Why keep such an intriguer?" He replied, "I can't find a better man." When the Mullā came near him, Selīm Shah placed him on his throne (takht) and gave him a rosary of pearls worth Rs.20,000 which he had just received. As the Mullā was a great bigot—which people called being a defender of the faith—he under the guise of holding the Faith displayed great animosity. For instance, the putting to death of <sup>1</sup> S. 'Alāi was brought about by the exertions of the Mullā. S. 'Alāi was the son of Shaikh Ḥasan who was one of the great shaikhs of Bengal. He acquired exoteric and esoteric knowledge from his father, and after visiting Mecca he settled in Bīāna, and undertook the practice of what was right and the rejection of what was wrong. At this time S. 'Abdullah <sup>2</sup> Niyāzī settled in Bīāna. He was one of the followers of Selīm Chistī, and after returning from Mecca joined himself to Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who claimed to be the Mahdī. S. 'Alāi approved of his methods and took from him the practice of holding the breath, which is a rule among the Mahdavis, and acquired the fame of working miracles. He spent his days, with a great number of followers, in trusting in God. At night he would leave the household vessels—even the water-jugs—empty, and in the morning there was a new supply. Mullā 'Abdullah accused him of innovations in religion and heresy, and induced Selīm Shah to summon him from Bīāna and to order him to hold a conference with the Ulama. S. 'Alāi was victorious. As in that conference S. Mubārak (Abu-l-faḍl's father) took his part, he too was accused of Mahdīism.

Selīm Shah was impressed by 'Alāi and whispered to him to deny Mahdīism, and then he would make him religious censor in his kingdom; otherwise he must leave the country, as the Ulama had given judgment for putting him to death. The Shaikh went off to the Deccan. When Selīm Shah went towards the Panjab to put down the Niyāzīs, Mullā 'Abdullah represented that S. 'Abdullah was the Niyāzī's Pir. Selīm Shah sent for him in 955,

<sup>1</sup> B. VIII. 1.

<sup>2</sup> He was of Sirhind. See Badayūnī  
III. 45. It was on the site of his cell

that Akbar made his 'Ibādatkhāna.  
See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, p.  
508.

1548, and had him so scourged<sup>1</sup> and kicked and cuffed that he fainted. They say that as long as his senses remained, he kept saying, "Lord, forgive us our offences."<sup>2</sup> When his senses were restored, he renounced Mahdism, and in the year 993, 1585, entered the service of Akbar who was proceeding towards Attock. He received some land in Sirhind for his maintenance in the names of his sons, and he died at the age of ninety in the year 1000,<sup>3</sup> 1592.

When Selīm Shah had disposed of the Niyāzī affair, Mullā 'Abdullah again instigated him, and he summoned S. 'Alāi from Hindia. Selīm Shah repeated what he had formerly said, but the Shaikh would not agree. Selīm Shah said to the Mullā, "You and he know (what to do)." The Mullā ordered him to be scourged. At the third stroke of the whip he died, and his body was tied<sup>4</sup> to the leg of an elephant and publicly exposed. They say so strong a wind blew that day that men thought it was the Judgment-day. So many flowers were scattered on the Shaikh's body that it became as it were entombed. After this Selīm Shah's reign did not last two years. When Humāyūn came again to India and took Qandahar he gave the Mullā the title of Shaikh-i-Islām. Afterwards, when the sovereignty of India came to Akbar, the Mullā received the title of Makhdūmu-l-mulk, and Bairām K. gave him a rich *pargana*<sup>5</sup> as *tankwāh* with a rental of a lac of rupees and raised his honour above all the great notables. He became one of the chief pillars of the State. After the lapse of some months and years the disposition of the sovereign became alienated by sundry occurrences from the learned men of the age, and in the 24th year, 987, he sent off him and S. 'Abdu-n-Nabī the Ṣadr—between whom there had long been strife and enmity—to the Hījāz as if they were to be companions to one another. In spite of that, there never was concord between them, either on the journey, or in the exalted stations (at Mecca), nor was the dislike removed.

As the Makhdūmu-l-mulk had been honoured from the time of

<sup>1</sup> B. VIII. The Darbārī Akbarī has a notice of him at p. 311. See also Badayūnī I. Ranking, 508, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Qoran III. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Badayūnī I. Ranking 520.

<sup>4</sup> Badayūnī I. 408. Ranking, 524.

<sup>5</sup> *pargana-i-tānkwāla*. The D. Akbarī says it was near Mānkot. It seems to be *tānkwāla* in all the MSS.

the Afghans to that of Akbar, and was famed for his good judgment and experience of affairs, and the report of his wisdom had spread everywhere, the Shaiḡh Ibn Ḥajar <sup>1</sup> known as the Mufti of Mecca came out to welcome him and showed him much respect, and opened the door of the K'aaba for him, out of season. When the agitation of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm the (half) brother of Akbar was heard of, 'Abdullah believed that the untrue account of the confusion in India was correct, and from a desire of pre-eminence and a love of glory he returned with 'Abdu-n-Nabī, the Ṣadr, to Aḥmadabad. When the king learnt that they had spoken improperly about him in assemblies, owing to secret malice, he privately appointed some persons (to arrest them) as the Begams of the Harem were siding with them and interceding for them. Makhdūmu-l-mulk died of fright in 991.<sup>2</sup> They say he was poisoned at Akbar's instigation. His body was secretly brought to Jālandhar and buried there. Qāzī 'Alī was appointed to confiscate his effects. Much buried treasure was found in Lahore. Among it some chests containing bricks of gold were taken out of his tomb which had been buried on the pretence that they contained corpses. On this account his sons suffered severities for some time in the search for property. Three kroris of rupees were found.

S. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī writes <sup>3</sup> in his history that Makhdūmu-l-mulk gave an opinion (*fatwa*) to the effect that at this time the pilgrimage was not lawful for the people of India, as security was a condition thereof, and the journey had either to be made by sea—and this could not be effected without Feringhi passports, which bore the figures of Mary and Jesus, which was an infringement of the law and a sort of idol-worship,—or it was by the route of Persia, where there was unsuitable society (the Shias of Persia). They say that Makhdūmu-l-mulk, on account of his bigotry, burnt the third volume of the 'Rauzat-al-Aḥbāb, as it

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this was a title of the Sharif of Mecca.

<sup>2</sup> Should be 990, 1582. The statement that he was poisoned is also made in the Khazina-ul-Aṣṣiyā.

<sup>3</sup> B. 172 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 206.

Badayūnī does not say that he heard 'Abdullah say this.

<sup>4</sup> "The Garden of Lovers" by Jamālu-d-dīn 'Aṭā Ullah. Rieu I. 147a. See Badayūnī III. 71. Badayūnī expresses the opinion that the

contained some deficiencies and mistakes in the account of early times, and that on this account this volume is scarce.

### ‘ABDULLAH K. FĪRŪZ JANG.

His name was Khwāja ‘Abdullah, and he was a descendant of Khwāja Obed Ullah Nāsīru-d-dīn Ahrār, May his grave be holy!—and a sister’s son of Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī. In the latter part of Akbar’s reign he came from a foreign country (Wilayat) <sup>1</sup> to India, and for some time served with Sher Khwāja (a relation of his) in the Deccan. Wherever there was fighting he distinguished himself. Afterwards he left the Khwāja and joined prince Sultan Selim in Lahore and was made one of the Aḥadīs. When the prince was in Allahabad, and from independence and presumption began to distribute *manṣabs* and titles, and to give fiefs to his servants, he received a *manṣab* of 1500 and the title of Khān. But as he could not get on with Sharīf K., who was the prince’s manager, he in the 48th year (of Akbar) proceeded <sup>2</sup> to court, and the king (Akbar) perceiving his good qualities, gave him the rank of 1000, and the title of Safdar Jang. His brothers Khwājas Yādgar and Barkhūrdār also received suitable posts, and after Jahangir’s accession he got a drum and a flag.

As the matter of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) did not make progress under Mahābat K., ‘Abdullah was in the 4th year appointed to the command of the army, and in that affair he acquired <sup>3</sup> a name.

third volume was not by Jamālu-d-dīn.

<sup>1</sup> He came from Hiṣār in Transoxiana in 1000 A.H. along with his two brothers Yādgar and Barkhūrdār. Najību-nisā, daughter of M. Ḥakīm, was married to his uncle Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī. See M. Ḥādī’s preface to Tūzūk J., p. 6, and A.N. III. 823.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K., 220, 227. Tūzūk J., 11, where Jahangir comments on the impropriety of his leaving his service

<sup>3</sup> The account here given does not agree with Jahangir’s account in the Tūzūk J. According to him

‘Abdullah was for a long time unsuccessful, and though the Rānā was ultimately obliged to submit, this was not till the 8th year and then it was Prince Kharrām, i.e., Shah Jahan, who was the chief Commander. The elephant ‘Ālam Gumān, or ‘Ālam Kamān, was not sent in till the beginning of the 9th year: see Tūzūk J. 127. Tod calls the Rānā Umra Singh. See Elliot VI. 336 for the statement that ‘Abdullah was unsuccessful until Jahangir left Ajmere. Mihrpūr is not mentioned in Khāfi K. as the Rānā’s seat. Udaipūr is mentioned there,



He attacked Mihrpūr, which was the place of refuge of Rānā Amar Singh, and got possession of the elephant 'Ālam Gumān which had no equal. In Kombalmīr he established a station and routed and plundered Bairām Deo Solankhī who was a leader among the Rajputs. In the 6th year, 1020, 1611, he was made governor of Gujarat and an auxiliary force was also given him from the court. The arrangement made was that he should march to the Deccan with the Gujarat army by the route of Nāsik and Trimbak, and that the Khān Jahān along with Rajāh Mān Singh, the Amīru-l-Umarā and M. Rustum should go by the Berar route, and that the two armies should keep in touch with one another, and on a fixed day should surround the enemy. It was probable that in this way the enemy would be annihilated.

'Abdullah<sup>1</sup> K. had with him 10,000 well-mounted cavalry, and in his pride and presumption he entered the enemy's territory without having any tidings of the second army. Malik 'Ambar, who was much afraid of him, chose out men and sent them to extirpate him. Every day they skirmished (*bargigari mikardand*) round his camp, and they did this from night till morning. As he approached nearer to Daulatabad the numbers of the enemy increased. When he got there no sign could be seen of the second army. He thought it proper to retreat, and marched towards Ah-madabad *viā* Baglāna. On the march the enemy pressed upon him, and there was a battle every day. 'Alī<sup>2</sup> Mardān Bahādur did not approve of having the stain of flight put upon him and fought manfully and was made prisoner. As to the report<sup>3</sup> that Malik 'Ambar colluded with the Khān-Khānān and detained him by wiles, it is not true, for at that time the Khān-Khānān had left

I. 278, as his capital. For the account of the Rānā's submission see Elliot VI. 339. 'Abdullah's appointment in the 4th year is mentioned in *Tūzūk J. 74*; and it is stated there that he got the title of *Firūz Jang*.

<sup>1</sup> *Khāfī K.*, I. 273, etc.

<sup>2</sup> B. 496. *Khāfī K.*, I. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the author has confused two events, and he has repeated this at I. 718 in the account of

Khān Jahān Lodī. The charge against the Khān-Khānān was not that he had colluded with Malik 'Ambar at the time of 'Abdullah's disaster. On the contrary, Jahangir sent him to retrieve affairs. The charge was that he colluded with Malik 'Ambar in the 4th year when Khān Jahān was sent. Jahangir believed this and recalled the Khān-Khānān. 'Abdullah's affair was later

the Deccan and gone to court. When the Khān-Khānān heard the sad news he returned and in 'Ādilābād joined Prince Parvez.

They say that Jahangir had portraits taken of 'Abdullah K. and the other officers, and that he took them into his hand, one by one, and made comments on them. Referring to 'Abdullah's portrait he said, "To-day no one equals you for ability and lineage, with such a figure and such abilities, and lineage, and rank and treasure, and army you should not have run away. Your title is Gareiz Jang (the fugitive from battle)." When in the 11th year (of Jahangir), 'Abdullah<sup>1</sup> sent for 'Ābid K., the son of Khwāja Nizāmu-d-din Aḥmad Bakhshī (the author), and who was Wāqa' Nigār (reporter) of Aḥmadabad, and insulted him on account of his reports, Diānat K. was sent from the court to bring 'Abdullah on foot to court. He, before the order reached him, went off on that way (on foot) and by the intercession of Prince Sultan Kharrām was pardoned his offences. When the heir-apparent Prince Shah Jahan went to the Deccan for the second time, 'Abdullah was sent with him, but he left the Deccan without permission and went to his fiefs. On this account he was censured and deprived of his jagir and I'timād Rai was made the *sezāwal* to carry him to the Prince. When the Prince was summoned from the Deccan to the court for the affair of Qandahar and, on account of the rains, stopped in Māndū, and the king, on account of the instigations of make-strife people, became alienated from such a son, and the matter came to fighting, 'Abdullah came from his jagir and waited on the king in Lahore. When the Prince retired from opposing his father and left his army under Rajah Pīkrāmājīt facing the royal army, so that he might check a force if it was sent after him, it was contrived by Khawājah Abū-l-Ḥasan that

1 See Maasir I. 663 in account of Nizāmu-d-din's son, where he is called the bakhshī of Gujarat. The story seems to be wrongly told there. See my note 3. Perhaps the apparent mistake is only due to the author's confused style, or to the omission of a clause by a copyist. See Khāfi K., I. 286. The story of 'Abdullah's coming to sue for pardon

and his walking 60 miles on foot is told by Sir Thomas Roe. There is also a reference to 'Abdullah's acts of tyranny in the Tūzūk J. 208. There it is said that he cut down the trees of a garden that Nizāmu-d-din had planted at Aḥmadabad in order to spite the son 'Ābid. For this his allowances for horses were reduced.

'Abdullah should be appointed to the vanguard of the royal army. As soon as the two sides met, 'Abdullah' galloped off and joined the Prince's army. By chance, at that time a bullet from an unknown hand killed Rajah Bikramājī. Both armies fell out of order and went off to their own places. As the Rajah had held the government of Gujarat, the Prince gave it to 'Abdullah, and he appointed a eunuch named Wafā' as his deputy with a small force there. M. Šafī Saif K. assumed the part of a well-wisher of the king and with the help of people appointed there arrested the eunuch and took possession of the city. 'Abdullah took leave from the Prince in Māndū and without looking for auxiliaries went off there in hot haste. When an encounter took place between the parties, 'Abdullah was defeated,<sup>3</sup> and he had to come to Baroda and then to Surat. He collected a force and joined the Prince at Burhanpur. After that he was always in the van in that time of struggle and contest.

When in the 20th year the prince returned from Bengal to the Deccan, and taking Yāqūt K. Abyssinian and other Nizām Shāhī servants with him attacked Burhānpur, 'Abdullah vowed that whenever he got possession of that city he would make a general massacre. When the prince, without attaining his object, withdrew from the siege, 'Abdullah perceived that the prince was not favourably inclined towards him, and shut his eyes to all the kindnesses he had received and went off, and joined Malik 'Ambar. As the latter did not patronise him as he had expected, he, by means of Khān Jahān, entered the king's service. They say that when he came to Burhānpur, Khān Jahān went as far as the garden of Zainābād to welcome him, and received him with respect. He adopted a fawning and humble attitude, wore a *farjī*<sup>4</sup> like the Uzbek darvishes, had a beard hanging down to his navel and came unarmed, and when an hour of the night was remaining, to the Khān Jahān's diwānkhāna and sate down. When the Khān Jahān went, according to orders, to Junair he accompanied him (?) and wrote to Malik 'Ambar that if he now fell upon the

<sup>1</sup> Khāfī K. I. 335-36.

<sup>2</sup> Wafā-dar, Khāfī K., I. 337

<sup>3</sup> Do. 339. There is a fuller account

of 'Abdullah's defeat in the Tūzuk J. 364, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See B. 89.

Khān Jahān he would get the better of him. By chance they intercepted the letter. The Khān Jahān put it into his hand and he confessed. According to orders he was imprisoned in Āsir. Ikrām K. of Fathpūr, the governor of the fort, treated him badly and at the instigation of Mahābat K., who was then in power, repeated orders came to blind him. The Khān Jahān would not consent. He wrote in reply that he had come in upon his word and that he would bring him to court.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, he was pardoned at the intercession of that distinguished member of the Naqshbandi order, 'Abdu-r-Rahīm Khawāja,<sup>1</sup> who was the successor of Khawāja Kilān Khawāja Jūibārī, who was thirty removes from Saiyid 'Alī 'Arīz's, the Great Imām (Imām Hamām) J'aafar Ṣādiq,<sup>2</sup>—Peace be upon him,—and was one of the glorious Saiyids of Tūrān, and an object of faith and reverence with the Uzbeg Khāns who are entirely devoted to this family. 'Abdullah K. then wore in his mental ear the ring of discipleship to Khawāja Kilān. In the time of Jahangir he ('Abdu-r-Rahīm) came from Imām Qulī K. the ruler of Tūrān as an ambassador, and was received with great honour. He was allowed to sit by the side of the throne and was treated with great respect by all the nobles and grandees of Persia, Tūrān and India. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore to Agra and received more honour than ever. It was because 'Abdullah was connected with the Naqshbandi order that he was pardoned<sup>3</sup> and raised to the high rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and had the gift of a flag and a drum, and had Sarkār Qanauj given to him in fief.

When, in the same first year Jujhār Singh Bandila fled from court to his home in Undcha (Orcha), a force under the command of Mahābat K. was appointed. The Khān Jahān Lodi from Malwa and 'Abdullah K. from his jagir with the officers of various quarters entered his country and opened the hand of violence. When Jujhār was hard pressed he approached Mahābat and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold. 'Abdullah and Bahādūr K. and a number of other officers with 9000 cavalry came to the

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K., I. 400.

<sup>2</sup> The 6th Imām. He died at Medina in A. H. 148, 765. Jarrett III., 359n.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K., I. 400.

fort of Īrij which is thirteen *kos* from Undcha, and was in the eastern part of the country and in the possession of Jujhār. By alacrity and energy they took the fort. When Shah Jahan came to Burhānpūr in order to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī, 'Abdullah went to the Deccan from his fief of Kālpī and joined with the army which had been put under the command of Shaista K. When he had recovered from a swelling which he had in his abdomen he came to the Presence and was appointed to chastise Daryā K. Rohilla who was making a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Chālisgāon. An order was given that he should stay in Khandes and pursue without delay Khān Jahān and Daryā K. whichever way they had gone.

When in the 4th year Khān Jahān and Daryā K. went off to Malwa from Daulatabad, he followed close after them and gave them no rest anywhere. At last, on the bank of the Sehonda<sup>1</sup> (tank) Khān Jahān stood firm and was killed. In reward of this great service he received the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse, and the title of Fīrūz Jang. In the 5th year he was made governor of Bihar.<sup>2</sup> 'Abdullah resolved to chastise the zamindar of Ratn-pūr<sup>3</sup> and went to that quarter. Bābū Lachmī the zamindar there got frightened and was admitted to quarter through the mediation of Amar Singh, the ruler of Bāndhū. In the 8th year he brought tribute and did homage in company with 'Abdullah. When 'Abdullah went off to his lands, Jujhār Bandila again rebelled. In accordance with orders 'Abdullah turned back on his road and proceeded to chastise him. Khān Daurān joined from Malwa, and Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha did so also. When they were encamped one *kos* from Undcha, that miserable wretch got frightened, and went out of the fort with his family and his servants and some silver and gold, and went off to the fort of Dhāmūnī which his father had made very strong. The royal troops, after taking Undcha, pursued him and when they came to within three *kos* of Dhāmūnī they learnt that he had

<sup>1</sup> Text Sindhiya, but see B. 505, and Maasir, I. 729, in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.

<sup>2</sup> It would appear from an inscrip-

tion mentioned by Buchanan that 'Abdullah built or repaired the Patna fort in 1042, 1633.

<sup>3</sup> In Sarkār Rohtās J., II. 157.

gone off with his goods and chattels to Cūragarh, and was waiting for a letter from the zamindar of Deogarh. If the latter would give him a passage through his territory he would go to the Deccan. The royal forces took Dhāmūnī, and Saiyid Khān Jahān chose to remain there to settle the conquered country. 'Abdullah went on with the vanguard of Khān Daurān Bahādur. Jujhār fled by the route of Lānjī, which belongs to the territory of the zamindar of Deogarh. 'Abdullah marched every day ten Gordah *kos* and sometimes twenty, which are about double the ordinary *kos*, and came up with him on the borders of Cāndā and fought with him. The wretch took the road to Golconda.<sup>1</sup> After much marching 'Abdullah came up with him (again), and the father and son in fear of their lives fled to the jungle. There they gave up their lives at the hands of some Gonds. Firūz Jang cut off their heads and sent them to court.

When in the 10th year Rajah Pratāp<sup>2</sup> Ujjainya—who had received the rank of 1500 with 1000 horses—got leave to go to his own country—as had long been his desire—he withdrew from obedience and took the path of ruin. 'Abdullah K., in accordance with orders, went off from Bihar to punish him. He first besieged the fort of Bhojpūr which was the zamindar's seat, and where Pratāp had taken refuge. He, after struggles, became terrified and had recourse to supplications. He put on a *lungī* (waist-cloth) and took his wife in his hand, and through the mediation of one of the eunuchs of Firūz Jang made his appearance. The Khān imprisoned him and his wife and reported the matter to the Presence. An order came to put the scoundrel to death and to take possession for himself of the wife and the property. Firūz Jang gave some of the spoil to his brave men, and made the wife a Muhammadan and married her to his grandson. In the 13th year he was appointed to chastise Prithīrāj, the son of Jujhār Singh, and Campat Bandila, who were making a disturbance near Undcha. Though by the efforts of Bāqī K.—whom Abdullah had sent—Prithīrāj was made prisoner, yet<sup>3</sup> Campat—who was the originator of the commo-

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Gondwāna. See Pādishāhnāma I., Part II., p. 262, and Khafī K., 512, etc. The name of the son was Bikramājīt.

<sup>2</sup> B. 513 note. Khafī K., I. 544-45.

<sup>3</sup> Pādishāhnāma, II. 136.

tion—managed to escape. This was ascribed to Fīrūz Jang's negligence and love of comfort, and so he was deprived of his fief of Islāmābād and censured. In the 16th year he was made governor of the province of Allahabad in succession to Saiyid Shujā'at K. After some time Shah Jahan removed him from his rank, and gave him a lac<sup>1</sup> of rupees by way of support. At the same period, he again became favourable to him and restored him to his rank. He was nearly 70 years of age when he died on 17 Shawāl of the 18th year, 1054, 7 December 1644.

In spite of his cruelty and tyranny men believed that he could work miracles, and used to make offerings to him. He spent 50 years as an Amīr. He was often removed from office and then restored and had the same magnificence and power as before. To serve him had something lucky about it. In his life-time many of his servants became *panj hazārīs* and *cār hazārīs* (5000 and 4000). They say he looked well after his soldiers but that they did not get more than three or four months' pay in the year. But compared with other places this three months' pay was equal to a year's. No one was able to represent his case to him personally; he had to speak to the diwān and the bakshī. If the latter delayed to report the matter, he cut<sup>2</sup> off their beards (?). His regular practice was that when engaged in a difficult<sup>3</sup> expedition he marched 60 or 70 *kos* a day. He kept a trustworthy rear-guard. If any one lagged behind, his head was cut off and brought to him. Fifty Moghuls—who were *yesāwals* (lictors) of the Mīr Tūzuk (Provost-Marshal)—were dressed in uniform and had adorned staves and kept order. They say that in the affair of the Rānā he had with him 300 troopers with gold-embroidered dresses and decorated armour, and 200 footmen consisting of *khidmatgars*, *jīlaudārs* (runners), and *coddārs* dressed in the same style. He was very pleased to see any one who had a wounded face. He was very dignified in manner. At the end of his life he used to begin his diwān in the last watch of the night. He also had by this time ceased to be cruel.

<sup>1</sup> It was an annual allowance. *Pādishāhnāma* II. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣafāi resh mī bakshīd*. The phrase is not given in the dictionaries.

<sup>3</sup> Text *dar yūrah u sowārī*, "In expeditions and ridings." But I.O. MS. 628 has *yūrah dughwārī*, which seems preferable.

S. Farid<sup>1</sup> Bhakari says in the *Zakhīra-ul-khwānīn* that, "At the time when 'Abdullah was kept under surveillance by Khān Jahān Lodī the latter sent through me 10,000 Rs. for his expenses. I said to 'Abdullah, 'The Nawāb has done much as a holy warrior in the path of God. How many infidels' heads have you caused to be cut off?' He said, 'There would be 200,000 heads so that there might be two rows of minarets of heads from Agra to Patna. I said, 'Certainly<sup>2</sup> there would be an innocent Muhammadan among these men.' He got angry and said, 'I made prisoners of five lacs of women and men and sold them. They all became Muhammadans. From their progeny there will be krors by the judgment day. God's apostle used to go to the house of the cotton-carder<sup>3</sup> (naddāf) and beg him to become a Masalmān. I at once made five lacs of people Masalmāns. If justice were done, there would be even more followers of Islām.'" When I reported this conversation to Khān Jahān he said, "It is strange in this man that he boasts of his evil deeds and his non-repentance!" His sons did not do well. M. 'Abdu-r-Rasūl was appointed to the Deccan.

(MIR) ABU-L-BAQĀ AMĪR KHĀN.

The best son of Qāsim<sup>4</sup> K. Namakīn. By knowledge of his duties and of affairs he was superior to all his brothers. He distinguished himself during his father's life-time and attained the rank of 500. After his death he attained high rank. In the time of Jahangir he rose to the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse and was appointed governor of Multan as deputy for Yemenu-d-daulah. In the 2nd year of Shah Jahan when Murtaẓā K. Anjū the Ṣub-ahdār of Tatta died, he got an increase of 500 horse and was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, and made governor of

<sup>1</sup> If this is the author of the book he must be identical with the S. M'a-rūf mentioned in Shāh Newāz's preface. Perhaps it is to this man that Stewart refers in his history of Bengal, p. 177, as Fereed Addeen Bokhary.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. has 'O God' (Allah) instead of *albatā*, and *neknāmī* "respectable," instead of *begunah*.

<sup>3</sup> *Naddāf*. I do not know what convert is referred to here.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps "If a correct calculation were made." 'Abdullah's remark reminds us of the boasts of the Portuguese pirates about the number of Christians they had made.

<sup>5</sup> B. 470 and 472.



that province. In the 9th year at the time of the return of the prince (Shah Jahan the king) from Daulatabad to the capital he was appointed to the fief of the Sarkār of Bīr in the Deccan and for some time was among the auxiliaries (*kamakiān*) in that territory. In the 14th year he was sent off to Sivistan in succession to Qazāq<sup>1</sup> K. In the 15th year he was for the second time put in charge of the province of Tatta in succession to Shād Khān. He died there in the 20th year of the reign, 1907, 1647, and was buried in his father's tomb called the Ṣafa-i-Ṣafā (dais of purity) on the hill which is opposite to Bhakar fort and on the south side. He was more than one hundred years old and there was no decline in his intellect or strength. In the time of Jahangir he was known by the name of Mīr Khān. Shah Jahan, by the addition of an alif to his title, took one lac of rupis from him as *peshkash*, and gave him the title of Amīr<sup>2</sup> Khān. He like his father had many children. His eldest son 'Abdu-r-Razzāq was of the 900 class under Shah Jahan. In the 26th year he died. Another was Ziyāu-d-dīn Yūsuf who at the close of Shah Jahan's reign held the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and afterwards had the title of Ziyāu-d-dīn K. His grandson Mīr Abū-l-Wafā in the close of the reign of Aurangzeb held<sup>3</sup> the office of darogha of the oratory along with other offices, and was known to the appreciative monarch for his intelligence and honesty. Another son who perhaps was the ablest of them all was Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm Multafat K., who was an intimate associate of Aurangzeb and had his father's title. His biography is given separately. The daughter of the deceased Khān was married to Prince Murād Bakhsh, but this connection took place long after the Khān's death. On account of the prince's having no child by the daughter of Shāh Newāz K. Ṣafavī, Shah Jahan in the 30th year gave this chaste lady, who was worthy to be married to a prince, a lac of rupees in jewels, etc., as a marriage present, and sent her to Aḥmadabad to be married to the prince who was then the governor of the province (Gujarat).

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<sup>1</sup> B. 472. Qarāq.

<sup>2</sup> See the story in the life of his son Abdul-Karīm.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir, A. 459.

## ABŪ-L-FATH.

<sup>1</sup> Hakīm Masīḥ-u-d-dīn Abū-l-fath, s. Maulānā ‘Abdu-r-Razzāq of Gilān, who had great insight in matters of contemplation and devotion. For years the Ṣadārat (chief ecclesiastical authority) of that country was in his charge. When Gilān came into the possession of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī in 974, 1566-67, and Khān Aḥmad the ruler of that country fell into prison on account of his want of tact, the Maulānā from his truthfulness and orthodoxy ended his life in imprisonment and torture. The Ḥakīm and his two brothers Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn—each of whom was distinguished for quickness of apprehension and ability in the current sciences and for external perfections—chose departure from their native land and came to India. In the 20th year they entered into Akbar’s service, and all three brothers received suitable promotion.

As Abū-l-fath possessed unusual excellence and had tact and knowledge of the world he obtained promotion at court and in the 24th year was made Ṣadr and Amīn of Bengal. Afterwards, when the seditious officers of Bengal and Bihar united, and got rid of Moẓaffar K. the governor, Ḥakīm and many others of the loyalists fell into prison. One day he saw his opportunity, and threw himself down from the top of the fort and reached safety with difficulty and blistered feet, and went on pilgrimage to the Presence. When he kissed the threshold, he surpassed all his equals in influence and intimacy. Though his rank was not higher than 1000 yet in degree he was more than a vizier or vakīl. When in the 30th year Rajah Bīrbar left to reinforce Zain K. Koka, who had been appointed to chastise the tribe of the Yūsufzai, Ḥakīm was also made leader of a separate auxiliary force. But they did not take account of one another and did not act with concord. The result of conceit and duplicity was that the Rajah was killed and that the Ḥakīm and the Kokaltāsh escaped with great difficulty and presented themselves at court. For some time they remained under censure. In the 34th year, 997, 1589, at the time when Akbar was marching from Kashmir to Kabul, Ḥakīm died a natural death in the neigh-

bourhood of Damtūr. In accordance with orders, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfi carried his body to Ḥasan Abdāl and committed it to the dust under a dome which he had built for himself. As some days before this, the very learned Amīr Aẓdu-d-daula of Shiraz had died, Sarfi<sup>1</sup> Savajī found this chronogram.

*Verse.*

This year two scholars departed from the world,  
One went before and the other went after  
Until both agreed (*i.e.*, met) together.  
The chronogram "both went together" did not arise.

Akbar, who was exceedingly gracious to him, visited him during his illness, and after his death expressed his sorrow by saying the *fātiḥa* for him at Ḥasan Abdāl. The Ḥakīm was an acute, wise and active-hearted man. Faiẓī says about him in his elegy :

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

His writings were an exposition of fate's decrees,  
His thoughts an exposition of fortune's records.

In studying and managing the dispositions of men he did not spare himself. Whatever came from him was found of weight in wisdom's balance. He was generous, and the beauty of the age, and for perfections he was the unique of the world. He was the subject of panegyric by the poets of the day. Especially did

<sup>1</sup> The words of the chronogram are, *Har do baham raftand*, which make 997, 1589. The Darbārī Akbarī quotes the lines with some differences of reading (apparently improvements) at p. 679. The text has *Harfi*, but *Sarfi* is the right name and means grammatical. See Badayūnī III. 260, where he is called *Sarfi Savajī* and is stated to have been for a time with Niẓāmu-d-dīn Ahmad in Gujarat. He lived for a time in Lahore and was a man of dervesh manners. He went with Faiẓī to the Deccan and died there. According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow

ed. 400, his name was *Harfi Savahji* and he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. See also B. 586 and note. *Savahji* means that he came from Savah (in Persia). See Sprenger, Cat. 382, who calls him *Salāu-d-dīn Sarfi*, and refers to the *Maasir Rahimi* about him. There was also a *Harfi of Sawah*, do. 30. Perhaps the second line of *Sarfi's* quatrain means that one scholar was higher in rank or abler than the other, but that now they have met together. *Abūl Fath's* tomb still exists at Ḥasan Abdāl.

<sup>2</sup> See A.N., III., 563, line 14

Mullā 'Urī of Shiraz write many brilliant odes in his praise. The following lines are from one of them.

(Here follow eight lines of poetry.)

His (youngest) brother Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn with the takhalluṣ of Qarārī was an eloquent man and a good poet.

This verse is his

*Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

What reck I of death ? A shaft from thine eyes hath pierced me

And shall aye torture me though I die not for another century.

An extraordinary <sup>2</sup> perturbation seized him, and by Akbar's orders he was sent to Bengal where he died without obtaining advancement.

The following are among his sayings:<sup>3</sup> To show off your ability before another man is to shew off your ambition (?). "To watch over a rude servant is to make yourself ill-mannered." "Whomever you trust, he is trustworthy" (i.e., none is really trustworthy). He called Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ a man of the world, and Ḥakīm Ḥamām a man of the other <sup>4</sup> world and kept aloof from them both. A separate account has been given of Ḥakīm Ḥamām. Another brother, named Ḥakīm Laṭf Ullah, who had come from Persia (afterwards) was, by the influence of Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ, enrolled among the royal servants and attained the rank of 200. He soon died. Abū-l-faṭḥ's son Faṭḥ Ullah was an able man. As Jahangir was unfavourable <sup>5</sup> to him, one day Dīānat <sup>6</sup> K. Lang charged him with disloyalty and said that

<sup>1</sup> B. 587 who translates: "I doubt Death's power; but an arrow from thine eye has pierced me, and it is this arrow alone that will kill me, even if I were to live another hundred years." The lines and their context occur in Badayūnī, III., 313. They are more vigorous than most of his quotations.

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from the Aīn, I. 252. but the Maasir has separated the expression from its context. See B. 586 and note 4. Badayūnī seems to say, i.e., that Qarārī was sent off to Ben-

gal as a punishment because he would not conform to the rules about military service. See Darbārī A., 671, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The sayings are obscure. See Darbārī A., 666 and 672.

<sup>4</sup> *marā-i ākhirat*. "A man of the end of things. See B., i.e., line 2.

<sup>5</sup> Iqbalnāma 28.

<sup>6</sup> Tūzuk J. 58 where it is stated that his former name was Qāsim 'Alī. B. 465 (?) but B., i.e., note says Qāsim 'Alī should according to the Maasir be Qāsim Beg. See Maasir, II. 8. The Iqbalnāma J. 30 calls him Qāsim K.

at the time of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau, Fath Ullah had said to him that the proper thing was to give Khusrau the Panjab and so stop the contention. Fath Ullah denied he had said so, and the parties were put to their oaths. Fifteen days had not elapsed when he reaped the result of his false oath, for he had joined Nūru-d-dīn<sup>1</sup>—the cousin of Āṣaf K. Ja'afir—who had arranged with Khusrau that he would bring him out of prison on a fitting opportunity. By chance, in the second year when Jahangir was returning from Kabul to Lahore the plot was revealed to the emperor. After enquiries, Nūru-d-dīn and others were capitally punished and Ḥakīm Fath Ullah was pilloried, being made to ride on an ass backwards and so conveyed from stage to stage. After that he was blinded.<sup>2</sup>

#### ABŪ-L-MAKĀRAM JĀN NIṢĀR KHĀN.<sup>3</sup>

He was Khawāja Abū-l-makāram. At first he was one of the confidential servants of Prince Sultan Muḥammad M'uaẓẓam. When Sultan Muḥammad Akbar had prepared the materials of rebellion, and was, in conjunction with ignorant Rajputs, about to march with a large force against his father, as information about his army had not fully reached the emperor, Khawāja Abū-l-makāram went as a scout on the part of the prince (M'uaẓẓam) and fell in with the scouts of Prince Akbar. A fight ensued and the Khawāja escaped with wounds. In this way he became known to the emperor and afterwards obtained the rank of 900 and the title of Jān Niṣār K. In the campaign of Rāmdara<sup>4</sup> he was appointed to accompany the said prince (M. M'uaẓẓam afterwards Bahādur Shah), and in the siege of Sāmpgāon<sup>5</sup> he distinguished himself, and stamped the diploma of bravery with the inscription

<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl-nāma, J. 27.

<sup>2</sup> B. 425 says he was put to death, and refers to the Tūzuk 58, but it is not said there that he was killed. Jahangir says he intended to do so, but refrained and contented himself with imprisoning Fath Ullah and putting to death some others. The Iqbāl-nāma 29, last line, says that Fath Ullah was pilloried, etc. He does not say he was blinded. From Khāfi K., I.

233, line 7, where mention is made of a plot to *makhūl u mahbūse* (blind and imprison) Jahangir, it is clear *makhūl* does not mean to kill.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was son of It-tikhār K. Ālamgīr-nāma, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K., II. 280, 291.

<sup>5</sup> Text Sāt-gāon, variant Sāpgāon. The real name appears to be Sāmpgāon. See Khāfi K., II. 291. It is described there as a strong fort and

of wounds ! When the prince returned from there, he was appointed to attack Abū-l-ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, and Jān Niṣār accompanied him. In accordance with directions from the prince he proceeded to take the fort of Saram<sup>1</sup> and established a thāna. He repulsed a sally of Abū-l-ḥasan's troops, and he distinguished himself in the siege of Golconda and was wounded. In the 33rd year he was presented<sup>2</sup> with a dagger with a hilt, etc. (u sāz) of jade and sent off to chastise the vile foe. Next year he received a robe of honour and an elephant. As he had repeatedly distinguished himself the emperor used to show him favour. Afterwards when there was a battle between Sānta Ghorpura and the imperialists in a village of the Carnatic, the latter were defeated by the evil assistance of fate. The Khān was wounded but managed to escape. After that he became *faujdār* and *qil'adār* of Gwaliyar and chose the corner of contentment.

When Aurangzeb went to paradise, though the Khān was an old servant of Bahādūr Shah and was hopeful of promotion from him, yet as he saw that A'zim Shah was at hand he, from inconsideration,<sup>3</sup> wrote petitions to A'zim Shah and Sultan Muḥammad 'Azīm (Bahādūr Shah's son) to the effect that he wished to join, but that the opposite party had appointed a force to carry him off, and that he would come in as soon as he had got carriage, etc. Meanwhile he learnt that Bahādūr Shah had arrived at Agra, and went off posthaste to join him. As the emperor had previously expected that Jān Niṣār K. would have gone over to Muḥammad 'Azīm<sup>4</sup> with 4 or 5000 horse, he was displeased. But after Muḥammad A'zim Shāh was killed, he, on perceiving signs of penitence in Jān Niṣār, after some delay admitted him into his service. He received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and the gift of drums.

After Bahādūr Shah had gone to paradise, the Khān served on the right wing of Jahāndār Shah in the battle with Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards he served Farrukh Siyar. When Husain 'Alī

Jān Niṣār was wounded at the taking of it. See Elliot, VII. 314.

<sup>1</sup> Sairam in Khāfi K., II. 302.

<sup>2</sup> M. Aalamgiri, 331.

<sup>3</sup> Text *beparwagi* but the variant *bepardagi* "effrontery" seems more

likely to be correct. He wrote to both sides.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant A'zim, but apparently the text is right. Bahādūr Shah thought that Jān Niṣār should have joined his son earlier.

K. the governor of the Deccan came to the taluqs<sup>1</sup> and made peace with the enemy on the agreement to grant one-fourth of the revenue and ten per cent. *desmukhī*, and this arrangement was not approved of by the sovereign, Jān Niṣār—who was vexed (*mizāj girifta*, qu. "tactful"? ) and was a man of the world (*saḥbatdāda*), and the adopted brother of 'Abdullah<sup>2</sup> K. Saiyid Miyān took leave in the 6th year to go as governor of Burhānpur, in order that he might make Ḥusain 'Alī K. listen to reason and bring him into the right way. After coming to the ferry of Akbarpūr (on the Nabada), Ḥusain 'Alī after perceiving that he would not be of his party (?), sent a body of troops and summoned him to his presence at Aurangabad. Though in appearance there was much cordiality, and food was sent every day and he was always treated with respect, and he was addressed as 'Ammū Šāhib "Sir Uncle," yet he put off admitting him to Burhānpur. After the harvest of the cold-weather crop he was admitted on condition that he should send his eldest son Dārāb K. to Burhānpur, and himself accompany him (Ḥusain 'Alī). When Ḥusain 'Alī K. showed a design to go to the capital, as he was not confident about Jān Niṣār, and the people of Burhānpur complained about Dārāb K., he appointed Saifu-d-dīn<sup>3</sup> 'Alī K. in his room, and took him (Dārāb?) with him. It is not known what finally became of Jān Niṣār. He had two sons. One was Dārāb K. and the other was Kāmyāb K. Both were with Niẓāmu-l-mulk Āsaf Jāh in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. The second son was wounded, and the eldest—who was son-in-law of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh 'Ālamgīrī, and whose sister (Jān Niṣār's daughter) was married to I'timād-u-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn K.—was addressed by his father's title and in Muḥammad Shāh's time became *faujdar* of Sarkār Karra Jahānābād in the Allahabad province. He remained there for seven years and in the 14th year was killed by the hand of Bhagwant Singh the zemindar of that place.

<sup>1</sup> *ba taluqa rasida*. Apparently this means the territories of Rajah Sāhū the Mahratta. See Maasir, I. 330, line nine from foot.

<sup>2</sup> The father of the two Saiyids. See B. 392. He is also called Tihan-

pūrī. Perhaps the meaning of *mizāj-girifta* is that Jān Niṣār had understood the feelings of Farrukh Siyar about the convention.

<sup>3</sup> A younger brother of Ḥusain 'Alī, B. 392.

## ABU-L-FATH K. DECCANI AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE MAHDAVĪ RELIGION.

He was descended from Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr. On account of his being connected by marriage with Jamāl K—the Abyssinian (he was his son-in-law), he rose to high rank in the world. He was distinguished for courage and generosity. They say that when in the reign of Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh, Sultan Ḥasan B. Sultan Ḥusain of Sabzawār, who was a native of Aḥmadnagar, received the title of Mīrzā Khān and became the Peshwah of the dynasty, he, from wickedness and folly, brought Mīrān Ḥusain the son of Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh aforesaid from Daulatabad to Aḥmadnagar and made him king. He also put<sup>1</sup> Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh to death by torture and became more powerful than ever. After some time intriguing persons alienated Mīrzā K. and Mīrān Ḥusain from one another. As Ḥusain Nizām Shāh (i.e., the Mīrān Ḥusain aforesaid) from carelessness and inexperience uttered menacing words, Mīrzā Khān observed the maxim of “remedy a fact before the fact occurs,” and so he imprisoned Ḥusain Nizām Shāh in the fort and raised to the throne Ismāʿīl, the son of Burhān Shāh, who (Burhan) at that time had fled from his brother Murtaẓa Nizām Shāh and had become a servant of Akbar.

On the day of the accession Mīrzā K. summoned the other Moghul officers to the fort and held rejoicings. Suddenly Jamāl K. the Abyssinian, who was the centurion<sup>2</sup> (*Ṣadā manṣabdār*), joined with the Deccanis and the Abyssinians and made a tumult at the gates of the Aḥmadnagar fort. They said that for some days they had not seen Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, and that he should be shown to them. Mīrzā Khān from exceeding arrogance replied by engaging in battle. When this did not answer, he, being desperate, had the head of Ḥusain Nizām put on a spear and stuck above the fort. He then proclaimed, “Here is the head of the man for

<sup>1</sup> The history of these occurrences is fully given by Ferishta who was an eye-witness. It was Mīrān Ḥusain who put his own father to death. See also A.N., III. 539 and 587.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣadā* means “one hundred”, and it would seem from Ferishta that there were a number of officers so styled. Originally perhaps it meant the captain of a hundred men.



whom you are clamouring, our king is Ismā'il Nizām Shāh." Some on seeing this wished to turn back, but Jamāl K. said that now he would exact retribution from this man (Mīrzā Khān) and put the reins into the king's own hands, otherwise their fortunes and their honour would be ruined. By his endeavours there was a general riot, and fire was set to the gate of the fort. Mīrzā K. became helpless and fled to Junair. The rioters entered the fort and proceeded to slay the foreigners. M. Muḥammad Taqī, Nazīrī Mīrzā, Ṣādiq Urdūbādī,<sup>1</sup> Amīn A'zzu-d-dīn Astrabādī—every one of whom had acquired court office and rank, and had not their equals in the seven climes in that age for the customary excellencies—and many of the Moghuls, high and low, servants as well as merchants, were slain. Mīrzā K. too was brought from Junair, cut to pieces, and his limbs hung up in the bazaar.

Jamāl Khān was a follower of the Mahdavi religion. When he arrived at power, he made Ismā'il Shāh—who was young<sup>2</sup>—a member of the same faith, and abolished the proclamation in the name of the twelve Imāms and exerted himself to promote the Mahdavi<sup>3</sup> sect. He gathered together nearly 10,000 horses of this party, and at this time the latter flocked from every quarter to Ahmदनगर. Saiyid Ilahdād—who was a descendant of the Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr who had proclaimed Mahdavisim—came to the Deccan with his son Saiyid Abū-l-faṭḥ. As Saiyid Ilahdād was renowned for his austerities, and the purity of his life, Jamāl Khān gave his daughter in marriage to his son Saiyid Abū-l-Faṭḥ. That son of a Saiyid at once attained to great fortune and became master of goods and of undertakings. When Burhān Shāh heard of the confusion in the Deccan, and of the accession of his son, he took leave of Akbar and came to his hereditary country. With the help of Rajah 'Alī Khān Fārūqī and of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh he fought a battle with Jamāl K. in the neighbourhood of Rohankhīra,<sup>4</sup> and gained the victory. It happened by fate that

<sup>1</sup> Urdūbād is a town in Azarbaijān and is on the Aras, a tributary of the Kur. The province is now known as Erivan.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta says he was only 16.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of the Mahdavi

religion see Blochmann, *Āin*, Preface, p. iii, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishta calls the place Ghāt Robangūr and says that when Jamāl K. found that pass closed against him he went by another and more difficult

Jamāl K. was wounded by a bullet and killed. Ismā'īl Nizām Shāh was made prisoner. The verse "The currency of religion seized the head of Jamāl" enigmatically<sup>1</sup> gives the date of the event, 999.

Burhān Nizām Shāh revived the Imāmiya religion and put to death the Mahdivies and plundered their property. In a short time no trace of them remained. Saiyid Abū-l-Faṭḥ together with his wife's brother, who was Jamāl K.'s son, was seized and for a long time kept in prison. Afterwards he escaped and collected Jamāl K.'s scattered troops and took possession of the territory of Bijapur. Ibrāhīm<sup>2</sup> 'Ādil Shāh sent 'Alī Āqā Turkoman against him. It chanced that 'Alī Āqā was killed and that Abū-l-Faṭḥ got possession of his horses and elephants and became master.

'Ādil Shāh was helpless and conciliated him by bestowing high office on him and assigning to him the revenues of pargana Gokāk.<sup>3</sup> After some time 'Ādil Shāh meditated treachery against him, so he put his wife and mother on horseback and fled to Burhānpur. The Khān-Khānān ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm) regarded his arrival as an honour, and procured him the rank of 5000 and the gift of drums. After that he was given Mānikpūr in fief and the government of Allahabad, and acquired a name there for courage. In the 8th year of Jahangir he was appointed to march with Sultan Kharrām (Shah Jahan) against the Rānā, and in 1023, 1614, he fell ill

route to attack Burhān. See also A.N. III. 587 where the scene of the battle is called Fardāpūr. It is near the Ajanta caves. The battle was fought on 13 Rajab 999, 27 April, 1591. It is described in Major Haig's *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 187. The place is there called Rohankhed, and the date given is May 18, 1591.

<sup>1</sup> The two words مروج مذهب *Murawvaj mazhab* yield the date 996, and they "take the head", that is, add the first letter ج of Jamāl which gives 3, and so the whole becomes 999, 1591. Apparently there are several puns in the line. *Mazhab* means religion, and

*muzhab* means gilded, i.e., flowery, and *muruj* is the plural of *marj*, a meadow. *Murawvaj* also means a dealer, and so *Murawvaj mazhab* might mean dealer in the current religion. Further *Sir-i-Jamāl* may mean both "the head of Jamāl" and "a beautiful head." The line therefore might be translated "The golden meadows put on a beautiful appearance." The chronogram is given by Ferishta at the end of his account of Ism'ail of Ahmadnagar's reign, and he says it was composed by Muḥammad Sharif Karbalāi.

<sup>2</sup> Cānd Bibi's nephew.

<sup>3</sup> In the Belgaum district I.G. xii, 306.

at the *thāna* of Kombhalmīr,<sup>1</sup> and died in the city of Pūr Mandal.<sup>2</sup>

Mir Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr was the fountain of the Mahdāvī movement. He was an Avis,<sup>3</sup> and from his abundant spirituality became possessed of esoteric and exoteric learning. Many regard him as a disciple and successor of Shaiḫ Daniel, who was the successor of Rājī Ḥamid Shāh of Mānikpūr. He was a Ḥanafī in religion. In the end of 906,<sup>4</sup> 1501, he, owing to confused brain and the influences of the age, proclaimed Mahdism. Many persons became his adherents and displayed their eccentricities. They say that when he became convalescent he repudiated his doctrines, but many who did not attain to sanity remained in the same ideas. Some maintain that his statement "I am the Mahdī" meant that he was the forerunner of the Mahdī and not that he was the Mahdī promised in the Law.<sup>5</sup> Some say that in fact God made a revelation to the Saiyid by a secret voice, which said, "Thou art the Mahdī," and that consequently he knew that he was the promised Mahdī. He held this belief for a long time, and then went from Jaunpūr to Gujarat. Sultan Maḥmūd the elder (Sultan Maḥmūd Bigarha) received<sup>6</sup> him graciously. On account of envious people he could not go to India, and set out for Persia, in order that he might go by that route to the Hījāz. On the way it was made plain to him that his idea of being the Mahdī was a complete delusion, and he said to his

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 258. Kumalgarh of Rajputana Gazetteer, III. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Pūr Mandal. In the Rajputana Gazetteer, Pur and Mandal are described as two separate towns, about 10 miles apart. They lie N.E. Udaipur. There is also a Mandalgarh, *l.c.*, 53. See also J. II. 274.

Abū-l-Faṭḥ is mentioned in the Tūzūk J. III as having become loyal to Jahangir two years before the 7th year.

<sup>3</sup> That is, apparently, a follower of the order of Avis, the Aweis Qarānī of Beale, and the Ghīyāṣu-l-loḡhat and Avis Alkouni of D'Herbelot, a saint of Yemen, who was killed in A.D. 557.

See also *Khazīna Aṣfiyā* II., p. 118, and Nicholson's ed. of the *Tazkīra Auliya*, I. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Text 960, but this must be a mistake, for he died in 910. Probably *shaat* has been written by mistake for *shash*. See Blochmann V., Bayley's Gujrat 240 et seq., *Mirāt Sikandari* lith. 136 and Badayūnī I., Ranking 420, 21. Ferishta however has 960.

<sup>5</sup> B. III.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Mirāt Sikandari* the Sultan wished to see him, but was dissuaded by his officers on the ground that the Saiyid's eloquence might make him forsake secular business.

disciples, "Almighty God hath wiped the drops of Mahdism from my heart. If I return in safety, I shall retract all I have said." When he came to Farah<sup>1</sup> he died, and was buried there. Ignorant people, especially of the Afghan Panī tribe, and some of other tribes, regard him as the promised Mahdī, and have adopted this fictitious religion. The writer of these sheets (*ajzā*) chanced to be in company with one of these believers, and it was clear that besides matters<sup>2</sup> which were disputable (?) they had extracted some rules and principles from the traditions which were contrary to the tenets of the four religions.<sup>3</sup>

### ABU-L-FAZL 'ALLĀMĪ FAHĀMĪ (SHAIKH).

Second son of Mubārak of Nāgōr. He was born in 958 (6 Muḥarram = 14 January 1551), and by his quickness, ability, lofty genius, and fluency of speech soon became the unique and unequalled one of the age. By his fifteenth year he had acquired the philosophic sciences, and traditionary learning. They say<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Farah or Farrah is in Afghanistan on one of the main routes from Herāt to Qandahar. It is 164 m. S. Herāt, I. G. I. 35, and is in Sistan.

<sup>2</sup> *Siwāi Masāla-i-Mā Nahā Fih*, an Arabic phrase which I do not fully understand. Perhaps it means, some questions which we do not discuss or describe.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the four orthodox sects of the Sunnis described by Sale in his Preliminary Discourse. Blochmann gives 911 as the date of Saiyid Muḥammad's death. Bayley and Badayūnī have 910, and the *Mirāt Sikandarī* Lith. has 917. According to one account he was killed, and according to another he died a natural death. This biography is by Shah Newāz, and the remark at the end would seem to imply that he was a Sunnī. But possibly he really was a Shīa. He certainly was not a bigoted Sunnī or Shīa. The four sects of the Sunnis are also described in Hughes Dict. of Islām.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the author did not know that the account was A. F.'s

own. See Jarrett, III. 444. and Persian text of Āin, II. 278. By the *Ispahānī* seems to be meant Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Al Ashārī who wrote a gloss on the commentary of Baiḡavī on the Koran. He died in Egypt in 749, 1348-1349. See D'Herbelot, art. *Espahani*. See also B. XI, where by mistake the manuscript is said to have been damaged by fire. The passage in the text is a copy, though apparently not at first hand, of A. F.; and in the 5th line of p. 609 the word *sih* has been omitted after *du*. Col. Jarrett's translation is, "When both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning, and in three or four others (differing) citations but approximate in sense." B. explains that the folios had been destroyed from top to bottom, half of each having been eaten away. This would affect the last half of each line on one side of the folio and the first half on the other. The story seems apocryphal.

that in the early days of his instruction and when he was not yet twenty the gloss of *Sifāhānī* (or *Ispahānī*, i.e., an inhabitant of Ispahan) came into his hands, but with more than half of it eaten by white-ants so that it could not be understood. He removed the worm-eaten portion and joined on blank paper. Then after a little meditation he understood the beginning and ending of each line, and by conjecture filled up the blanks. Afterwards when another copy was procured, and the two were compared, it was found that they agreed, except in two or three places where there were synonymous expressions, and three or four places where there were (differing) citations (*irād*) but approximate in sense. All were astonished. As his disposition was retiring, and loved solitude, he shook off society and sought to lead an independent life. He did not try to open the door of a profession. At the instance of friends, he in the nineteenth year of the reign of Akbar presented himself before the sovereign at the time when the latter was about to proceed to the eastern districts, and tendered a commentary which he had written on the *Ayatul-kursī*, "The Throne-verse" (v. 256 of the second chapter of the Koran, p. 45 of Sale ed. 1825). Afterwards, when Akbar returned to *Fathpūr*, he presented himself a second time, and as the fame of his ability and learning had on several occasions reached Akbar, he became the object of his boundless favour. When Akbar became alienated from the bigoted *Ulamā*, the two brothers, who, along with their eminent knowledge and ability, were not devoid of tact and servility, again and again disputed vehemently with *Shaiikh* *Ābdu-n-Nabī* and *Makhdūmu-l-mulk*,—who from their science and possession of the current learning were pillars of the empire,—and assisted Akbar in putting them to silence. Day by day their influence and intimacy with the king increased, and as the *Shaiikh*'s disposition and that of his elder brother *Shaiikh* *Faizī* harmonised with Akbar's, *Abū-l-fazl* came to be an *Amīr*. In the 39th year he became an officer of 1000, and in the 34th, when the *Shaiikh*'s mother died, Akbar came to his house and condoled with him and comforted him. He said, "If men were immortal, and did not die, one by one, there would be no need for sympathetic hearts practising resignation. As no one long abides in this caravanserai,

why should we bring upon ourselves the reproach of impatience." In the 37th year he was raised to the rank of 2000.

When the Shaikh had acquired such sway over the king that the princes were jealous of him, not to speak of the officers, and was always in contiguity, like the setting to a jewel, and that nothing was concluded without his approval, several of the discontented induced Akbar to send the Shaikh to the Deccan. It is also notorious that Sultan Selīm one day went to the Shaikh's house and found forty clerks employed in copying the Koran, and a commentary thereupon. He took them all, together with the chapters of the books, to the king, who became suspicious and thought,<sup>1</sup> "He incites us to other kinds of things, and then when he goes to the privacy of his home he acts differently." From that day there was a breach in their intimacy and companionship!

In the 43rd year he was dispatched to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murād. The order to him was that if the officers who had been appointed there to guard the country were doing their duty, he was to return with the prince. Otherwise he was to send off the prince, and to conduct the administration with the assistance of Mīrzā Shahrukh. When he arrived at Burhānpur, Bahādur Khān the ruler of Khandes, whose brother was married to Abū-l-faḥl's sister, wished to take him to his house and entertain him. The Shaikh said, "If you will go along with me in the king's business, I shall be able to accept (your invitation)." When this road was stopped he sent some clothes and other presents. The Shaikh rejoined, "I have made a covenant with Almighty God that until four conditions be fulfilled, I shall take nothing from any one. "The first condition is Love; the second is that I shall not overestimate the gift; the third that I did not ask for it; the fourth, that I was in want of it." Here, the first three conditions are fulfilled, but how can the fourth be got over for the graciousness of the Shahinshah has obliterated desire?"

Prince Murād, who had fallen into chronic melancholy owing to his having returned unsuccessful from Aḥmadnagar, and to this

<sup>1</sup> See B. XVI who takes the words as having been spoken by Selīm. But A. F. never was Selīm's teacher,

and I think the words are intended as an expression of Akbar's probable thoughts.

cause had been superadded the death of his son Rustum Mīrza,—had with the connivance of sycophants, taken to drinking, and become epileptic. When he heard of his being summoned, he went off to Aḥmadnagar in order that he might make this expedition an excuse for not repairing to the presence. He reached Dīhārī on the banks of the Pūrnā and died in the year 1007, 1599. On the same day the Shaiḡh arrived after a rapid journey at the camp. There was an extraordinary commotion. High and low wanted to go back. The Shaiḡh considered that to return at this time when the enemy was close by, and they were in a foreign country, was to play into their own loss. Though many got angry and went off, he addressed himself with a strong heart and true courage to soothe the leaders and to keep together the army, and marched on to subdue the Deccan. In a short time he collected the wanderers, and guarded in an excellent manner the whole territory. Nāsik, which was far off, was not retaken. But many places such as the forts of Batīālā, Taltum, and Sitūnda were added to the empire. He encamped on the bank of the Godavery and appointed fit armies in every direction. On receiving a message he made proper agreements and promises with Chānd Bībī to the effect that when Aḡang Khān the Abyssinian, with whom she was at feud, should be chastised, she would take Junair as her fief and surrender Aḥmadnagar. The Shaiḡh moved from Shāḡgarha in that direction.

At this time Akbar came to Ujjain and found that Bahādur Khān the ruler of Āsīr had not paid his respects to Prince Daniel. The prince resolved to punish him. As the king intended to come to Burhānpur he wrote to the prince to address himself to the capture of Aḥmadnagar. Accordingly, letter after letter came from the prince to the Shaiḡh telling him that his energy was known to every one far and near, but that Akbar wished that he (the prince) should conquer Aḥmadnagar. Abū-l-faḡl therefore should refrain from the enterprise. When the prince moved from Burhānpur, the Shaiḡh, in accordance with orders, left Mīrẓā Shahrūkh with Mir Mūrtaẓa and Khwāja Abū-l-ḡhasan in the camp and went off to kiss the threshold. On 14 Ramẓān, 1008 A.H., 19 March 1600, and in the beginning of the 45th year, he paid his

respects to the king at Kargāon in the Bijapur territory. There came on Akbar's lips the verse—

A fine night and a glorious moon<sup>1</sup> fit well

For my talk with thee on every topic.

The Shaikh was appointed, along with Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, Āṣaf Khān J'afar, and Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī to besiege the fort of Āsīr, and the government of the Khandes was assigned to him. He sent his own men with his son and his brother and established *thānas* in twenty-two places, and exerted himself to put down the contumacious. At the same time he displayed the flag of a *manṣab* of 4000.

One day the Shaikh went to inspect the batteries. One of the besieged, who had joined the men in a battery, pointed out a path by which they could get upon the wall of Māligarha. For in the waist of Āsīr on the west by north side there were two noted forts called Māli and Antarmāli. Whoever wished to enter the strong fortress (Āsīr) had first to get through these two forts. Separate from them and in the north and north-east side there was another fort called Jūnamāli. Its wall was not completed. From east to south-west there were smaller hills, and in the south there was a high hill called Kortha. On the south-west was a lofty hill called Sāpan. As this last had come into the hands of the imperialists, the Shaikh arranged with the officers of the battery that when they heard the sound of the drums and trumpets every one should come out with ladders and should beat loudly the great drum. He himself in a dark and cloudy night came with his men to the top of Sāpan and sent off the men. They broke open the gate of Māli and when they had entered the fort they sounded the drums and trumpets. The garrison resisted, and the Shaikh followed and arrived when it was near morning. The garrison were confused and entered Āsīr. When it was day the besiegers poured in from every side, some by Kortha and some by Jūnamāli. A great victory was gained. Bahādur Khān asked for quarter, and through the intervention of Khān A'ẓim Koka he was permitted to do homage. When Prince Daniel

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<sup>1</sup> The 14th would be a full moon.



arrived at the Presence during the congratulations for the victory of Āsīr there arose a disturbance caused by Rājū <sup>1</sup> Manā and the attempt to raise to the throne the son of Shah 'Alī the paternal uncle of Nizām Shah. The Khān-Khānān came to Ahmadnagar, and the Shaiikh got leave to go and subdue Nāsik. But as many men were making a disturbance about the son of Shah 'Alī, the Shaiikh, in accordance with orders, returned from that quarter and went to Ahmadnagar along with the Khān-Khānān.

When in the 46th year Akbar returned to Upper India from Burhanpur, Prince Daniel remained in the latter place. The Khān-Khānān took up his abode in Ahmadnagar so that the command-in-chiefship and the prosecution of the war fell to the Shaiikh. After fightings and struggles the Shaiikh made a treaty with the son of Shāh 'Alī and then proceeded to chastise Rājū Manā. After taking Jālnapūr and its neighbourhood—which had been held by the enemy—he hastened to Ghātī Daulatabad (i.e., the approaches to Daulatabad) and the Rauza <sup>2</sup> and marched down from Katak <sup>3</sup> Catwāra and repeatedly fought with Rājū and was always victorious. Rājū <sup>4</sup> took shelter for a time in Daulatabad and again made a disturbance. After a short engagement he fled and was nearly captured. He flung himself into the moat of the fort. His baggage was plundered.

In the 47th year when Akbar became displeased with Prince Sultan Selim on account of certain occurrences, he, because of his servants' having sided with the prince, and because there was no one who was equal to Abū-l-faḡl in truthfulness and reliability, summoned him to court. He ordered him to leave his establishment and to come unattended, and with haste. Abū-l-faḡl left his son 'Abdu-r-Rahmān with his establishment and with the auxiliary officers in the Deccan, and came on rapidly. Jahangir, who suspected him on account of his loyalty and devotion to his master, regarded his coming at this time as an interruption to his

<sup>1</sup> Akbarnāma III. 784. Rājū is also called Rājū Deccani. He was a rival of Malik 'Ambar.

<sup>2</sup> Rauza is another name for Khul-dābād where Aurangzeb is buried.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 795. Katak means an army, and also a fort, and perhaps here a camp. The A.N. merely has Catwāra.

<sup>4</sup> A.N. III. 797.

plans, and considered his coming unattended as a gain. Rather, from inappreciation, he considered that the getting rid of the Shaikh would be the first step to the sovereignty, and by various promises instigated Bir Singh Deo Bandila—through whose territory the Shaikh must necessarily pass—to kill him. He waited in ambush. When this news came to the Shaikh in Ujjain, men said that he ought to go by the route of Ghāṭī Cāṇḍā (by Malwa). The Shaikh said, "What power have robbers to block my path?" On Friday 4 Rabi-al-awal 1011, 12 August 1602, half a *kos* from the serai of Bir<sup>1</sup> which is six *kos* from Narwar, Bir Singh Deo assembled with numerous horse and foot. The Shaikh's well-wishers tried to bring away the Shaikh from the field of battle, and Gadai Afghan, one of his old servants, said that in the township of Antrī which was near at hand there were the Rai Rayan and Rajah Sūraj Singh with three thousand horse. He should take them with him and put down the foe. The Shaikh did not approve of incurring the disgrace of flight and manfully played away the coin of life.

Jahangir himself writes that Shaikh Abū-l-faẓl had persuaded his (Jahangir's<sup>2</sup>) father that because His Excellency, the seal and asylum (of prophecy)—the peace of God be upon him and his family—was possessed of perfect eloquence, he composed the Koran (*i.e.*, it was not a Divine revelation). Consequently he, at the time of the Shaikh's coming from the Deccan, told Bir Singh to kill him, and after this his father's views changed.

In accordance with the customs of the Caghatai family that the deaths of princes are not openly announced to the king, but that the prince's wakil binds a blue handkerchief on his arm and makes his reverence, and that in this way the fact becomes known; so as none of the attendants had the courage to announce the death of the Shaikh, the above custom was followed. Akbar was more grieved than for the deaths of his sons, and after hearing the details he said that if the prince aimed at the kingship he should

<sup>1</sup> Called Bar by Blochmann XXV. It seems to be the Barquisera (Barke Serai) of Tavernier II. 39, ed. 1676. It was between Narwar and Antrī and about 6 miles S. of the latter. The Trie of Tavernier is Antrī.

<sup>2</sup> Price's Mem. of Jahangir, p. 33. It does not occur in the genuine Memoirs

have killed him, and guarded the Shaikh. He also uttered this verse extempore.<sup>1</sup>

Verse.

When our Shaikh came towards us with eager longing  
A desire of kissing our feet lost him, head and foot.

The Khān 'A<sub>z</sub>im enigmatically gave the date of the Shaikh's death thus—

Verse.

The wondrous sword of God's Prophet severed the rebel's head.<sup>1</sup> (1011) (i.e., 1602 A.D.)

They say the Shaikh appeared in a dream (to him) and said, "The date of my death is 'Banda Abū-l-faḥl', 'The slave (servant of God) Abū-l-faḥl', 'for in God's workshop, His bounty is extensive to the erring. No one should despair.'"

It is related of Shāh Abū-l-m'aālī Qādirī,<sup>2</sup> who was one of the leading Shaikhs of Lahore, that he said, "I objected<sup>3</sup> to the doings of Abū-l-faḥl. One night I saw in a dream that Abū-l-faḥl was produced in the assembly of the Apostle. His Majesty cast his blessed glance upon him and gave him a place in the assembly. He condescended to observe, "This man during part of his life did evil things, but this prayer of his of which the beginning is 'O God, reward the good for the sake of their goodness, and comfort the evil for the sake of Thy graciousness' became the cause of his salvation."

The assertion that the Shaikh was an infidel is upon the lips of high and low. Some reproach him with being a Hindu in religion, and some call him a fire-worshipper, and entitle him a secularist. Some even carry their disgust so far as to call him impious and an atheist. Others in whom justice prevails and who, like the followers of mysticism, give good names to those who have a bad name, rank him among the followers of "Peace with

<sup>1</sup> The removal of the first letter of bāghī, "a rebel", yields 1011, i.e., *Sar-i-bāgh-i-burīd* minus b=1011.

<sup>2</sup> *Safina u-l-Auliya* and *Khazina Asfiya* I. 149. He was born in 960, 1553, and died in 1024, 1615.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps, "I refused to have anything to do with him, i.e., I refused to say prayers for him."

all," and with those who are of a wide disposition, and accept all religions, and are relaxers of the Law, and are free-thinkers. The author of the 'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsī' says that Shaiḫ Abul-faḡl was a Nuḡtavī (Blochmann 452), as is shown by an edict (*manshūr*) which was put into the form of a letter and sent (by Abū-l-faḡl) to Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Kāshī—who was one of the leaders of this sect, and the author of treatises on the Nuḡta doctrine, and who, in the year 1002, 1594, when there was a slaying of heretics in Persia, was killed<sup>2</sup> in Kāshañ by Shāh 'Abbās with his own hand. The Nuḡta doctrines are impiety and infidelity, and license and broad churchism, and the Nuḡtavīs, like the philosophers, consider the universe to be eternal. They deny the Resurrection, and the Last Day, and the retribution for good and evil, and make Paradise and Hell to consist in prosperity and adversity in this world! May God preserve us (from such doctrines.)

With all this, the Shaiḫ was an able man, and had a great intellect and critical disposition, and an acute glance which overlooked nothing, however minute, in worldly affairs, and current questions. How was it that he did not enter into agreement with the wise, and that he abandoned the excellent way? Man in the affairs of this world—which is unenduring—does not devise his own evil and does not approve of injuring himself! In the affairs of the final world, which is stable and enduring, why does he knowingly and intentionally choose destruction? "Those<sup>3</sup> whom God permits to go astray are without a guide."

What appears upon investigation is that Akbar, from the beginning of his years of understanding, had a great love for the manners and customs of India. Afterwards, he observed the precepts of his honoured father who had accepted the advice of Shah Ṭahmāsp the king of Persia. The latter, in conversation with Humāyūn, discussed the question of India, and the loss of sovereignty. He said, "It appears that there are in India two

1 'Ālam Ārāi, Tehran ed., p. 325. Sikandar Munshi says this on the faith of statements of people who had come from India, and of a letter or rescript which was found in Aḥmad Kāshī's house.

2 'Ālam Ārāi 325. 'Abbās cut him to pieces in Naḡrābād Kāshañ.

3 Sūra 7, v. 185, "He whom God shall cause to err, shall have no Director" (Sale).

parties who are distinguished for military qualities and leadership, the Afghans and the Rājputs. At present you cannot get the Afghans on your side for there is no mutual confidence. Make them traders instead of servants, and arrange with the Rājputs and cherish them." Akbar recognised that the winning over of this body of men would be one of the great political achievements, and strove for it to the uttermost. So much so that he adopted their customs, such as the prohibition of cow-killing, shaving the beard, wearing pearl earrings, Dussarah and Diwālī festivals, etc. Though the Shaikh had influence over the king, yet perhaps from love of glory he could not hold the reins in this matter. All these connexions recoiled upon himself.

It is stated in the Zakhīra-al-Khwānīn that the Shaikh used to go to the houses of dervishes at night-time and distribute *ashrafīs* (gold coins) and beg them to pray for the preservation of Abū-l-faḥl's faith. The burden of his plaint was, "Alas! What is to be done?" And then he would place<sup>1</sup> his hands on his knees and heave a deep sigh. He never used bad language, nor was there fining<sup>2</sup> for absence, or the confiscation<sup>3</sup> or stoppage of wages in his establishment. Whomsoever he once employed he never, if possible, discharged him even if he did his work badly. He would say, "Men will impute it to my want of intelligence and will say, 'Why did he take him on without knowing what

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* "strike his hands upon his knees." It is an attitude in prayer. See Bahār-i-'Ajam and Hughes' Dict., art. Prayer. See also B. XVI, XVII. The phrase "to strike one's hands on one's knees" is also used in *Maasir* I. 745, line 6. Apparently it is a gesture of emotion.

<sup>2</sup> *ghair hūziri*. See Irvine A. of M. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *bāzyāfti u faroghi*. *Farogh* means splendour or a star, and *furugh* means bringing to an end. But I think there is a misreading and that the word is *qurughī*. See Vullers s.v. *qurug*. Steingass gives *qurug* as a Mongolian word meaning confiscation. It has been adopted into Bengali as a

legal term meaning attachment of property, e.g., Kūrūk Amīn, "an attaching officer." The juxta-position of the word *bāzyāft* seems to shew that a word meaning stoppage of wages was intended. The MSS. might be read as giving *qurughī* as well as *faroghi*, for there is only a dot of difference between them. Blochmann however has accepted the word as *furugh*, for his rendering at p. xxviii is "absence on the part of his servants." Perhaps the word means simply dismissal. The expression occurs again at p. 408 of vol. III in the notice of Mahābat, and is made with reference to Khān Jahān Lodi's establishment.

he was ?” On the day that the Sun entered Aries, he had all his household goods brought before him and he wrote down the details and kept the list. He burnt his account-books (*dafātir*) and gave all the clothes he had worn to his servants on New Year’s Day, except the trousers (*pājāma*) which were burnt in his presence. He had a wonderful appetite. They say that, exclusive of fuel and water, his daily ration weighed two and twenty *sirs*. His son S. ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān was his table-attendant (*safarcī*, “waiter”), and sate as such. The superintendent of the kitchen (*mashrif-i-bawarchīkhāna*) was a Muḥammadan and stood by and looked on. Whatever dish the Shaiḫ put his hand into twice, was prepared again next day. If anything was tasteless, he gave it to his son to eat, and he went and admonished the cooks, but the Shaiḫ himself said nothing.

They say that his arrangements and establishments during the Deccan campaigns were beyond anything that could be imagined. In a *cahal rawatī* (a large tent) a divan (*masnad*) was spread for the Shaiḫ, and every day one thousand plates of food were prepared and distributed among all the officers. Outside a *nuhgazī*<sup>1</sup> (“a nine-yard canopy”?) was set up, and cooked *kichiri* was distributed all day long to whoever wanted it—high or low.

They say that when the Shaiḫ was Prime Minister (*vakīl mallaq*), the Khān-Khānān one day came to see him, in company with M. Jānī Beg, the (former) ruler of Scinde. The Shaiḫ was lying at full length on a bed and looking at the Akbarnāma. He did not rise up at all, but, just as he was, said, “Come in, Mirzās, and be seated.” Mirzā Jānī Beg, who had princely ideas, was disgusted and departed. On another occasion the Khān-Khānān prevailed by entreaties on the Mirzā to go to the Shaiḫ’s quarters. The Shaiḫ came to the gate to welcome him and paid him great attention, and said, “We<sup>2</sup> are your fellow-citizens and your servants.” The Mirzā was astonished and said to the Khān-Khānān, “What is the meaning of the whilome hauteur and

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *gazī* is the same as *gazīnah* mentioned in B. 95 and in Vullers as a coarse cotton cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the fact that his ancestors settled in Scinde when they first came from Arabia to India.

of the present humility?" The Khān-Khānān replied, "On that day he had the canons<sup>1</sup> of viziership in view, he conformed the shadow to the substance. To-day he adopted fraternising manners."

To leave aside all such matters, the Shāikh had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secretarial pomposity and epistolary tricks of style, and the force of his words, the colligation of his expressions, the application of single words, the beautiful compounds, and wonderful splendours of his diction were such as would be hard for another to imitate.<sup>2</sup> As he strove to make special use of Persian words, it has been said of him that he put into prose the Quintet of Nizāmī. It is owing to his consummate skill in this art that he has written many things in praise of his sovereign, and in preambles which seem strange and which cannot be understood without close attention.<sup>3</sup>

(KHAWĀJA) ABŪ-L-HASAN OF TURBAT,  
WHO HAD THE TITLE OF  
RUKNU-S-SULTANAT.

Turbat is a district<sup>4</sup> of Khurāsān. Qutbu-d-dīn Haidar, who was a doer of wondrous deeds, and from whom the Haidarians derive themselves, came from there. The Khawāja entered the service of Prince Daniel during the reign of Akbar and was made Diwān of

<sup>1</sup> *toragī*. Perhaps the Khān-Khānān was referring to A.F.'s having been then reading the Akbarnāma and so been imagining himself at court. Perhaps we should read *tūzagi*. See II. 851 eight lines from foot.

<sup>2</sup> The part of this eulogium which refers to A.F.'s freedom from "the technicalities and flimsy prettinesses of munshis (B. XXVIII)" is taken from the Haft Iqlīm, the author of which says in his account of Agra and its writers, that Abul-faẓl considered it right to refrain from such tricks of style. The passage is quoted in the Darbārī A. p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ghulām 'Alī's preface the life of A.F. had not been written by the author of the Maasir. But probably he made this statement because he had not found it. Presumably 'Abdu-l-Hayy afterwards found it.

<sup>4</sup> Turbat Haidarī, Reclus IX. 226. Eighty-eight miles N.W. Khāf (Conolly) and S. W. Mashad. Perhaps the Haidarians are the Haidar Zai of Conolly. D'Herbelot mentions Haidhari as the name of a doctor called Qutbu-d-dīn, but he was a native of Syria.

the Deccan. When Jahangir ascended the throne, the Khawāja was summoned from the Deccan to court. In the second year when Āṣaf K.M. J'afar became Vakil, he requested (Tūzuk 50) that he might have him as an associate for the purpose of regulating the establishment. After that, when Āṣaf K. engaged in the affairs of the Deccan, and the Diwānī fell into the hands of I'timādu-d-daula, the Khawāja acquired influence and intimacy in attendance on the king, and in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, attained the high office of Mīr Bakhshī. When I'timādu-d-daulah died, the Khawāja was made Chief Diwān and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse. In the affair of Mahābat K., the Khawāja along with Āṣaf Jāhī and Irādat K. were in front of Nūr Jahān Begam's elephant-litter, and with a small force they swam their horses and opposed Mahābat, with their arms wet. Suddenly the enemy drove off the Begam's men with a shower of arrows, and every one of the officers went aside. At this crisis the Khawāja got separated from his horse, but with the help of a Kashmiri boatman<sup>1</sup> escaped with his life. In the 19th<sup>2</sup> year he was made governor of Kabul, and his son Zafar K. was sent off from court to be his deputy. In the reign of Shah Jahān he attained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. When on the night of Sunday 26<sup>3</sup> Ṣafr 1039, 4 October 1629, Khān Jahān Lodī fled from Agra, Shāh Jahān appointed the Khawāja and other officers to pursue him. Though some officers pressed on and fought, and Khān Jahān Lodī crossed the Cambal and went off, the Khawāja arrived at the bank at the close of the day. As without boats he could not cross, he had to stay there till noon<sup>4</sup> of next day. Khān Jahān thereby got a start of seven watches and entered the Bandila country. Jagrāj the son of Jujhār gave him protection and passed him out of his country. He intrigued with the guides of the imperial army so that they directed it wrongly, and took it by wrong roads. Accordingly, the Khawāja and the other leaders uselessly traversed the jungles, and gained nothing but giddiness.

<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl-nāma 264, and Elliot VI. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābat's rebellion was later than this, viz., in the 21st year.

<sup>3</sup> The Maasir has 27th at p. 725 in account of Khān Jahān Lodī.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. I. 418.



When Shāh Jahān arrived at Burhānpūr in order to put an end to Khān Jahān, the Khwāja and the other auxiliaries waited upon him, and were sent off to free the country of Nāsik and Trimbak.<sup>1</sup> After settling that country and the jagir of Sāhū Bhonsla the Khwāja, according to the king's orders, went to help Naṣīrī K. who was besieging the fort of Qandhar. While on the way he heard of a victory<sup>2</sup> and returned. He came to the town of Pātūr Shaikh Bābū<sup>3</sup>—which is a pargana of the *payīnghāt* (Lowlands) of Berār—and to the bank of a stream which had little water in it. He intended to spend the rains there when suddenly a great flood from the hills came down upon the camp. The men got confused on account of the darkness of the night and the force of the water, and ran off on every side. The Khwāja and other officers got upon unsaddled horses and extricated themselves from that dangerous position. Nearly 2,000 persons, and all the Khwāja's property, including a lac of rupees in cash, were carried off by the water. In the 5th year he was made governor of Kashmir, but as he was a grey-beard of the State, Shah Jahan did not think it proper that he should go far off, and sent off his son Zafar K. to manage the business of that country as his deputy. The Khwāja died in the 6th year, 1042, 1632-33, at the age of seventy. Ṭalib Kalīm<sup>4</sup> found the date of death.

“May he rise with the Amīru-l-mūminīn (‘Alī).” (1042.)

The Khawājah was a straight-forward and able man, but he was of a sour countenance and harsh<sup>5</sup> manners. His heir was Zafar K. of whom a special account has been given. Another son was M. Khurshed Nazr.

<sup>1</sup> West of Nāsik. It is a hill fort and place of pilgrimage. Elliot VII. 10. Text has نورک as in Khāfi K. I. 426.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the fort was taken. Pādshāhnāma I. 396.

<sup>3</sup> See account in Pādshāhnāma I. 396 and Khāfi K. I. 461. The occurrence was in the first month of 1041, July—August, 1631. Pātūr is

the Pātār of Jarrett II. 234, but is Pātūr in I. G. XX. 76. It is in the Akola district of Berār.

<sup>4</sup> Shāh Jahān's poet-laureate. Rieu I. 686a. He was a native of Hamadan and died in Kashmir in 1062, 1652.

<sup>5</sup> See a specimen of his harshness in his remarks about Gaur Dhan and Harkarn, II, 159.

## ABUL KHAIR K. BAHĀDUR IMĀM JANG.

He was descended from the Fārūqī Shaikhs, and his lineage ascends to Shaikh Farīdu-d-dīn Shakrganj. The native place of his ancestors was Mīrpūr in the Sarkār of Khairabad, Oudh. As he lived for some time in Shikohabād (in the Mainpuri district), he became known as Shikohabādi. His father, S. Bahāu-d-dīn, was in the time of Aurangzeb an officer of 2000 and was Ṣadr and Ihtisāb (supervisor of market) of Shikohabād. Abul-Khair held first a *manṣab* of 300 and for a while was assistant to Marḥmat K. in the city of Māndū in Malwa. In the year that Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh proceeded from Malwa to the Deccan he accompanied<sup>1</sup> him. As he was an experienced soldier, and had good judgment in such matters he was approved of and consulted. He obtained the rank of 2500, the title of Khān, and the gift of a suitable jagir, and was appointed *faujdār* of Nabi Nagar, otherwise Utnur (Uttur or Otūr in Poona district). When in the year 1136, 1724, that unequalled Amīr (Āṣaf Jāh) returned from the capital to the Deccan, he took with him Khawājam Qulī K., the governor of the fort of Dhār and *faujdār* of Māndū, along with him, and left the Khān there. Afterwards, when Quṭbu-d-dīn Āli K. Panchkaurī was appointed to these offices by the court, the Khān went to Āṣaf Jāh and was attached to Hafīzu-d-dīn K., who had been made governor of Khandes. He did good service against the Mahrattas, and gradually rose to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse, the title of Bahādur, and the gift of a flag and drum. He was also for a time *faujdār* of Gulshanābād,<sup>2</sup> and for a time Naib of Khandes and also for a time *faujdār* of Sirkār Baglāna. In the time of Nāṣir Jang he had the title of Shamsheer Bahādur and became Naib of Aurangabad. In the time of Mozaffar Jang he became governor of Khandes, and in the time of Ṣalābat Jang he held the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse and had the gift of a fringed palanquin and the title of Imām Jang. He commanded the van-guard in the battle with the Mahrattas, which took place during the diwanship of Rajah Roghanāth Dās. They say that in the battle he sought

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II, 848.

<sup>2</sup> "In Baglāna near Junīr." Elliot VII, 337.

death from a desire for martyrdom, but by the decree of fate he died after the battle of a slight ailment in 1166, 1753. He was a valiant man and bold of speech. He also had learning. In the year when Bābū Nāik, a Mahratta leader, had collected a large force for the purpose of levying the *chaut* in the Haidarabad Carnatic and had come there, he was appointed with a force from the Sarkār in order that he might, in concert with Anwaru-d-dīn K., taluqdar of the said Carnatic, and 'Abdu-n-Nabī K., faujdār of Cuddapah, and Bahādur K., faujdār of Karnūl, oppose Bābū Nāik. His attacking the enemy, seizing his baggage and inflicting a disgraceful defeat upon him, so that Sardār did not make any more disturbances, are known to high and low. He left two sons. The eldest, Abū-l-barkāt K. Bahādur Imām Jang, possessed the jewel of courage and died young. The second is Shamsu-d-daula Abū-l-Khair Khān Bahādur Tegh Jang who, at the time of this writing, is a favourite with Nizāmu-d-daula Āsaf Jāh (s. Nizamu-l-mulk) and holds the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, and has a flag and a drum and the fief of Īlgharab in the province of Bidar. He has praiseworthy qualities and a good reputation.<sup>1</sup>

#### ABU-L-M'ĀLĪ (MĪR SHĀH).

One of the Saiyids of Tarmiz. He was introduced in his early youth to Humāyūn in Kabul through Khwāja Muḥammad Samī'. As he was handsome and had external graces he became a favourite and arrived at the dignity of being an Amīr, and received the title of farzand (son). He distinguished himself in the expedition to India, and after the victory was sent with some other Amīrs to the Panjab. If Sikandar K. Sūr, the ruler of India

<sup>1</sup> I. O. M. S. 628 adds to this notice the following statement :—

"On the 25th day of the month of Rabīu-s-sāni 1205, 1 January 1791, he died of dysentery in the camp at the fort of Pankul (!)\* and after three months his bier was conveyed in the month of Rajab to Haidarabad and he was buried in the sepulchre of Shah Ḥasan Barhāna — May his grave be holy — to the east of Haidarabad.

May God have mercy upon him!'  
(This note must have been inserted by a reader or copyist, for 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy died in 1782.)

\*Probably Pālakkollu or Palcole in the Kistna district, Madras Presidency. It is an old Dutch settlement. It is on the Narasapur canal. See Cotton's Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, p. 222, and I. G. XIX. 334.

—who had escaped from the battle and withdrawn to the hills—should come out and make a disturbance, he was to chastise him. But his immoderation and his haughty demeanour to the Amīrs were the cause that Prince Akbar and his guardian Bairām K. were sent there, and that he was appointed to the Sarkār of Hissār. When he waited on the prince at the bank of the Beas, the latter had regard to the favour shown him by Humāyūn and invited him to sit in the assembly, and behaved with much kindness towards him. He, who did not understand positions, went to his quarters and sent a message to the prince to the effect that every one knew how he stood with Humāyūn, and especially was the prince aware of this, for on a certain day he had eaten along with the king at one table, while the prince had had his food sent to him. “Why then, when I came to your house, were a separate divan and pillow assigned to me.” The prince, in spite of his youth, replied: “The laws of sovereignty are one thing and the laws of love another. You have not the connection with me that you had with the king. It is strange that you have not understood the difference and have made a disturbance.” Afterwards when Akbar mounted the throne, Bairām K. perceived in him the marks of rebellion and arrested him in the assembly on the third day after the Accession and sent him to Lahore. He made him over to the Pahlwān Gulgaz, the *‘asas* (police-officer). One day he, owing to the negligence of his guards, escaped and went to the country of the Gakhars. Kamāl K. Gakhar confined him. From there too he escaped and wanted to go to Kabul. When Mun’im K., the governor there, heard of his flight, he by stratagem got his brother, Mir Hāsham, who was jāgīrdār of Ghorband, etc., into confinement, and Abū-l-M’aālī did not go there, but in Naushahra joined the Kashmīris who had been oppressed by their ruler, Ghāzī K. He won them over by craft and flattery and fought with the ruler of Kashmīr. He was defeated. Some have written<sup>1</sup> that when he joined Kamāl K. the (Gakhar) country was then in the hands of Adam Gakhar the uncle of Kamāl, and that Kamāl K. showed belief in Abū-l-M’aālī and raised an army, and they two

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta says that he settled matters with Kamāl.

went together to Kashmir. After the defeat he apologised. Abu-l-M'aālī went secretly to pargana Dīpālpūr, which was in the fief of Bahādur Shaibānī, and hid himself in the house of M. Tūlak who was a servant of Bahādur, but who had formerly been a servant of Abu-l-M'aālī. It chanced that one day Tūlak had a quarrel with his wife and severely punished her. She went to Bahādur and revealed the facts, and said, "They have resolved to kill you." Bahādur immediately went off on horseback and put Tūlak to death, and imprisoned Abū-l-M'aālī and sent him to Bairām K. He put him in charge of Walī Beg to take him to Bhakar. He went off to Gujarat in order that he might go from there to Mecca. In Gujarat he committed an unjust slaughter and fled to Khān Zamān. He, in accordance with a summons, sent him back to Bairām. This time Bairām detained him with honour for some days and then imprisoned him in the fort of Bīāna. At the time of his own downfall he from Alwar<sup>2</sup> released Abū-l-M'aālī, and sent him to court with other Amirs. All the Amirs did homage in the town of Jajhar (in the district of Rohtak). The Shāh (Abū-l-M'aālī) too came and paid his respects on horseback, which displeased the king. He was again put into chains and made over to Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad in order that he might send him to Mecca. Two years afterwards, he in the 8th year returned from the holy places, and with evil intent came to Jalaur and had an interview with Sharīfu-d-dīn Husain Ahrārī—who had become a rebel. He gave him a body of troops and he went to the territory of Agra and Delhi and raised the dust of strife. He first went to Nārnol and took possession of the king's treasure. He came to Jhanjhanūn and from there went to Hīṣṣār Fīrūza. He saw that things were not succeeding and that the royal armies were pursuing him on all sides. So he went to Kabul. He wrote an account of himself to Māh Cūcak Begam the mother of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm—who had the management of affairs in Kabul. Abū-l-M'aālī put this verse into his letter.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently to Abu-l-M'aālī.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake. Bairām was proceeding towards Alwar, but it

was from Bīāna that he released Abul-M'aālī. See A. N. II. translation, p. 152.

*Verse.*

We've not come to this door in quest of honour and glory.  
We've come here for protection against the hand of fate.

People told the Begam that Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī was a young man of distinguished rank and courage and that Humāyūn had betrothed her eldest daughter to him. If she cherished him, it would be an advantage to her. She was deceived and wrote in reply—

*Verse.<sup>1</sup>*

“Show kindness, and alight, for the house is thy house.”

She brought him with honour into Kabul and gave Fakhr-nisā Begam (her daughter), the sister of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in marriage to him. When by this connection he became master of the situation, he, from his wicked nature, and the evil suggestions of some persons to the effect that while the Begam lived his position would not be secure, in the middle of Sha'bān 971, April 1564, entered the Begam's chamber with two ruffians and killed her. He also killed many leading men, and among them Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose ancestors had held high office in the family, and who was then Vakīl. M. Sulaimān, who always was wanting to get Kabul, came there from Badakhshman at the secret request of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and some Kabul officers. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī took M. Ḥakīm with him and came out to fight. An engagement took place near the Ghorband river. When the conflict was beginning (*lit.* was in the balance), the well-wishers of M. Ḥakīm carried him over to M. Sulaimān, and all the Kabulis dispersed. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī became confused and fled. The Badakhshis pursued him and seized him in the village of Chārī-kārān (Charikar). In Kabul on the day of the 'Īdu-l-fitr in this year, 13 May 1564, he was hanged by orders of M. Ḥakīm and received the retribution of his deeds.

*Verse.<sup>2</sup>*

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare (*gazargāh*)  
A bird take the life of an ant.

<sup>1</sup> The Darbār A. gives another line besides this one. See p. 746. I do not know where the Maasir got the statement that the Begam's advisers told her that Humāyūn had betrothed

her eldest daughter to him.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from Akbar-nāma II. 207. The lines come from Niẓāmī Khusrū and Shīrīn, near the end.

His beak was not withdrawn from the prey  
 Before another bird came and finished him.  
 Be not secure when you have done wrong,  
 For retribution is according to nature.

Shah Abū-l-M'aālī had a pleasant wit and wrote <sup>1</sup> poetry  
 His takhallaṣ was Shahidī.

(MIRZA) ABU-L-MAALI.

Son of the well-known <sup>1</sup> M. Wālī who was married to Bolāqī Begam the daughter of Prince Daniel. After his father's death he received the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 6th year of Shah Jahan his rank was 2000 with 1500 horse and he had the jāgirdārī and faujdārī of Siwistān. Afterwards he had an increase of 500 horse, and in the 31st year, on the death of Sazāwār K. Mashhadī, he was made faujdār of Tirhut in Bihar. Afterwards, when the wondrous workings of fortune disorganized Shah Jahan's sovereignty, and the intrigues of his sons produced confusion in affairs, and things ended in civil war, and Dārā Shikoh, who had the management of affairs, was defeated by Aurangzeb and took to flight, and the capital was brightened by the arrival of Aurangzeb's army, it appeared to Aurangzeb <sup>2</sup> that the most important thing was to secure for Shujā' from his father the inclusion of the township of Monghyr and the province of Bihar and Patna in the wide country of Bengal. Prince Shujā' had always been desirous of this, and now Aurangzeb took his part. Consequently the other jāgirdārs and faujdārs, willingly or unwillingly submitted to him (Shujā'), and M. Abū-l-M'aālī also was obliged to join. Shujā, who had previously been defeated near Benares, and whose affairs had fallen into disorder, was pleased at the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and the conveyance to him of Bihar, and expressed his gratitude very warmly. But when Aurangzeb proceeded towards

<sup>1</sup> Badayūni III. 248. There is a notice of Abu-l-M'aālī in the Darbar A. 743. The M. Wālī who married Bolāqī B. was a son of Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī and Fakhranīsā B. the half-sister of Akbar B. 310. He

is also mentioned in the Tūzuk J. 272.

<sup>2</sup> After Dārā's first defeat Aurangzeb endeavoured to propitiate Shujā. Khāfi K. II. 42, 43.

the Panjab in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, and it seemed likely that the enterprise would take a long while, Shujā' formed greater desires and advanced into the province of Allahabad. On receiving this news Aurangzeb withdrew from following Dārā Shikoh and turned his rein in order to fight with Shujā'. Before a battle took place, Mir Abū-l M'aālī by the guidance of auspiciousness left Shujā's camp and joined<sup>1</sup> Aurangzeb. He was rewarded by the present of an elephant, etc., and the title of Mirzā K., a present of Rs. 30,000 and an increase of 1000 with 500 horse so that his rank became 3000 with 2000 horse. After Shujā' fled, and Prince Sultan Muḥammad was appointed to pursue him, Abū-l-M'aālī was made his auxiliary. Afterwards, he received the faujdārī of Darbhanga. In the 6th year he was ordered to proceed with Ilahvardī K., the faujdār of Gorakhpur, to punish the zamindar of the Morang. In that quarter he died a natural death in 1074, 1663-64. His son 'Abdu-l-Wāhid K. in the 22nd year received the title of Khān. He did good service at the siege of Haidarabad. The pargana of Anhal<sup>2</sup> in Malwa—which had been assigned to this family from the time of M. Walī—was made his jagir and descended to his sons. When the Mahrattas took possession of Malwa, they dispossessed them. His grandson is Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Wāhid K. Khwāja Himmat Bahādur, who in the time of the Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh came to the Deccan. When the rule came to Ṣalābat K., he got his grandfather's title, and gradually attained high rank and the title of Aminu-d-daulah Bahādur Saif Jang and the diwānī of the establishment of 'Alī Jāh,<sup>3</sup> the heir of Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh, and died in 1189, 1775. He was unequalled as a faithful friend.

#### ABU-L-MANŠŪR K. BAHĀDUR ṢAFDAR JANG.

His name was M. Muqīm and he was the sister's son and son-in-law<sup>4</sup> of Burhānu-l-Mulk. His father had the title of Siyādat K. After the death of his father-in-law he (Ṣafdar)

<sup>1</sup> Ālamgirnāma 240. <sup>2</sup> J. II. 198.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alī Jāh was the eldest son of Nizām 'Alī K. and died in 1795, before his father. (Beale).

<sup>4</sup> *dar pās āshnāi be mīṣal būd.* The

author of the Maaṣir says somewhere that the Deccanis are unequalled for the constancy of their friendships.

<sup>5</sup> See Siyaru-l-M. III. 303 note, for a reference to Ṣafdar's widow.



was appointed governor of Oudh by Muḥammad Shah, and he, after chastising the rebels there, brought them into subjection. In 1155, 1742, he, at the emperor's order, went to Patna to assist 'Alī Verdī K., the governor of Bengal, where the Mahrattas were making a disturbance. As a reward he received charge of the forts of Rohtās and Chunar, but as 'Alī Verdī suspected some thing, he procured an order from the emperor directing him to desist from helping him, and he returned to his own province. In 1156 he came to court in obedience to a summons and was made superintendent of the artillery. In 1159, 1746, the province of Allahabad was made over to him on the death of 'Umdatul-mulk Amīr K. In 1161 when the Durrānī Shah (Aḥmad) marched from Qandahar to attack India, and passed beyond Lahore, he, to support the emperor's orders, proceeded to Sirhind along with Sultan Aḥmad Shah, and after I'timādu-d-daula Qamaru-d-dīn was killed, he stood firm and displayed vigour until the Durrānī Shah retreated. When, one month afterwards, Muḥammad Shah died on 27 Rabīu-s-sānī of that year, 16 April 1748, and Aḥmad Shah sate on the throne, and shortly afterwards news came of the death of Āṣaf Jāh, Ṣafdar Jang put on the Vizier's robes. As he was displeased with 'Alī Muḥammad K. Rohilla he stirred<sup>1</sup> up Qāīm K. Bangash against S'aad Ullah K., the son of the said Rohilla. When Qāīm K. and his brothers were killed, as has been detailed<sup>2</sup> in the biography of his father, Muḥammad K. Bangash, Ṣafdar Jang stirred up the emperor against Aḥmad K. Bangash, the brother of Qāīm K., and demanded the latter's property. The emperor halted in Aligarh (Kol), and Ṣafdar Jang marched to the Ganges from which Farakhabad was twenty *kos* distant. The mother of Aḥmad K. came and settled the matter for sixty lacs of rupees, and the emperor returned to the capital. Ṣafdar Jang in order to collect the promised money stayed for some time and set about confiscating the properties of Aḥmad K. He placed in Qanauj Newal<sup>3</sup> Rai of the Kayath caste, who had formerly held

<sup>1</sup> See Siyaru-l-M. III. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir III. 772.

<sup>3</sup> Siyaru-l-M. III. 290. Irvine's Bangash Nawabs, J. A. S. B. for 1879.

pp. 50 and 64. Nawal or Neval Rai was killed in the battle of Khudāgaon in August 1750.

a low office on his establishment, but had been gradually promoted, and was now Naib of Oudh, and went himself to court. Newal Rai was killed in a battle with the Afghans, and Şafdar Jang set about collecting an army, and in concert with Sūraj Mal the Jat marched against Aḥmad K. Bangash. A battle ensued in which he was disgracefully defeated,<sup>1</sup> and in 1163, 1750, he went to the capital. Meanwhile Aḥmad K. Bangash stirred up strife in Allahabad and Oudh and failed not to plunder and burn everywhere. Next year Şafdar Jang joined with Mulhar Holkar and Jai Āpā (Jyāpa) Scindiah—who were two influential Mahratta leaders—and addressed himself to confronting Aḥmad K. This time the Afghans were defeated,<sup>2</sup> and they went off and took refuge on the slopes of the Madāriḥ hills, which are a branch of those of Kumaon. At last they were reduced to make supplications, and to make a peace on terms satisfactory to Şafdar Jang. Meanwhile news came of the approach of Aḥmad Shah Durrānī from Lahore to Delhi, and Şafdar Jang in accordance with the emperor's order took Holkar with him by the promise of a large subsidy and came to Delhi in 1165. As Javīd K. Bahādur the eunuch, who was the centre of affairs, had made an agreement with Qalandar K. the ambassador of Shāh Durrānī, and then sent him back, Şafdar J., who did not like the eunuch, invited him one day to his house, and put<sup>3</sup> him to death, and took charge of the business of the sovereignty. Afterwards, the emperor, at the instigation of Intizāmu-d-daula, the Khān-Khānān, son of Qamaru-d-dīn K., sent him a message that he should give<sup>4</sup> up the superintendentship of the *ghuskhāna* and the artillery. He understood the object, and stayed in his house for some days and then applied for his dismissal. As it was not granted he went off without leave and halted at two *kos* from the city. Every day there was an increase of disturbance till at last Şafdar Jang raised up a fictitious prince. Aḥmad Shah appointed Intizāmu-d-daula vizier in his room.

<sup>1</sup> In September 1750. Irvine l.c. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Siyaru-l-M. III. 306. Irvine l.c. 98. The defeat was in April—May 1751. The Madāriḥ range is mentioned in the Siyar M. Persian text.

<sup>3</sup> Siyar M. 328, Elliot VIII. 133 and 317. The murder was on 28 August, 1752.

<sup>4</sup> Siyaru-l-M. III. 330.

'Imādu-l-mulk engaged in fighting with Šafdar Jang, and the contest went on for six months. At last by the mediation of Intizāmu-d daula peace was made on the agreement that Šafdar should retain the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. Šafdar Jang set out for his government and died <sup>1</sup> on 17 Zil'ahajja 1167, 5 October 1754. A separate account has been given of his son Shujā'-u-d daulah.

### ABŪ NAŠR KHĀN, SON OF SHAISTA KHĀN.

In the 23rd year of the reign of Aurangzeb he was appointed <sup>2</sup> to the service of 'Arz Mukarrar (Revision of petitions) in the place of Latif' Ullah K. In the 24th year when Sultan Muḥammad Akbar showed signs of rebellion, and there was only a small force in attendance on the king, Asad K. was sent in advance to the tank Pūshkar, <sup>3</sup> and Abū Našr was sent along with him. Afterwards he became Qūrbegī, and in the 25th year was removed from office. Afterwards he was made governor of Kashmir, and in the 41st year he was removed from there and appointed to the government of Lahore in the room of Mukarram K. For some cause he lost his *manṣab* and in the 45th year he was again received into favour and made governor of Malwa in the room of Mukhtār K. and had a *manṣab* of 3000 with 1500 horse. After that he was for a time attached to Bengal. In the 49th year he was made governor of Oudh and held a commission of 3000 with 2500 horse. Nothing is known of him after that.

<sup>1</sup> He died at Pāparghāt (Beale). The Siyar M. III. 339 has Maḥdīghāt.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 188.

<sup>3</sup> Text tālāb-i-Bhakar; but the place meant is really the famous sacred tank Pūshkar, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer II. 67, and which according to the Khulāṣat Tawārikh and the Araish Mahsil is three kos from Ajmere. In the Bib. Ind. edition of the Āin the place is also wrongly spelt Bhakar, and hence we have in Jarrett II. 267 Bhakar with variants, none of which is right. Aurangzeb was then in the city of

Ajmere and preparing to encounter his son Muḥammad Akbar who had joined the Rajputs and was meditating rebellion. He afterwards fled to the Mahrattas and eventually went to Persia and died there. He left his wives and children behind him. In the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī the Pūshkar tank is apparently called the Rānā's tank Tālāb-i-Rānā. Here too, p. 200, Pushkar is misspelt as Bhakar. Apparently Asad K. and Abū Našr were sent to Pūshkar to interview Shah 'Ālam (afterwards Bahādur Shah).

## (MĪRZA) ABŪ S'ĀID.

Grandson of I'timādu-d-daulah and brother's son of Nūr Jahān Begam. He was famous for his beauty and princeliness, and he had great taste both in dress and food. He looked after carpets, etc., and in ornamentation and style and in all worldly matters he was distinguished, so that in those respects none of his equals or rather of his superiors could come up to him. He had such nicety and such lofty ideas that sometimes he was still arranging his turban when news came that the darbār was broken up, and sometimes when he was not contented with the arrangement of his turban he put off his riding. By the favour of his grandfather he arrived at high dignities and held his head high. He was so haughty and mighty that he regarded neither the earth nor the heavens (fulk-u-mulk).

As his handwriting resembled that of I'timādu-d-daula, he, in the time of the viziership (of the latter), signed most of the grants and cheques. After I'timādu-d-daula's death he from inexperience and youth quarrelled with his (paternal) uncle Āṣaf Jāhī and made a league with Mahābat K. He also became intimate with Prince Sultan Parvez and attained to a high position. He went to the Deccan in company with the prince, and after his death came to court. In the 22nd year of Jahangir he was made governor of Tatta (Sind), and when Shah Jahan came to the throne he, on account of disagreement with Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K., was degraded from his office and influence and was allowed an annual pension of Rs. 30,000. For a long time he lived in retirement with comfort and tranquillity. In the 23rd year, at the request of the Begam Ṣāhib he was made faujdār of Ajmere and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse. As he had the dāu-ṣṣ'alab (the fox's disease) he could not attend to business. In the 26th year he received an allowance of Rs. 40,000 and again lived in retirement in Agra and spent the rest of his life in careless ease. He died in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. He had a poetical vein and earnestly desired to compose eloquent divans. He made a selection of many poems and called it the *Khulāsa-i-Kūnīn* (the cream of two worlds). His son Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. was successful by being the companion of Prince Aurangzeb.

After the battle with Rajah Jeswant Singh—which was the first crowning victory—he had the title of *Khānazād K.* After that his name became *Khānī*. In the 26th year, on the death of Kurram Ullah, he was made *faujdār* of *Mūngī Pattan* which is 20 *kos* from Aurangabad, and on the banks of the Godavery. In the 29th year he was governor of the fort of *Qandhār* in the Deccan.

(MĪR) ABŪ TURĀB<sup>1</sup> GUJRĀTĪ.

He belonged to the *Salāmi Saiyids* of Shiraz. His grandfather *Mir 'Inayātu-d-dīn Sar Ullah*—who was also called *Hibbat Ullah*, and was commonly known as *Saiyid Shāh Mir*—had attained great proficiency in the acquired sciences, and was a school-fellow of *Amīr Ṣadru-d-dīn*.<sup>2</sup> He came to *Gujarāt* in the time of *Sultan Quṭbu-d-dīn* the grandson of *Sultan Aḥmad*—from whom *Aḥmadabad* derives its name. After some time he returned to his home, and again at the time of the disturbance of *Shah Ism'ail Safavī* (the first) came to *Gujarāt* during the reign of *Sultan Maḥmūd Bigarah*, with his son *Mir Kamālu-d-dīn*, who was the father of *Abu Turāb*. He took up his abode in *Campānir*—*Maḥmūdabad*, the former capital of the Sultans. He set up as a teacher, and he also wrote useful books. He left good sons. The best of them was *Mir Kamālu-d-dīn*, who was distinguished for outward and inward perfections. When he died, leaving a good name behind him, *Abū Turāb* remained as the eldest of the brothers and cousins. The family of these *Saiyids* is connected with the *Maghrabih* order, the lamp of which order was *S. Aḥmad*<sup>3</sup> *Khattū*. They are called *Salāmi* because apparently it happened that one of their ancestors had heard the sound of a reply to his greeting when he visited the tomb of the Prophet; Peace be upon him and his family!

*Mir Abū-Turāb* acquired influence in that country by his uprightness and skill. In the year when *Akbar* unfurled his standards there, the *Mir* appeared before him sooner than the other *Amirs*

<sup>1</sup> B. 506. The grandfather's name is there given as *Qhiāṣu-d-dīn* as in A.N. III. 217.

<sup>2</sup> One of *Sultan Ḥusain Baiqerā's*

officers. See *Ḥabībū-s-siyar*. The account of A.T. is taken from A.N. III. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Bayley's *Gujrat*, 90.

of Gujarāt. At the station of Jotāna, Khwāja Muḥammad Haravī and Khān 'Ālam received him and introduced him, and he was exalted by performing the prostration. When, before the royal standards halted at Aḥmadabad, an order was given that every one of the Gujarāt officers who had gathered together in the royal army, should<sup>1</sup> give bail, so that there might be no mistake made in cautiousness, I'timād K., who had held supreme sway in that country, became security for all except the Abyssinians, and Mīr Abū Turāb went bail for I'timād. Afterwards when nearly half of the country had been assigned to I'timād and the other officers of Gujarāt, the royal retinue proceeded towards Cambay to see the ocean, and Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk Gujarātī from short-sightedness and turbulence fled from Aḥmadabad. I'timād and all the others who had taken the oath were on the point of going off when Mīr Abū Turāb arrived and engaged them in talk. They were near imprisoning him and carrying him off with them when Shahbāz K. came from the king, and so their evil intentions did not result in action. The loyalty of Abū Turāb was again conspicuous, and he received royal favours. From that time he was always in favour.

In the 22nd year, 985,<sup>2</sup> 1577, he was appointed to the high post of leader of the pilgrims' caravan, and five lacs of rupees and 10,000 robes<sup>3</sup> of honour were given to him for distribution to the needy at Mecca. In the 24th year (987) news came that he had accomplished the journey and that he was bringing with him an impression of the Prophet's foot. On him be the benediction of purity! He reported that this was the fellow of the one that Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī had brought to Delhi in the time of Fīrūz Shah. Akbar ordered that the Mīr should halt with the caravan at the distance of four *kos* from Agra. There, in accordance with commands, the court-officers prepared a pleasure-house, and the king with the great officers and learned men came and placed that piece of stone—which was dearer than life—on his shoulders and walked some paces. The nobles, by relays, respectfully carried

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Text 989, but both this and the variant 982 are wrong. The 22nd year was 985. See A.N. III. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *khil'at*, but probably in this case ordinary suits of clothes.

it to the city, and by the king's direction it was placed in the Mir's lodging. *Khair alqadam*, Hail to the footsteps, is the chronogram (987).

The explanation given by inquirers is that a report was current at the time that the king claimed the gift of prophecy and asserted that he was an apostle, and that he had a low opinion of the Muhammadan religion—which will endure to the end of the world—and that he was trying to set it aside; God preserve us! Accordingly in order to muzzle men's mouths, this respect and honour took place out of artificiality. And the words of Abū-l-faḡl support this view, for he says that although H.M. knew that the relic was not genuine, and though cognoscenti had pronounced it to be spurious, yet he, in order to retain the veil and to preserve the respect (for the Prophet) and not to disgrace the simple-minded Saiyid, and to prevent the sarcastic from sneering, showed such reverence to the relic. Many who from wickedness had indulged in slanders were put to shame by this behaviour! <sup>1</sup>

In the 29th year when the government of Gujarāt came to I'timād K.—who for years had ruled it—Mir Abū Turāb was made Amin and went off to Gujarāt with his two brothers' sons Mir Muhibb Ullah and Mir Sharafu-d-dīn. Up to the year 1005,<sup>2</sup> 1596-97, the lamp of his life remained burning. He is buried in Ahmadabad. His son Mir Gadai had a place among Akbar's officers, and under the guise of service he did not abandon the character of Saiyidship and Shaikhship.

<sup>1</sup> The passage purports to be a quotation from the A.N., but it is not exact. See Vol. III. A.N. 281.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Rieu III. 968a, the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* states that Abū Turāb died in 1003. At p. 41 of Part II. of that work, lith. ed., it is stated that the date of death is 13 Jamāda-al-awwal 1003 (14 January, 1595).

Abū Turāb is the author of a history of Gujarāt B.M. MS. Or. 1818. According to Rieu, his grandfather's name was Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, and his father's Quṭbu-d-dīn. His son Mir Gadai is mentioned in Blochmann, 506. The text of Abū Turāb's history was published by Dr. Denison Ross in the Bib. Ind. in 1909.

## PART II.

## ADHAM KHĀN KOKA.

Younger <sup>1</sup> son of Māham Anaga, who by the abundance of her understanding and the straightness of her loyalty had much influence over Akbar. From the cradle to the throne she was a favourite, from her length of service and her reliability. She took a leading part in the overthrow of Bairām Khān, and conducted the political and financial affairs. Though Mun'im Khān was the Vakil of the State, she managed everything. Adham Khān was a Panj-hazārī. He first acquired a name by his heroism during the siege of Mānkot when he was in attendance on His Majesty. That fortress was in the Siwaliks on the summit of a lofty hill, and consisted of four forts built in a wonderful way on the top of small hills, so that the whole seemed to be one fortress. Selim Shah laid the foundations of it at the time he returned from the Ghakar campaign, in order that it might be a protection to the Panjab. He wished to depopulate Lahore and to develop Mānkot. For the former was a great city and the habitation of divers traders, and men of various classes. It could easily produce a large and well-equipped army. As it was on the route of the Mughul army (from Kabul) the latter might come there and get much assistance, and things might pass beyond the power of remedies. While occupied with those thoughts he died. In the second year Sikandar Sūr took refuge there, but at last was admitted to quarter, and delivered over the fortress. In the third year Bairām K., who was always suspicious of Adham Khān, gave him as his jāgīr Hatkāntha near Agra, which was inhabited by Bhadūriyas, who were notorious for their rebelliousness and turbulent opposition to kings; so that both might the rebellious be punished and also Adham be kept away from the Presence. He was sent there along with some other officers, and he by his energy reduced the district into order. After Bairām's fall Akbar sent him along with Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī and others, in the end of the fifth year and beginning of the sixth

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<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 323.



(968, 1561), to conquer Mālwa, as the injustice and folly of Bāz Bahādūr had been repeatedly reported to H.M. When Adham reached Sārangpūr, which was Bāz Bahādūr's capital, the latter came a little to his senses and prepared to fight. There were gallant contests on both sides, but at last Bāz Bahādūr was defeated and fled to Khandes. Adham rapidly marched to Sārangpūr and took possession of all Bāz Bahādūr's property, including his dancing girls and songstresses, who were famous throughout the world. These successes made him presumptuous, in spite of Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī's counsels. He divided the territory of Mālwa among the officers and sent a few elephants by Ṣādiq Khān to H.M. He himself indulged in pleasure. Akbar was displeased. He regarded his correction as the most important matter, and made a rapid journey from Agra and arrived in sixteen days, *viz.*, on 27th Shabān of the sixth year, 13th May 1561. When Adham had marched out two *kos* from Sārangpūr in order to take the fort of Gāgraun, H.M. suddenly appeared. On learning this Adham paid his respects. H.M. proceeded to Adham's quarters and alighted there. They say that Adham had evil designs, and sought for a pretext (for killing Akbar). Next day Māham Anaga arrived with the ladies. She roused her son from his slumber of neglect and caused him to pay the respects of offering presents and holding feasts, and to produce for H.M.'s inspection whatever of Bāz Bahādūr's had come into his possession, whether animate or inanimate, as well as all the dancing girls. H.M. returned some of the things to him, and after a halt of four days, set out again for Agra. They say that when he was returning, Adham Khān induced his mother—who was in charge of the harem—at the first stage secretly to make over to him two beautiful dancing girls of Bāz Bahādūr. He thought that no one would notice this, but by chance H.M. came at once to know of it, and ordered them to be searched for. Adham Khān became alarmed and let the girls loose to wander in the fields. When they were caught and brought back, Māham Anaga put those innocent women to death. Akbar winked at this, but in the same year committed Mālwa to the charge of Pīr Muḥammad K. and recalled Adham K. to court.

Adham K. was filled with envy when Shamsu-d-din Muhammad K. Atka obtained the chief control of affairs, and Mun'im K., who had similar feelings, was always stirring him up to wrath. At last on 12th Ramzān of the 7th year, 16th May 1562, when the Atgah Khān and Mun'im K. and other officers were in the Hall of State, engaged in public business, Adham K. came in with a number of ruffians. The Atgah Khān raised himself half up, and all the others stood up to do him honour. Adham laid his hand on his dagger and went towards the Atgah Khān, and made a signal to his companions. They wounded and slew the Atgah, and then Adham audaciously took his sword in his hand and went towards the female apartments and got up on the raised verandah which went round the harem. A great uproar ensued, and Akbar awoke and putting his head out over the wall inquired what had happened. Then he came out in wrath, sword in hand. As soon as he saw Adham K. he said, "Son of a bitch, why have you slain my Atgah? (foster-father)." Adham ran forward and seized Akbar's hands and said, "Your Majesty, consider the matter, there has been (only) a little scrimmage."<sup>1</sup> The king withdrew his hand from his clasp and struck him in the face with his fist with such force that he fell to the ground. To Farhat Khān Khāsa Khail and Sangrām Hūsnāk, who were standing there, he said, "What are you gazing at, bind this madman." They obeyed and bound him. Akbar bade them fling him down from the terrace, head foremost. They did this twice, and his neck was broken. In this manner the impious shedder of blood received the retribution of his deeds in the year 969, 1562. In accordance with orders both bodies were conveyed to Delhi, and the chronogram *Dū khūn shud*, (There were two murders), 970, was composed. They say Māham Anaga, who was then on a bed of sickness, heard that Adham K. had committed such an outrage, and had been imprisoned by the king. Maternal love made her get up and come to the king, thinking that perhaps he would release her son. The king on seeing her said, "Adham killed our Atgah, and we have killed

<sup>1</sup> *andakī talāsh*. Cf. the phrase *talāsh-u purkūsh* in *Bādshāhnāma* II, 661.

him." That prudent lady said, "Your Majesty has done well." But she did not know that her son had been capitally punished. When she came to be certain of this, she out of respect did not utter any laments, but the colour left her cheeks and her heart received a thousand wounds. H.M. out of regard for her long service spoke comfortably to her and dismissed her to her home. There she sate in sorrow, and her illness grew worse. Forty days after the occurrence she departed to the other world. H.M. showed his pity by escorting the body for some distance and sent it off to Delhi with all reverence, where a grand building was erected over the tombs of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān.<sup>1</sup>

#### AFZAL KHAN.

His name is Khwāja Sultan 'Alī. His first employment was as *ashraf-i-khazāna* (accountant) in the establishment of Humāyūn. On account of his straightness and ability he was the recipient of favours and in 956 (1549) he was made the head of the *Diwān-i-kharch* (the office disbursements, i.e., he was made *mashraf-i-buyūtāt*). When in the year 957 Mirzā Kāmran the younger brother of Humāyūn became opposed to his elder brother, who was kinder to him than a father, and established himself in Kabul, he treated the royal clerks and servants with severity and put the Khwāja in prison, and extorted money and goods. When the king (Humāyūn) resolved to march to India, the Khwāja was raised to the rank of Mīr Bakhshī (chief paymaster). When Humāyūn died, Tardī Beg Khān, who claimed to be Amīru-l-Umarā, undertook, in conjunction with the Khwāja, the management of Delhi. The Khwāja in the battle with the notorious Hemū had the charge of the centre assigned to him, along with other officers, and when

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that Adham was the son of Nadīm Koka, or at least that the latter was Māham Anaga's husband. See R.A.S.J. for January 1889, p. 99, and Addendum 50, and second Addenda No. 67 to my translation of the Akbarnama. Adham's elder brother was Bāqī K. See B. 323. In the original edition of

the Maasir Adham's was the first life. As regards Adham's parentage, reference may be made to the similar case of Hāngtosh whom Manucci supposes to have been an illegitimate son of Aurangzeb, Manucci, Irvine II. 43. The account of Adham's murder of the Atgah K., etc., is taken from Akbar-nāmah II. 175.

Hemū attacked the centre, the Khwāja gave way together with Ashraf Khān Mir Munshī and Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī—who were seeking an opportunity for ruining Tardī Beg the commander-in-chief—and took to flight. When the officers arrived, ashamed and disgraced, at the camp of Akbar—who had come from the Panjab to Sirhind with the intention of giving battle to Hemū—Bairām Khan at once put Tardī Beg to death, and kept the Khwāja and the Mir Munshī—who were suspected of treachery and bribery—under surveillance. After that the Khwāja and the Mir Munshī took to flight and went off to the Hījāz. In the fifth year of Akbar's reign they had the felicity of paying their respects, and the Khwāja was received graciously and raised to the rank of 3000. The compiler<sup>1</sup> (stitcher) of the scattered pages has not ascertained what finally became of the Khwāja or when he died.

#### AFZAL<sup>2</sup> KHĀN 'ALLĀMĪ MULLĀ SHUKRULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

After acquiring learning in Shiraz, the abode of knowledge, he for a time occupied himself with teaching the ordinary sciences. When he came by sea to Surat and thence proceeded to Burhānpūr, the Khān-Khānān, who was a magnet for the attraction of hearts, captured him and took care of him, and chose him for a companion. After that he attached himself to Prince Shah Jahan, and became the law-officer (Mir 'Adil) of his army. In the affair of the Rānā (of Udaipūr) he was his secretary and confidant. When by his good counsels peace was made with the Rānā, his reputation increased and he became the prince's diwān. After the campaign was over he received at the request of Shah Jahan the title of Afzal Khān. In the Deccan he went on behalf of the Prince to Bijāpūr in company with the 'Adil Shāhī vakils and brought 'Adil Shah to the highway of sincerity and obedience, and conveyed to the prince as tribute 50 elephants, rare curiosities, adorned weapons, and money. In the 17th year the prince

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from this sentence that this biography, or at least this remark, was made by Abdu-l-Hayy, but it is not signed Q. There of Afzal in B. 376. He is batī by A. F., which means

either that he came from Turbat, or that he was of the Turbat clan. See Blochmann, 348, No. 37. The last mention of Afzal seems to be at p. 111 of A. N. II.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 339-40.

obtained pargana Dholpūr as his fief and sent Daryā K. to take charge of it. Before this a request had made that the pargana should be assigned to Sultan Shahriyār, and Sharifu-l-mulk took possession of it on his behalf. It came to a fight<sup>1</sup> between the two, and it chanced that a gun-shot entered the eyes of Sharifu-l-mulk and blinded him. This supplied the leaven for a disturbance. Nūr Jahān Begam, who espoused the cause of Shahriyār, became angry, and Jahangir, who had handed the bridle of his power to her, became alienated from his heir. The prince who had been summoned to the presence from the Deccan for the affair of Qandahar stayed his progress and Shahriyār was appointed to the campaign under the guardianship of M. Rustum. An order was given to the Prince that in lieu of his old jagirs he should take from the Deccan, Gujarat, or Mālwa, whatever place he wished and should settle there, and that he should send off the auxiliary officers for the purpose of the Qandahar campaign. The object was that if the prince submitted to yield up the jāgīrs and to part with the men, there would then occur another rift in his consideration and establishment, and that if he made a disturbance, and became disrespectful, there would be a pretext for punishing him. After that what other strange things might not happen ?

The prince sent Afzal K. to court in order that he might convince Jahangir by arguments that the plan was all wrong, and that to take a light view of such an important business could only bear the fruit of evil to the State. He ought not to make over everything to women,<sup>2</sup> but apply his own far-seeing mind to affairs. It would be a sad thing if there should be any breach in the devotion of this faithful follower (Shah Jahan). If Jahangir ordered, at the word of the Begam, that his jāgīr should be taken away, how could he live among enemies ?

He requested that the fiefs of Mālwa and Gujarāt should also be taken from him and that the port of Surat, which was the gate of Mecca, might be granted to him in order that he might go there and become an anchorite.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Elliot VI. 383.

<sup>2</sup> Khafi K. I. 331.

The sole desire of the prince was that perhaps the dust of disturbance which had been raised might be laid by the sprinkling of soothment and moderation, and that the veil of respect and reverence might not be rent. But the intriguers and ill-wishers had not prepared the materials of strife in order that things might be put right by Afzal Khān. Though Jahangir was touched and made suggestions to the Begam, she only became more insistent, and her enmity increased, and Afzal was dismissed without gaining his object.<sup>1</sup> When the prince became convinced that whatever submissions he might make would be imputed to weakness, and would encourage his enemies to go further, he perceived that it was necessary to hurry off before the royal army was gathered together; possibly the veil (between himself and his father) might hereafter be removed. As this story has been told elsewhere in these pages, we shall not repeat it, but proceed with the biography of Afzal.

After the prince turned his rein and, without visiting his father, went to Māndū and then established himself at Burhānpūr, Afzal K. was sent off to Bijapur to dispose of some business. When the prince did not, on account of the approach of the imperial troops, think it advisable to remain in Burhānpūr, he decided to go to Bengal by the route of Telingāna. Many of his servants became unfaithful and M. Muḥammad the son of Afzal K. also fled with his family, and chose separation. The prince sent Saiyid J'aafar<sup>2</sup> known as Shujā'at K. with Khān Qulī Uzbeg, the elder brother of Qulī K. Shahjahānī, after him with orders to bring him back if possible. Otherwise they were to bring his head. He was bold, and stood and fired his arrows. Though they used soothing words it was of no avail. He got rid of Khān Qulī and wounded Saiyid J'aafar. He himself bravely gave up his life. As the prince was always trying to amend the past, and sought to please his august father, he after returning from Bengal sent Afzal K. with suitable presents in 1035, 1626, the 20th year of Jahangir's

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I. 332.

<sup>2</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 343 who calls him Muhammad J'aafar. He killed

Saiyid J'aafar and was killed himself. He was the son of the Afzal who is the subject of this biography.

reign, to court, but Jahangir unkindly detained<sup>1</sup> Afzal K. and exalted him by making him his *Khānsāmañ* (steward). In the 22nd year when Jahangir proceeded to Kashmir Afzal remained in Lahore on account of the difficulties of the journey and the work connected with the household. On the way back the inevitable event (the death of Jahangir) occurred. Shahriyār made himself be nominated to the sovereignty in Lahore and made Afzal his vakil and the centre of all his affairs. As he in his secret heart was a well-wisher of Shah Jahan, on the day when Shahriyār drew up an army and appointed it under command of Sultan Bāisanghar to oppose Āṣaf Khān, and himself mounted and went after it, Afzal represented that Shahriyār's going was not advisable, and that he should wait till news came from the army (*lashkar*, perhaps it means camp here). By his arguments he delayed him till men without substance (*lit.* without hands or feet) who had been gathered merely by a waste of money and were without a leader, dispersed without any real contest, and Shahriyār crept helplessly into the citadel. When in 1037, 1628, Shah Jahan ascended the throne of India, Afzal came from Lahore on 26 Jumāda<sup>2</sup>-al-akhīr of the first year, 22 February 1628, and did homage. He was promoted to the office of *Mir Sāmān* (major-domo) and had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 4000 *zāt* (personality) with 2000 horse. In the second year he was made Chief *Diwān*<sup>3</sup> (*Diwān-i-kull*) in the room of Irādat M. Sāwajī, and had an increase of 1000 with 1000 horse. The chronogram<sup>4</sup> is *Shud Flātūn wazīr-i-Iskandar*. "Plato became the vizier of Alexander" (1038, 1628-29). In the 6th year he begged that Shah Jahan would honour him by visiting his house which was called and dated *Manzal Afzal's* "House of exaltation" or "House of Afzal" (1038, 1628-29). From the place of mounting to the house itself—a distance of twenty-

<sup>1</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* 248 says that in the 20th year the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse, &c., and sent him back. It looks as if the two occasions of Afzal's coming to Lahore had been mixed up. Perhaps he came again

when Shah Jahan submitted to his father and was received into favour and made steward.

<sup>2</sup> *Pādshāh-nāma* I, 176 says 23rd.

<sup>3</sup> do. 257.

<sup>4</sup> do. 495.

five *jaribs*,<sup>1</sup> varieties of carpets, were laid down. In the 11th year his head was raised as high as Saturn by his obtaining the *manzab* of 7000. In the 12th year, when his age was 70, bodily illness prevailed over him, and the appearance of departure were visible on the cheek of his condition. Shah Jahan visited him and shewed him the kindness of inquiries. On 12 Ramzān 1048, 7th January 1639, in Lahore, he departed from this sad world. The date of his death was found to be *Z khūbī bard goī nēknāmī*, 1048.

“He carried off the ball of a good name for excellence” (that is, he surpassed all in the goodness of his reputation).

The excellent man was irreproachable in conduct. Shah Jahan frequently said that in eight and twenty years of service he had never heard from Afzal Khān a bad word against anyone. He was the admirable of the age for eloquence, and he was skilful in astronomy and mathematics and in accounts. What they say, *viz.*, that with all his science and learning he never put anything on paper, and that he did not know figures, is probably based upon his dignity and indifference. Indeed he put everything upon his *peshkar*, Diānat Rai Nāgar<sup>2</sup> Gujarātī. It was he who conducted all the examinations. So that a wit said in an elegy after his death that when the angel put the question in the tomb,<sup>3</sup> the Khān replied, “Ask Diānat Rai, he will answer you.” His tomb is on the other side of the Jamna at Agra. He left no children. His brother’s son ‘Ināyat Ullah K. who had the title of ‘Āqil K. was brought up by him as a son.

#### AGHR (AGHUZ)\* KHĀN PĪR MUHAMMAD.

One of Aurangzeb’s officers. His tribe was connected with the Aghuz (Oghuz, who was one of the descendants of Japhet, the son

<sup>1</sup> A *jarīb* is about 55 yards in length, and so the distance would be nearly 1400 yds., about three quarters of a mile.

<sup>2</sup> A tribe, *Pādshāhnāma* I. 365. They are brahmans.

<sup>3</sup> Afzal’s tomb is the famous Chīnī kā Rauza on the left bank of the Jumna between I’timād-ud-daulah’s tomb and the Taj. It is the subject of

a notice in the Archaeological reports. See Beale. Afzal was a poet and wrote under the name of ‘Allām-i. His coming to Jahangir in the 17th year, 1030, 1621, with the spoils obtained from the Rānā is mentioned in Khāfi K. I. 322. The Chīnī kā Rauza is noticed in Kēene’s Guide to Agra.

\* Text Aghar. See A.N. I. 171 trans-



of Noah,—Peace be upon him! Hence they are called by this name. Many of them have been renowned for courage and have devoted their lives in every country. In the time of Shah Jahan one of them, by name Husain Qulī, who joined the king's service with his troop (tumān) attained the rank of 1500, with 800 horse, and the title of Khān, and died in the 25th year. Aghuz K. in the first year of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzeb) became the head of his tribe and went in company with princes Muḥammad Sultan and M'uazzam K. in pursuit of Shujā' towards Bengal. In the battles there he gave proof of courage. They say that one day the army had to cross the Ganges while on the other side Muḥammad Shujā's men were ready to offer opposition. Aghuz, who was the scout, and was in front of Diler A., the head of the vanguard, put his horse into the river and, on arriving at the other side, engaged in a hand-to-hand combat. A warlike (*mast*) elephant which was in the enemy's van lifted him and his horse with his trunk and flung them to a distance. Aghuz immediately killed the driver with his sword and took his place on the elephant. Just then Diler K. came up after having seen with his own eyes what had happened. He praised him and went round and round him. Aghuz said: "I have taken the elephant for your lordship, be good enough to give me a horse out of the spare (*kotal*) ones. Diler said: "Be the elephant also blessed to you," and sent him two good horses.<sup>1</sup>

In that year Aghuz received the title of Khān and went with the Khān-Khānān on the Assam campaign and did great deeds. The Khān-Khānān (Mir Jumla) was pleased with him, but as his Moghuls oppressed the villagers and were wanting in discipline, nor was prohibition effectual, the Khān-Khānān came to pass him over. On this account Aghuz became disgusted and in the 5th year he got his<sup>2</sup> discharge from the Khān-Khānān, *volens volens*, and set off to court. Though the Khān-Khānān

ation. The Oghuzān are referred to in the 'Ālamgīrnāmah 521, top line. See also note to account of Ekatāz K. in Maasir.

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in Khāfi K. II. 95. Diler was on an elephant at the

time. The river was the Mahananda in the Maldah district. See the biography of Diler K. Dāūdzaī II. 46.

<sup>2</sup> See the details in Khāfi K. II. 157-160.

wrote about this to his son Muḥammad Amīn A. Mīr Bakhshī, and Aghuz was for a time in disgrace and without an office and excluded from court, yet afterwards he was restored and received into favour, and appointed to the Kabul auxiliaries. There he exerted<sup>1</sup> himself to punish the Khyber Afghans who are always turbulent, and did not fail to attack and kill them, and to destroy their dwellings. In the 13th year he was summoned to court and named for the expedition to the Deccan where Sīvā Bhonsla was giving trouble. There too he distinguished himself, and repeatedly attacked and defeated the Mahrattas. Afterwards in accordance with a summons, he went to court, and in the 17th year again went to Kabul. On this occasion too he behaved with courage. In the 18th year he was thānadār of Jagdalak, and in the 24th—he had charge of the roads in Afghanistan and was given a kettle-drum. For years also he carried on the work of the State in the capital (Kabul?). In the 35th year, when the king summoned him to the Deccan, and when he arrived near Agra, the Jāts—who at that time were turbulent and practised highway robbery, attacked a caravan, and plundered some carts which had fallen behind and made the men prisoners. When Aghuz heard of this he attacked their fort and rescued the prisoners. He rashly proceeded to attack another fort, and a bullet struck and killed him in 1102, 1691. Aghuz K. 2nd was his son. He gradually got his father's title and was living in the time of Firdūs Ārāmgāh, Muḥammad Shāh. He rose to great fame and died at the appointed time

#### AḤMAD BEG KHĀN.

Nephew (brother's son) of Ibrāhīm K. Fath Jang. When his uncle was governor of Bengal he was governor of Orissa. In the 19th year of Jahangir he was sent against the Zamindar of Kokra<sup>2</sup> who had become rebellious. Suddenly news came that Shah Jahan was coming to Bengal *via* Telingāna. Aḥmad Beg was forced to abandon his expedition and to go to Piplī which was the capital

<sup>1</sup> See Ālamgirnāma 1059, and Khāfi K. II. 237, etc. It appears from Khāfi K. II. 232, etc., that a poem was composed about Aghuz or Aghar which was called the Agharnāma.

<sup>2</sup> Text Khurda, but see notice of Ibrāhīm Fath Jang. This notice repeats a good deal of what has been said in the biography of Ahmad's uncle Ibrāhīm.

of the province. As he had no power to resist, he carried off his property to Cuttack, which was twelve *kos* distant in the direction of Bengal. There too he could not protect himself and went off to Burdwan to Šālḥ Beg the faujdār of that place. From there too he came away and joined his uncle. On the day of the battle which Ibrāhīm K. waged against Shah Jahan's troops, Aḥmad formed the reserve with 700 horse. When the engagement became hot, Ibrāhīm's vanguard gave way and became mingled with Aḥmad's force. He fought manfully and was wounded. After Ibrāhīm had been killed on the field, Aḥmad in spite of his wounds went bravely off to Dacca where were the family and possessions of his uncle. But the army of Shah Jahan followed at his heels, going by the river, and Aḥmad had no resource but to submit. By the intervention of the prince's courtiers he entered into service. When Shah Jahan became ruler of India he conferred on Aḥmad the rank of 2000, with 1500 horse, and made him faujdār and *tuyuldār* (sief-holder) of Siwistan (Sehwān). Afterwards he was made deputy of Yemenu-daulah and made governor of Multan. When that connection came to an end, he waited on the king and was appointed *jāgirdār* of parganas Amethī and Jāīs appertaining to Lucknow. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Mukarram Khān Šafavī with an increase of 500, and 500 horse. In the 28th year he was set aside, and on account of some acts was for some time without a *manṣab* or a jagir. In the 30th year he was reinstated.<sup>1</sup>

#### AḤMED BEG KHĀN KĀBULI.

He was a Caghatai, and his ancestors, generation after generation, had served the family of Timur. His ancestor Mir Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tarkhān was one of Timur's amīrs. He himself spent a long time in Kabul in the service of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and he was classed among the *Īkatāz*<sup>2</sup> of the Mīrzā. For the young men who were distinguished for bravery and were near companions of the Mīrzā were known by this name. After the Mīrzā's death he

<sup>1</sup> B. 511 supposes that Aḥmad was the son of Muḥammad Sharif whom Jahangir executed for high treason.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* riding or attacking singly, and applied to men who singly charged the enemy (cavaliers seul), (monomachi). Irvine, Army of the Moghuls 43.

came to the court of Akbar and obtained the rank of 700. In the year 1002, 1594, when Kashmir was taken from M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī and distributed<sup>1</sup> among various fief-holders, he was at their head. Afterwards when M. J'afar Āṣaf K. married his sister, Aḥmad Beg's importance and influence increased. In the time of Jahangir he became one of the great officers and had the rank of 3000, the title of Khān, and the right to a flag. He was also made governor of Kashmir. In the 13th year he was removed and came to court and died some time afterwards. He was full of courage, and was also able, and maintained 700 chosen troopers. His sons were all soldiers and brave men. The foremost of them was S'aid K. Bahādur Zafar Jang who rose to the highest rank and became the glory of his family. He kept alive the name of his ancestors. Up to the present day many things are connected with his name in India. High and low speak of him. A separate account of him has been given. His eldest son Muhammad Mas'aūd was killed<sup>2</sup> in the Tirah campaign against the Afghans. Another son Mukhlās Ullah K. Iftikhār K. in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign by increase of rank by 500 with 250 horse rose to the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse, and had the title above mentioned. In the 2nd year he had the increase of 1000 horse and was made faujdār of Jamū. He afterwards had another increase of 500 and died in the 4th year. Another son Abū-l-Baqā kept company with his elder full brother S'aid K. Bahādur. In the 5th year he was thānadār of lower Bangash, and in the 15th year when Qandahar fell into the imperial possession, S'aid K. as a reward for the battle he waged against the Persians, obtained the title of Bahādur Zafar Jang and got the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse, and the title of Iftikhār K.

(MĪR) AḤMAD<sup>3</sup> KHĀN.

Son-in-law of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Khān-i-biyūtāt. He was an honest man of military tastes. In the time of Aurangzeb he was made bakhshī and wāq'anavis of the army of Shah 'Āli Jah

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 654.

<sup>2</sup> *Bakār ūmida* B. 466 has, "He was killed in the war with the Tārikis," and this is the meaning of the phrase

though not given in the dictionaries.

Cf. *Khāfi* K. I. 345, line 13, and B. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi* K. II. 381 uses the phrase *Khān-i-Biyūtāt* and speaks of Mīr

Muhammad A'zim Shah who had the charge of Gujarāt. Though he had a name for harshness and severity which are fit concomitants of truth and honesty, yet in this duty the prince was pleased with him and favoured him, though he disliked most writing men. After this, he was made diwān of the army of Muhammad Bidār Bakht, and in the 48th year he was made the prince's deputy in the province of Khandes. At the time when Shah 'Ālam returned after the battle with Kām Bakhsh and encamped at Burhānpūr, he wished to visit and hunt in the park (ramna) of Karāra, which is a delightful place and a hunting ground. It<sup>1</sup> is three *kos* from Burhānpūr and has a stream of unparalleled purity. In former times a dam had been placed in the stream opposite Karāra. It was one hundred yards broad and two yards high and formed a cascade. By the orders of Shah Jahan who, when he was a prince, had charge of the Deccan and had beautified the spot, another dam was made in front of (above?) the former one and at a distance of eighty yards. Between the two dams there was a lake 100 yards by 80, and there was another cascade from the second dam. Rows of buildings were erected on the two sides of the lake, and a small garden was made near it. But when the disturbance of the Rājputs and the sedition of the Sikhs came to the hearing (of Bahādur Shah) he without delay marched off in the beginning of Sh'abān of the third year 1121, September 1709, and left the Khān to protect the city. By chance, in the 4th year Tulsī Bai, the wife of one of the Mahratta Sirdārs, made an attack with a large army, and after plundering the town of Rānwīr—which is seven *kos* from Burhānpūr—besieged the governor of the fort, who had not power to fight in the field, and had shut himself up. As the fort was not strong he was nearly being made prisoner. The Khān in his pride and excessive sense of honour did not approve of preserving his life in preference to martyrdom, or of withdrawing from opposing a female<sup>2</sup> foe.

Ahmad as being the brother of 'Abdur-Rahīm.

<sup>1</sup> Copied from Pādshāhnāma I. 331-332. It is said there that the

stream was as clear as an Aleppo mirror, and that its breadth in places was 100 yards (bādshāhi, i.e., royal).

<sup>2</sup> *zan harbiya*. Perhaps "a warlike

## Verse.

What is the manliness that is <sup>1</sup> less than womanliness ?

He absolutely cast aside the reins of self-control and without gathering an army or making arrangements for attack and retreat (*karr u farr*) came to Bahādurpūra and sallied forth. He sent *yesāwals* and messengers (*naqbā*) to summon the *manīṣabadārs* and servants. The men, who had had a taste of the *Khān*'s intensity and impetuosity preferred their honour to their self-preservation and collected their followers—most of whom were *piadas* (footmen) or carriage people <sup>2</sup> (*gardūn-suwār*). Next day the *Khān*—whose force was not more than 700 <sup>3</sup> troopers—formed his right and left wings and set off. On the way an encounter took place, and the flames of combat blazed forth. Though the leader's grandchildren and other kinsfolk set their hearts upon dying and slew many of the foe, yet the banditti wounded and killed many of the heroes with their long lances. The leader too was twice wounded in the leg by bullets. Meanwhile S. Ism'ail Zafirmānd K. the faujdār of Jamūd <sup>4</sup>—who commanded the reserve—came to assist and quenched the victorious flames of the infidels by the water of the sword. The army of Islam reached the precincts of the fort of Rānwīr. The battle of arrows and muskets went on for two days and nights. When the robbers perceived that the firmness of the combatants could not be shaken, they went off to the city. Though the Qāzī and the headmen of the city exerted themselves to protect the city, yet the suburbs were swept clean by the broom of plunder, and were consumed by the flames of injustice. On the night <sup>5</sup> of the 10th

woman." Two B. M. MSS. have *zan jarida* "a single woman." But *harbiya* is probably right for it corresponds to the *zanjangi* of *Khāfi* K. II. 6, where also *harbi* occurs.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *ke* should be *gar* "if".

<sup>2</sup> From the mention of *matṣādīn*, i.e., clerks, in *Khāfi* K. I.C. I conjecture that the phrase *gardūn suwār* means here people accustomed only to ride in carts or carriages.

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi* K. II. speaks, p. 666, of

800 or 900 troopers besides Mir Ahmad's own men. But the *Mahrattas* far outnumbered them. The battle was fought on 9 Muharram 1122 = 27 February 1710. See Elliot VII. 422.

<sup>4</sup> A *pargana* in Sarkār Dandēs. J. II, 224, 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Khāfi* K. says nothing of this second attack. Surely *Ṣafr* is a mistake for *Muharram*.

Safr the Khān went off at night to make a night-attack, and moved off from the foot of the fort of Rānwīr. Though some experienced men said from well-wishing that it was not advisable to go by night, he did not listen to them. When he came near the city, the wicked enemy became aware and stopped his path. The flames of war burst forth. The brave on both sides shewed their courage. Mīr Aḥmad K. with most of his sons and relatives, and two-thirds of his army, drank the goblet of martyrdom in the field, Zafmand K. surpassed the wind in swiftness, and in a situation in which the dust could not by the path of the wind reach the city, arrived at the city with one son of the martyred Khān and a few others. Of the remainder some were wounded and some were made prisoners. Two sons survived the Khān. One was Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad who lived like a darvesh, and was much respected in that character. The other was Mīr Muḥamid who received his father's title. A separate account of him has been given. (Maasir III, 760.)

#### (MĪR) AḤMAD K. THE SECOND.

Son of the martyred Mīr Aḥmad K. who bravely lost his life while governor of Burhānpūr in fighting with the Mahratta infidels. At first he had the title of Muḥamid K. and afterwards he had his father's title. For some time he was faujdār of Chakla Eminabad<sup>1</sup> in the Panjab. By decree of fate, his wife, of whom he was exceedingly fond, died there, and he gave himself up to weeping and lamentation. This heart-rending wound was like the scar of the tulip on his mind. He applied himself to building and adorning her tomb and laid out a garden. Afterwards as deputy of 'Ināyat Ullah K. Kashmīrī, he became governor of Kashmir. It did not answer, and his life ended in disgrace. The account of this is as follows: Maḥtavi K. Mullā 'Abdu-n-nabī<sup>2</sup>—who was one of the learned of the age and was one of the officers—was always waiting, under cover of protecting the Islam, to gratify his own selfish desires. From bigotry

<sup>1</sup> A town in Gujranwala. I.G. IV. 352. The Uminābād of J. II. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Siyar M.I. 57, Khān K. II. 867, also calls him Maḥbūb Khān.

and a quarrelsome disposition he occasionally made investigations among the Hindus of that country in the way of censorship.

As misfortunes and the disorganized state of the sovereignty give rise to outbreaks of presumption and disorder, that mischief-maker in the second year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1720) led away the base and foolish of the city by theological questions and made them his adherents. Gradually he attacked the Naib Ṣubāḥdār and the Qāzī and urged that the rules of the Law about Zimmīs,<sup>1</sup> such as forbidding them to ride on horses or to wear armour, etc., should be put into force, and that they should be restrained from publicly practising their superstitions. They answered that the practice in the capital and other cities of India must be followed. How could new rules be introduced without the order of the reigning sovereign! That turbulent fellow turned aside from urging the rulers, and came out with the help of his followers and insulted the Hindus whenever he saw them. By chance at this time Majlis<sup>2</sup> Rai, who was one of the leading men in the city, came with brahmans to visit a garden and was occupied in holding a feast. That light-headed fellow came there and raised the cry of "Seize and lay hold" and immediately began to smite and to bind them. Majlis Rai fled and came to Mir Aḥmad's house thinking that he would be safe there. The unjust fellow turned back and set fire to the Hindu quarter<sup>3</sup> and destroyed the Hindus. Not satisfied with that he surrounded the Khān's house. Whomever he caught he dishonoured. The Khān on that day by stratagem preserved himself from his violence. Next day he having collected a body of men went with the royal<sup>4</sup> bakhshi and the *manṣabadārs* to put matters to rights. The turbulent fellow gathered together his men and took to discharging arrows and smiting with the sword. And at his instigation the Muḥammadans of the city also rose up. A number set fire from behind to the bridge which the Khān had crossed. From both sides of the road and market

<sup>1</sup> Non-Muslim subjects. Hughes' Dict. s.v. See also B. 237 n.

<sup>2</sup> Ṣāhib Rai in Siyar M. But it is Majlis in Khāfi K.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence in his Valley of

Kashmir 195 says it was the Kalāsh-pūra quarter that was burnt. He calls the fanatic 'Abdu-l-Ghanī.

<sup>4</sup> *Bākshī Pādīshāhī Khāfi* K. has Mir Shāhwar K. Bakhshī.



there was a discharge of arrows and muskets and stones, and bricks were thrown. The women and children threw whatever they could find from the roofs and doors. During this dreadful uproar Saiyid Walī, the Khān's sister's son, and many others were killed. The Khān was brought into dejection and supplication by these waves of slaughter, for he could neither advance nor return, and deemed it an advantage to save his life, though with contempt. After that, the turbulent fellow ('Abdu-n-nabī) plundered and destroyed the remaining homes of the Hindus and brought out Majlis Rai and a number more from their place of safety and mutilated<sup>1</sup> them. At the time of circumcising, men had their private parts cut off. Next day Mahtavī K. went to the chief mosque, and assembling the Muhammadans and deposing Mīr Aḥmad K. made himself governor of the Masalmans and took the title of Dindār K. For five months—during which no other governor came from the court—he issued decrees and orders. He sate in the mosque and transacted financial and administrative business. When Mūmin K. Najm Sānī as deputy of 'Inayat Ullah K., who was appointed to quiet the uproar and to make new arrangements, arrived in the end of Shawwāl<sup>2</sup> within three kos of Kashmir (i.e., Srinagar), Mahtavī K.—who was ashamed of his own evil deeds—came<sup>3</sup> out with a number of learned men, and the chief persons of the city, together with Khwāja 'Abdullah, a *mangabdār* (officer) who was one of the notables there, to welcome the deputy and brought him with honour into the city. The Khwājah, either from friendship or from mischievousness, which is the leaven in the composition of that country, advised him first to go to the house of Mīr Shāhwar K. the Bakhshī, and apologise for what had occurred. After doing that he would be accepted (be forgiven). As the time of retribution for his deeds had arrived, he gave ear to the messenger of death, and at once went off there.

<sup>1</sup> Their ears and noses were cut off and they were circumcised or rather had their male organs cut off. Khāfi K. II, 869.

<sup>2</sup> Shawwāl 1132, equal to end of August 1720.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be incorrectly stated. Mahtavī alias Maḥbūb did

not go out to bring in the Naib. He proposed to do so; but his friend the Khwāja advised him first to go to the house of the Bakhshī. See Khāfi K. 870. The text calls the Bakhshī Mīr Shāhpūr. See also Siyar M.I. 160.

The owner of the house, who had posted some of the Ghakkar<sup>1</sup> *manṣabdārs* and others and some men of the Judi<sup>2</sup> Malī ward in corners of the house, went out after a while on pretence of business. The men suddenly fell upon the doomed man, and first of all killed his two young sons who always went before him, chanting the birth of Muḥammad, and then put him to death with many tortures. Next day his followers girt up their loins for battle to revenge the death of their leader and fell upon the Judi Malī (or Carbilī) ward, whose inhabitants were said to be Shias, and the Ḥasanabad ward. For two days fighting went on between the two parties. As there was a general riot on this side (the followers of Maḥtavi), they were at last victorious and killed 2 or 3000 of the people of the two wards together with many Moghul travellers. They also dishonoured the women and for two or three days plundered much money and goods. Afterwards they went to the house of the Bakhshī and the Qāzī. The first got into a corner where they could not follow him. The second came out and escaped.<sup>3</sup> They did not leave a single brick of their houses. When Mūmin K. entered the city, he acted on the principle of "Hold aslant and dont pour" and<sup>4</sup> sent off Mīr Aḥmad K. with an escort. The Khān arrived at the capital. Afterwards he got from Qamaru-d-dīn K. Bahādur I'timadu-d-daula the faujdarī of Moradabad. There he suffered much anguish. The date of his death does not appear.<sup>5</sup>

(SAIYID) AHMAD<sup>6</sup> K. BĀRHA.

Younger brother of Saiyid Maḥmūd K. Barha. In the 17th year of Akbar's reign he, as also his brother, was appointed<sup>7</sup> along with the Khān Kilān to the advance force sent to Gujarat.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this should be Kākar—an Afghan tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Siyar 161. Judi Bal. It is Charbilī in Khāfi K. II. 870.

<sup>3</sup> "By changing his clothes," Khāfi K.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. says he sent him off to Eminabad where his son was buried.

<sup>5</sup> The author makes no mention of his own grandfather Muḥammad

Kāzim K. in connection with the Srinagar riots, but it appears from Khāfi K. that he was then Diwān of Kashmir and that he was dismissed on account of these disturbances. See Khāfi K. II. 869, and also Maasir III. 721, where the dismissal is admitted.

<sup>6</sup> I. B. 407

<sup>7</sup> A.N. II. 372.

After the Aḥmadabad victory, the king sent him in pursuit of the sons of Sher K. Fūlādī who had taken their families and goods with them, and gone off to Īdar. Though they moved swiftly, and entered the mountain defiles, yet many of their goods fell into the hands of the king's soldiers. The Khān returned, and did homage. Afterwards when Pattan became the royal camp, it was made over to Mirzā Khān ('Abdu-r-Raḥīm, S. Bairām) and the government of it was entrusted to Saiyid Aḥmad (on account of M. Khān's youth). In the same year Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh Mirzā raised the standard of rebellion and came and besieged Pattan along with Sher K. The Khān looked after the fortifications and defended the place. At last the Khān A'zīm Koka approached with a large force, and the Mirzās withdrew from the siege. In the 20th year of the reign, he was sent off with his brother's sons Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Ḥashim to chastise the rebels connected with the Rānā—who after the killing of Jalāl K. Qūrcī, had stirred up the dust of strife. On account of his good service he was encompassed with favours. In the year 980,<sup>1</sup> 1572-1573, he died. He had attained to the rank of 2000. His son Jamālu-d-din was one who was known to the emperor. At the siege of Chitor, when two mines were charged with gunpowder and set fire to, one hung fire, and at that time a number of men were killed. He too consumed the flower of his youth.

#### AḤMAD NĀITHA (MULLĀ).

The Navāit tribe was a newly arrived one and belonged to the nobles of Arabia. The word "newly arrived," has become by frequent use Navāit. The author of the Qāmūs says: "Navāit are ocean sailors and Nutiyy is the singular." But it is evident that Navāit is according to the rules of grammar the plural of Nāit or Nāita. And Navāit is not connected with Navāit.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the generality who call the Navāit boatmen and rely upon the Qāmūs have fallen into error. They say that the tyrant

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. Jalāl K. Qūrcī was killed in 983, 1575-1576, and in 984 Saiyid Aḥmad took part in the expedition against Siwāna, A.N. III.

166, 167. Probably 980 is a copyist's error for 985. See B. 408.

<sup>2</sup> But see Lane 2863c. The word seems to be Greek. See I.G. XIV, 345.

Hajāj the son of Yūsuf set himself to root out the nobility and put to death many pious and learned people. Consequently men went into exile wherever they could find security. A number of the Qoresh tribe left Medina in 152 A.H. (769 A.D.) and embarked on ships. They landed on the shores of the Indian Ocean in the Deccan country known as the Konkan and made it their home. In course of time they spread out and established villages, and in order to distinguish each set of them, they took titles from anything with which they had a slight connection. Strange titles have become usual among them.

Mullā Aḥmad was possessed of learning and other perfections, and was one of the erudite. By good fortune he became a favourite with 'Alī 'Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur, and in a short time became, by his wisdom and judgment, the strong pillar of his dominion. After a time he for some reason fell out of favour with 'Adil Shah, or perhaps he thought in his haughtiness that he could have something higher than Bijāpūrī service, and came to have a desire for the service of Aurangzib. He waited for an opportunity, and at last in the 8th year Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh after settling the matter of Sivā (jī) came with a large army to attack Bijāpūr. 'Adil Shah became conscious of his offences and awoke from the heavy sleep of neglect and sent the Mullā—who surpassed the other officers in ability—to the Rajah to make an arrangement. The Mullā—whose long-cherished desire now attained fulfilment—thought this a great opportunity and joined the Rajah at the foot of the fort of Pūrandhar in 1076, 1665-66, and revealed his secret thought. When this was reported to the king, an order was sent for summoning him and he was granted the rank of 6000, with 6000 horse. They say that a hint was given to the Mirzā Rajah that after the Mullā came to court his title would be S'aad Ullah K. and that he would be promoted to a suitable appointment.

In fine the Rajah, in accordance with orders, gave him from the Government two lacs of rupees, and Rs. 50,000 to his son, and sent him to court. The Mullā in accordance with fate—from which no one is exempt—fell ill on the way and died at Aḥmadnagar; and it appears that as he did not recognize the claim

of his old salt, so did he not profit by his new fortune. His son Muḥammad Asad in accordance with the royal order came to court and in the beginning of the 9th year did homage. He received favours and obtained the rank of 1500, with 1000 horse and the title of Ikrām K. Mullā Yaḥiā the younger brother of Mullā Aḥmad—who had, before his brother, come in the 8th year from Bījāpūr to court—received the rank of 2000, with 1000 horse and was appointed to the Deccan. He did good service along with the Mirzā Rajah in devastating the Bījāpūr territory. Afterwards he received the title of Mukhlis K. and lived in Aurangabad. His son Zainu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. and his son-in-law ‘Abdu-l-Qādir M‘atbar K. each received a suitable *manṣab*. When the faujdārī of the Konkan became held by M‘atbar K. he did so well in settling the country—which was the home of the vile Mahratta tribe—that he established his reputation at court. He acquired such influence that everything he did was approved of. The king, when he became at ease about that troublesome country, often declared that it was good to have such a servant as M‘atbar K. He left no son,—though Abū Muḥammad the son of one of his relatives was adopted by him as a son,—and his *‘aluq* came to Zainu-d-dīn ‘Alī K. his wife’s brother. The latter held it for a long time, and afterwards in the time of Muḥammad Shah he obtained it for the second time. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar’s reign, Haidar Qulī K. Khurāsānī was invested with the Diwānī of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad. As his power and influence were a thousand<sup>1</sup> and one times greater than that of a (an ordinary) diwān he attacked the Khān before mentioned (Zainu-d-dīn) about the money of the Khālṣa lands, which had been in his keeping (or, perhaps, which had been embezzled). In the beginning of the government of Husain ‘Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā (the younger of the Bārha Saiyids) he went to Arcot to S‘aadat Ullah K. Nāiṭha. He, on account of being of the same tribe and of the respect for an old family, regarded his arrival as an honour. By the assistance of that noble-minded man he spent the rest of his days in peace. His son too

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<sup>1</sup> Lit. “1001 times.”

got his father's title and is in the Carnatic. The dwelling of Mullā Yahīa was one of the famous old houses of Aurangabad. As it was close to the residence of the governors, 'Aṣaf Jāh proposed to S'aadat Ullah K. to purchase it, and the latter, with the concurrence of his heir, sent him a deed of gift of it.

### AḤMAD KHĀN NIYĀZĪ.

The son of Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, and famous for his bravery and bounty (shujā'at u sakḥāwat). He had many agreeable qualities. In the reign of Jahangir when Raḥīm K. Deccanī, one of the officers of Nizām Shah, came with a large force against Ilcapūr (Elichpur) and forcibly took possession of it, though there was no large imperial army there, yet Ahmad K., who was in his early youth, engaged him with but a few troops and drove him out of the city and made himself renowned. From that time he continually distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns and in the siege of Daulatabad he went off with Khān Zamān Bahādūr to bring the treasure and supplies which had arrived from Burhānpūr at the pass of Rohankra<sup>1</sup> (Rohankhed). The Khān Zamān left Aḥmad K., who was unwell, in Zafarnagar with Bahār<sup>2</sup> Singh Bandila. It chanced that these two leaders after coming near (*nazdik qasba*) the town with a few men, sent off their troops along with the Khān Zamān. Suddenly Yāqūt K. Abyssinian, who had joined 'Ādil Shah, who was marching with a large force against the Khān Zamān, came upon them when they were in the open plain with a few men and at once attacked<sup>3</sup> them. Aḥmad K. and Bahār Singh Bandila stood so firm that the malignant foe had to bite the finger of astonishment and to turn his back. Aḥmad also distinguished himself on the day of the taking<sup>4</sup> of 'Ambarkot, and many of his best men were killed. Mahābat K. used to say that Aḥmad was the predominant partner in this victory. In the Parenda campaign on the day

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 517. I. G. XXI. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Bahādūr Singh in *ia*, but at p. 321 Bahār Singh as in variant.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 518.

<sup>4</sup> This preceded the affair of Rohankhed. See Pādshāhnāma I. 502. 'Ambarkot was the outer fort of Daulatabad, and was named after Malik 'Ambār.

that Mahābat K. prevailed over the marauding<sup>1</sup> foe, Aḥmad K. obtained renown for his fighting. The Khān commander-in-chief laboured to honour and advance him, and so he took no other title than that of Khānzāda (the Khān's son).

When in the ninth year Daulatabad was visited by Shah Jahan, Aḥmad K. had an increase of 500 and 500 horse and was promoted to the rank of 2500, with 2000, and went off with Shaista K. who had been deputed to take Sangamnir<sup>2</sup> and Nāsik. He in his zeal proceeded with the permission of his leader to attack the fort of Rām Saj<sup>3</sup> and took it from the hands of Sāhū's men. After that he was honoured by the gift of a drum, and attached to the royal stirrup. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gulshanābād.<sup>4</sup> As he had been brought up in that country he went with joy. In the 23rd year he was raised to the rank of 3000, *zāl* and horse, and made governor of the fort of Aḥmad-nagar. In the year 1061, 1651, and beginning of the 25th year, he died. He inherited courage and generosity, and he also had other qualities in perfection. In his office there were never any dismissals, and if any one got an assignment (*tankhwāh*) for his subsistence it was like his own property. Even if it doubled in value his clerks did not interfere with it. In spite of his grandeur he was gentle to every one and spent his days in humility and piety. He was an excellent governor of many children and relatives. As his father had made Āshti in Berar his residence and his place of burial, Aḥmad K. laboured to improve the place and made a garden there. He also saw to the building of a lofty mosque and of a tomb for his father. For a long time it was a place of prayers and a shrine for the public. At present, except for some old tombs, there is no trace<sup>5</sup> remaining either of famous inhabitants or of homes.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar sir kahī ghanīm*. Kahī, apparently from *kah* straw, means a marauding or foraging party.

<sup>2</sup> Sungamnere of Grant-Duff's map, S.E. Nāsik.

<sup>3</sup> Rām Sij in variant and Khāfi K. J. 521.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently another name for

Wardhā in the Central Provinces, for Aḥmad's father made Āshti his home. See Blochmann 484 and note 2, and biography of Muḥammad K. Niyāzi Maasir III, 376.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. differ. The text has *na az quṭṭān nām?* or *na az masākin nishān*. Blochmann's MSS. has *auṭan* for

AHMAD<sup>1</sup> (SHAIKH).

Second son of S. Salīm Cistī of Fathpūr—May his grave be holy—whose family was of Delhi.<sup>2</sup> His (S. Selīm's) father was S. Bahāu-d-dīn, a descendant of Farīd Shahr Ganj. The Shaiikh lived long in Arabia and often made the pilgrimage and became known in that country as the Shaiikh-l-Hind. After he returned to India he settled in the village of Sikrī, twelve *kos* from Agra, and which was a dependency of Bāna. Because in that delightful spot Bābur had won a victory over Rānā Sāngā, he ordered it to be called Shukrī. On the top of a hill near that village S. Selīm built a mosque and a Khānqāh (monastery) and there practised asceticism. A wonderful circumstance it was that Akbar, who had come to the throne at the age of fourteen, for fourteen other years—when he came to be eight and twenty—had no child who lived. When he heard of the Shaiikh he had a keen desire at that age that he should ask help from him. The Shaiikh gave him the good news that he would have three sons. At the same time, there appeared signs of pregnancy in the mother of Jahangir. As on such occasions a change of residence is a good omen, that chaste lady was brought from Agra to the Shaiikh's house, and on Wednesday 17th Rabi'-al-awwal 977, 31st August 1569, Jahangir was born. He was called Prince Sultan Muḥammad Selīm after the name of the Shaiikh. The chronogram is *Dur Shahrwār lajh-i-Akbar* (977): "A royal pearl from a great (akbar) ocean." Afterwards, when the births of Sultan Murād and Sultan Daniel also took place, and the Shaiikh's influence was recognized, Sikrī became a city, and a lofty *khānkāh* and a madrasa were built at a cost of five laqs. The chronogram was *wa lā tarā fī'l-bilād ḡānīhā*: "And you'll not see in cities another such." (982 = 1574-75.) Delightful palaces, large,

*qutṭan* and I.O., MS. 628, has *makūn nāmī*. It appears from the note in Blochmann 484, and also from the I.G. article *Āshṭī*, that the tombs have been restored. The Maasir has in the third volume, p. 376, a life of Ahmad K.'s father Muḥammad Khān. The

author of the Maasir knew the Berars well. It was at *Āshṭī* that a great battle was fought in Akbar's reign.

<sup>1</sup> B 475.

<sup>2</sup> Salīm's father was first at Ludiana and afterwards came to Delhi, *Khazīna A.I.* 432.



stone bazaars and beautiful gardens were made. As while the city was being made, the rich country of Gujarat was conquered, Akbar wished to call it Fathābād, but it became known as Fathpūr, and this name was approved of by the emperor. The Shaikh died in 979, 1571-72. The chronogram is Shaikh Hindī: "The Indian Shaikh." 979. In consequence of the sincerity and respect that existed between the Shaikh and Akbar, his sons, sons-in-law, and grandchildren obtained high office, and as the wife and daughter of the Shaikh were connected by fosterage with Prince Sultan Selīm, the Shaikh's descendants became his foster-brothers, and during his rule many of them rose to the rank of 5,000, and became owners of drums and flags.

In fine Shaikh Ahmad showed many choice qualities in his relations with the world. He did not abuse people and did not become overcome with sorrow on beholding many improprieties. By his loyalty and his connection by fosterage with the prince he became famous and was enrolled among the great officers. Though<sup>1</sup> as yet he had not reached the rank of 500, he had great influence. In the 22nd year during the expedition to Mālwa he got a chill (perhaps a stroke) (*hawāzadagī*). When he came to the capital, his illness, on account of carelessness, became paralysis. In the same year he died, on a day when Akbar was marching to Ajmere and had sent for him. He took his last leave, and died after reaching his home in the year 985, 1577.

#### AHSAN KHĀN SULTAN HASAN.

His other name was Mīr malang (malang means enthusiast) and he was the sister's son of Muḥammad Murād K. He was one of the distinguished men of Aurangzeb's time, and held suitable appointments. In the 51st year when the king saw marks of weakness in himself, and perceived that Muḥammad Ā'zīm Shah—who had a name for courage and had won over the leading officers—looked upon Kām Bakhsh with severe eyes, he, because he always regarded this prince with affection, appointed Ahsan

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<sup>1</sup> He had reached the rank of 500 when he died. The account in text is chiefly taken from A.N. III, 212.

K. to be his bakhshī and straitly charged him to take care of him. Accordingly, he continually looked after him in his coming and going. Muḥammad Ā'ẓim Shah repeatedly accused<sup>1</sup> Kām Bakhsh to his father, but it was of no avail. At last he wrote to his full sister Zihatu-nisā<sup>2</sup> Begam a letter in which he said, "Though it would be no great task (*kāre-nīst*) to chastise the impudence of that insolent one, yet respect for H.M. restrains me." After the king had read this letter he wrote<sup>3</sup> in reply: "Do not disturb yourself about all this. We are sending away Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh." After that he presented that prince with the insignia<sup>4</sup> of sovereignty and sent him off to Bijāpūr. After he arrived at the fort of Parendā, news came of the death of Aurangzeb, and most of the officers went off without warning. Sultan Hasan endeavoured to secure the affections of the remainder, and made excellent endeavours after reaching Bijāpūr so that Saiyid Niyāz K the governor made over the keys and joined the prince. The prince promoted Sultan Hasan to a commission of 5000 and gave him the title of Aḥsan Hasan and made him Mīr Bakhshī. When the prince marched from Bijāpūr and took possession of Gulbarga, he came to Wākinkera—which had again come into the possession of Pirmā<sup>5</sup> Nāik zamindar. Aḥsan Hasan laboured to get possession of this also. Afterwards he took the prince's son with him, as a matter<sup>6</sup> of custom, and marched against Karnūl. He took money from there and went on to Arcot where Dāūd K. Patni was *ṣaujdār*. He neglected not the smallest particular which could be of use to the prince, and in spite of little money and other difficulties he devoted himself to the carrying on of affairs. He again joined the prince. When they were within four stages of Haidarabad he soothed Rustum Dil K. of Sabzawār, who was the governor there, and

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 547-48.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān has Zibu-nisā, but she was already dead.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear from Khāfi Khān 548 that Aurangzeb, after the letter was read to him, caused the reply to be endorsed on it and put his own signature to it.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* 548. Aurangzeb sent him off under a fanfaronade of music.

<sup>5</sup> Pernaik of Grant-Duff I. 405.

<sup>6</sup> *Cūn tora*. It was an oriental institution to have a prince with the army however young, for luck.

induced him to join the prince. As Ḥakīm Muḥammad, who had the title of Taqarrab K. and was the Vizier, was envious of Aḥsan Hasan—a thing which has of old destroyed dominions—he continually misrepresented things to the prince, and alienated his feelings from him. At the time when there was between Aḥsan K. and Rustum Dil a movement of loyalty towards the prince, Taqarrab K. represented that they were plotting to make the prince a prisoner. The prince whose disposition tended towards madness, and who at that time was doubly perturbed on account of anxieties, after putting Rustum Dil to death as related<sup>1</sup> in his biography, sent for the Khān and imprisoned him, and put him to death with torture. They say that though men had warned him that the prince meditated imprisoning him, he—who always behaved with loyalty—would not believe this. This event happened in the year 1120, 1708. His elder brother Mir Sultan Ḥusain entered service in the 2nd year of Bahādur Shah and obtained a commission of 1000, with 200 horse and the title of Tal'a Yār K.

(ḤAKĪM)<sup>2</sup> 'AĪNUL-L MULK SHĪRĀZĪ.

He had a high rank in science, and was a man of praiseworthy morals. He was related on the mother's side to Muhaqqiq-i-Dawwānī.<sup>3</sup> From the first his company was pleasing to Akbar, and in the 9th year he was sent with an order to Cingiz K. who was a leading man in Ahmadabad. He returned with presents from the Khān to Agra. In the 17th year he took a soothing letter to I'timād K. Gujarātī and brought<sup>4</sup> him to service along with Abū Turāb. In the 19th year, when Akbar went to the eastern districts, he was in attendance.<sup>5</sup> Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan for the purpose of guiding 'Ādil K. of Bijāpūr, and returned to court in the 22nd<sup>6</sup> year. After that he was made *farj-dār* of Sambhal, and in the 26th year, when 'Arab Bahādur Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna with a number of ingrates had stirred up commotion there, he strengthened the fort of Bareli (Bareilly), and

<sup>1</sup> Maasir II. 327.

<sup>2</sup> B. 480, and Badayūni III. 164.

<sup>3</sup> J. III. 422.

<sup>4</sup> A.N. III. 6 and 7.

<sup>5</sup> A.N. 87.

<sup>6</sup> A.N. 211.

exerted himself along with the fiefholders. Though the rebels used threats and promises in order to induce him to join them he did not consent, and by excellent contrivance managed to cause dissension among them. At last Niyābat K. joined the royalists. The Hakim along with the other fiefholders sought for battle and defeated<sup>1</sup> the enemy. In the same year he was made Sadr<sup>2</sup> of Bengal. In the 31st year he was made bakhshī of the province of Agra. Afterwards he went to the Deccan with the Khān A'zim. When the said Khān took away his jāgīr of Hindia he, without being summoned, came<sup>3</sup> to court in the 35th year, and consequently was not admitted to an audience. After inquiries were made, he received an order for him to pay his respects. He was confirmed in the pargana of Hindia, and was allowed to depart after some time. In the 40th<sup>4</sup> year corresponding to 1003, 1595, he died. He wrote poetry and had the *takhallaṣ* of Dawāi. This verse is his.

*Verse.*

In the night of her dark locks a dream of death seized me,  
A strange sad dream it was which had no interpreter.  
He attained the rank of 500.

AJIT SINGH RĀTHOR. (MAHĀRĀJAH.)

Son of Mahārājah Jeswant Singh When his father died in his thānadārī<sup>5</sup> of Jamrūd, he was in his mother's womb. He was born after she came to Lahore.<sup>6</sup> The king wished to get hold of him, and the Rāthors who were old servants of the deceased rose up in arms. Some were killed, and some took Ajit to his native country. After the king had gone twice to the province of Ajmere

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 348.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. 372.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 584.

<sup>4</sup> A.N. III. 671. He died on 23rd August 1595. Badayūnī II. 403.

<sup>5</sup> He died in or near Kabul in 1678. Elliot VII. 187, 290.

<sup>6</sup> The Maasir A. 177 says Ajit and his brother were born at Lahore. See translation in Elliot VII. 187.

Khāfi K. II. 259 implies that they were born in Afghanistan, for he says that when their servants were bringing them and their mothers to Aurangzeb there was a fight at the Attock crossing. Possibly, however, he means that the children were still in the womb. Elphinstone, p. 561 of 4th ed., takes it that they were born in Afghanistan. See also the translation of Khāfi K. in Elliot VII. 297.

and striven to ruin the tribe, and had sent Prince Muḥammad Akbar to pursue them, they engaged in instigating that prince (to rebellion) and perverted him so that at last he, in league with these men, came within  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kos of the royal camp. As they became from some reason suspicious of him, they left the prince, and he was compelled to fly. The king appointed a *faujdar* in Jodhpūr, and as long as the king lived, Ajit remained in the recesses of the hills. After the king's death, he disgraced (*be ḥurmat sākhṭa*) the *faujdar* and took possession of the town. Bahādur Shah sent him a summons during the war with A'zim Shah but he did not come. Consequently after the battle he marched to Jodhpūr, and appointed *Khān* Zamān the son of Mun'im K. *Khān-Khānān* against him. When the *Khān* came near Jodhpūr, Ajit waited upon him, and having received assurances he submitted. After his offences had been forgiven, he was raised to the rank of 3000.

When the king went to the Deccan with the intention of confronting *Kām Bakhsh*, Ajit in the course of the march joined with *Rajah Jai Singh 'Kachwāha*, and taking his necessities, and leaving his tents behind, went to his native country. When the king returned from the Deccan, he was minded to punish the tribe, but the rebellion of the Sikhs, who had become world-conquerors in the Panjab, prevented him. With a regard to prudence he overlooked his acts and omissions and arranged through the *Khān-Khānān* that he in concert with *Rajah Jai Singh* should pay his respects on the march and go to his native country. Afterwards, when he had made proper arrangements, he was to come to court. As the intriguing heavens are always stirring up fresh commotions the inevitable event (of death) appeared for Bahādur Shah after he had reached Lahore, and thereafter dissension broke out among the princes. In the second year of the reign (of *Farrukh Siyar*) *Husain 'Alī Amīru-l-umārā* was appointed against Ajit. Ajit was overcome by alarm and submitted to the *Amīru-l-umārā*. By agreeing to pay tribute his offences were wiped out. He sent off his daughter, to be married to the king according to the established custom, and was honoured with the government of Gujarat. Afterwards he joined the Saiyids and in the end of Muḥammad *Farrukh Siyar*'s reign came to court from Ahmadabad,

and received the title of Mahārājah. He took part with the Saiyids in the arrangements for imprisoning the king, and on this account he became an object of reproach to high and low, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shah's reign was removed from the government of Gujarat. By good fortune he got a sanad<sup>1</sup> for the city of Ajmere and took possession of it. Afterwards when the officers were sent against him with an army he went to his native country and his men entrenched themselves in Garha Patli. The royal army went and besieged that place. At last peace was made, and it was agreed that Abhai Singh his eldest son should remain at court as his father's representative. Abhai Singh after coming to court at the instigation of the nobles there withdrew from filial duties and wrote to his younger brother Bakht Singh, and he sent<sup>2</sup> Ajit to the other world while he was asleep. Abhai Singh got the title of Mahārājah and in 1140, 1728, was made governor of Gujarat in lieu of Sirbuland K. He went to his home and spent one year in settling the country. In the 11th year of Muḥammad Shah he entered Gujarat and surrendered the province to the Marhatta *Chaut*. When he saw that they were predominant he in the 15th year came to his native country, and the whole province fell into the power of the Mahrattas.

Mahārājah Ajit Singh had two sons. The first was Abhai, of whom an account has been given. The second was Bakht Singh, who after his father's death got possession of his native country. After him his son Bijai Singh is at the time of writing (died in 1794) in possession, and is renowned for his care of the subjects, and for protecting the weak and for putting down the oppressive. The supplementary account of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar is that after he fled from the neighbourhood of Ajmere—as he had no home—he went to Sambhā Bhonsla. Sambhā received him and kept him for some time. When Aurangzeb marched to the Deccan, the noise of killing infidels was heard everywhere. Akbar got frightened and embarked in a ship and went off to Persia. When the ship reached Muscat the governor there took charge of him and wrote to Aurangzeb. Meanwhile Shah Sulaimān Ṣafavī heard of

<sup>1</sup> Siyar M. trans. I. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II. 974, and Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Marwār.

his having come to Muscat. Prince Akbar too had previously told Shah Sulaimān his intentions. The Shah wrote to the land-owner<sup>1</sup> of Muscat, who regarded the Shah as his suzerain and ordered that Prince Akbar should be sent to him. He was always treated with respect, and there were continually feasts and recreations. At last he asked for auxiliaries. The Shah said, "Your father is still alive; when the time of your brothers comes, I will give you proper help." Akbar was sad and said that the climate did not agree with his constitution and asked leave that he might go to Qandahar and live in the warm country (in the Garmsir). The Shah gave him leave, and provided him with the necessary expenses. After Akbar came to that country he died in 1115.<sup>2</sup>

(SAIYID) 'ĀLAM BĀRHA.

Brother of Saiyid Hizabr<sup>3</sup> K., of whom an account has been given in this book. In Jahangir's time he at first had a suitable *manṣab* and at the end of his reign his rank was 1500 with 600 horse. After the accession of Shah Jahan his *manṣab* was confirmed and he went with the *Khān-Khānān* to Kabul for the purpose of putting down Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh who had raised the flag of disturbance in that province. In the 3rd year he received a robe of honour, and a sword and an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and was appointed to accompany Yemīnuddaula to the Bālāghāt of Berar. In the 6th year he attended Prince Muḥammad Shujā' in the affair of Parenda. The Prince left him with 500 horse, as a sort of *thāna* (station) in Jālnapūr to protect the roads. In the 8th year, at the time of the return from Lahore to the capital, he along with Islām K. was active in chastising the rebels of the Duab. Afterwards he accompanied prince Aurangzeb when he was appointed to the army for chastising Jujhār Singh Bandila. In the 9th year, at the time when

<sup>1</sup> The Imām of Muscat. See Elliot VII. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Should be 1118, or 1706 A.D., according to Beale; but Khāfi K. in the account of the year 1117, II, p. 546, says that a report of the prince's death had been current for a year

and was now confirmed. The Maasir speaks of his going to the neighbourhood of Qandahar. Khāfi K. speaks of the Garmsir of Khurāsān, the prince having objected to Isfahan as too cold.

<sup>3</sup> B. 392, and 395 note.

the Deccan became for the second time the residence of the king, he was appointed to punish Sāhū Rhonsla and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, in the contingent of Khān Zamān Bahādur. In the 13th year he received an increase and had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 19th year he went with the prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards, he went with prince Shujā' to Bengal, and in the 29th year he accompanied prince Sultan Zainu-d-dīn to court and did homage. Afterwards he received a horse and returned. When Aurangzeb obtained the sovereignty, and battles took place with his brothers, he was active on the side of Shujā' in the first battle, and also in the engagement, which occurred on the borders of Bengal, and jeopardized his life. At last, when Shujā' went off to Arracan and had no one with him except ten Saiyids of Bārha and twelve Moghul servants, 'Ālam Bārha accompanied him. He disappeared<sup>1</sup> in that country (*i.e.* perished along with Shujā').

### (MĪR) 'ALĪ AKBAR MUSAVĪ.

Younger brother of Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk of Mashhad. He too in the reign of Akbar attained to the rank of 3000 and acted along with his brother in carrying out the king's work. In the 22nd year he produced before Akbar the story of his birth (*maulūd-nāma*) which had been written by Qāzī Ghī su-d-dīn Jāmī, who was endowed with eloquence and gifts, and was for a time Humāyūn's Ṣadr. It was written therein<sup>2</sup> that on the night of the birth of the king, Humāyūn having seen in a dream that God had presented him with a son, ordered that he should be called Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Akbar shewed great pleasure on beholding it and rewarded the Mīr with favours, and gave him the

<sup>1</sup> B. 392, and 395 note.

<sup>2</sup> B. 382. The story is told in the annals of the 23rd year in the *Tabaqāt N.* and just at the end of that year. The king was then at Hānsī in the Panjab. B's suggestion of Nadīna is supported by a MSS. of the *Tabaqāt*: in my possession. The modern name is Nagīna, N.W.

Moradabad. See I.G. XVIII, 299. It is in the Bijnor district. The facts about 'Alī Akbar's being sent in chains and put in prison are recorded in the *Akbarnāma* III. 309. It is not said there that he was imprisoned for life. The punishment took place in the 25th year 988, 1580.



pargana of Nadīna (text Nadīa) as a reward. As his brother held a jagir in Bihar (*viz.* Arrah) he was made a partner with him. In the 24th year when many of the Bihar officers took the path of rebellion the two brothers joined them. But from far-sightedness they soon separated from them, and Mir M'uzzu-l-mulk came to Jaunpūr, while Mir 'Alī Akbar stopped in Zamānia six *kos* from Ghazipur. Nevertheless he was always by messages and wiles fanning the flames of sedition. When his brother's boat sank in the Jumna in the 24th year, an order was sent to the Khān Azīm, who had charge of Bengal and Bihar, to arrest Mir 'Alī Akbar and to send him off in chains. He had recourse to fawning and wiles in dealing with the Kokaltāsh. But as the latter was a clear-sighted man, his stories did not avail, and he was conveyed to the Presence by guards. The kindness of the king abstained from inflicting capital punishment on him, but sent him to the school of the prison.

(MĪRZĀ) 'ALĪ' BEG AKBAR SHĀHĪ.

He was born and bred in Badakhshān, and was adorned with excellent qualities. When he came to India, the coin of his loyalty was fully tested in Akbar's heart, and he was honoured by the title of Akbar Shāhī. He distinguished himself in battle. In the campaign in the Deccan he was an auxiliary of Prince Sultan Murād. When the prince made peace and retired from Ahmadnagar, Šādiq K. from considerations of prudence made his abode in Mahkar in the 41st year. Azhdar K. and 'Aīn K. and other Deccanis rose up to make disturbance. Šādiq K. appointed a choice force under the Mīrzā, and he suddenly fell<sup>2</sup> upon their camp and seized abundant plunder, including elephants and *ukhāra* women (dancing girls). On account of this success, Khudāwand K. and other Nizām Shāhī officers resolved to give battle with 10,000 horse. Šādiq K. fought a battle on the bank of the Ganges,<sup>3</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> B 482.

<sup>2</sup> Akbarnāma III. 711.

<sup>3</sup> Akbarnāma 715, where the river

is called the Bān Gang, *qu.* the Penganga of I.G. XX. 102. It is a tributary of the Wardhā.

M. 'Alī Beg in the vanguard, eight *kos* from Pāthri. The Mīrzā on that day displayed valour and defeated Khudāwand K. who attacked him with 5,000 horse. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Rāhūtara,<sup>1</sup> a dependency of Daulatabad, after a siege of one month, and in the same year the town of Pattān—which is an ancient city on the bank of the Godavery—was taken by his exertions. In the end of the same year the fort of Lohgarha<sup>2</sup> Daulatabad was taken by his efforts. Both of these forts became deserted from want of water and are in the same state to-day. The Mīrzā in the campaigns of S. Abū-l-faẓl also fought battles and did good service. In the siege of Ahmadnagar he gave great help to the servants of Prince Daniel. In the 46th year he was rewarded for his good services with a flag and drum. After that he was for a long time in the Deccan as an assistant of the Khān-Khānān. In the time of Jahangir he got the rank of 4000 and was made governor of Kashmir. After that he obtained the fief of Oudh, and when Jahangir was residing at Ajmere he came to court and visited the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn. He embraced the tomb of Shahbāz K. Kambū, who was buried in the enclosure, and said, "he was our old friend," and then died. He was buried in the same place. This occurred in the 11th year on 22nd Rabi'-ul-awwal 1025, 30th March, 1616.

Though he had but few servants, they were all excellent and had good wages. He was very fond of learned and pious men. As he was addicted to opium (*koknār*), the confectionary departments in his establishment were in great order. Varieties of confections and drinks and sweetmeats were produced in his assemblies. He had a poetical vein and composed verses.<sup>3</sup>

Akbarnāma 739, where the text has Āhūbara with the variant Rāhūtara.

<sup>2</sup> 749. Both forts surrendered for want of water.

<sup>3</sup> See B. 482, and Tūzūk J., pp. 11 and 163. B., p. 482, note, rightly doubts the correctness of the statement at p. 11 of Tūzūk, that he belonged to Delhi. None of the MSS. have this. Instead, they state that he

was a distinguished man of this tribe, *Āin alāsh* meaning the tribe or company of the Akbarshāhis. Or perhaps it means "this dynasty." The expression is used at p. 163 of the Tūzūk. M. 'Alī Beg was over seventy-five when he died. He left no children. The incident of his embracing Shahbāz's tomb is not mentioned in the Tūzūk.

## 'ALĪ KHĀN (MĪRZĀDA).

Son of Muhtaram Beg and one of Akbar's officers. He obtained the rank of 1000 and in the 9th year he was sent off, with other officers, in pursuit of 'Abdullah K. Uzbek who had fled from Mālwa to Gujarat. In the 17th year when the king proceeded towards Gujarat, and the Khān Kilan was sent off in advance, 'Alī K. was sent with him. In the 19th year when the king proceeded to the eastern districts, he was one of the companions. Afterwards he was sent with a body of troops to punish Qāsim<sup>1</sup> K. alias Kāsū who was making a disturbance with a body of Afghans in Bihar. He did good service, and after that he distinguished himself along with Mozaffar K. In the 21st year he came to court. In the 23rd year, when Shabbāz K. went off to punish Rānā Pratāp *alias* Kikā, he was enrolled as an auxiliary. In the 25th year he was appointed to act along with the Khān A'ẓim in the eastern districts. As he did not do well there he in the 31st year was sent to Qāsim K. the governor of Kashmir.<sup>2</sup> In a battle with the Kashmiris in the 32nd year, when it was 'Saiyid 'Abdullah's turn (to command) and the imperial troops were defeated, he was killed,<sup>3</sup> in 995, 1587.

## (HAKIM) ALĪ GĪLĀNĪ.

He was eminently skilled in<sup>4</sup> the sciences, especially in medicine and mathematics. He was one of the ablest physicians of the day. They say that he came to India from abroad in great poverty and distress. By the help of auspicious fortune he became enrolled among Akbar's servants. One day, by Akbar's order, several bottles containing the urine of sick and healthy persons and of cattle and asses were brought to the ḥakīm in order to test his skill. He diagnosed all of them by his powers of consideration, and from that time his reputation and influence increased so that he became an intimate companion of the monarch. He

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 105. <sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 516.<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 522, and B. 443, who refers to Badayūnī III. 326, who describes him as an occasional poet.<sup>4</sup> B. 466. Instead of *dar funūn* the B.M. MSS. Add. 65657, and 6567, have *zū funūn*.

acquired power and became the equal of the highest officers. After that he was sent on an embassy to Bijāpūr. Ali<sup>1</sup> 'Ādil Shah the ruler thereof went out to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp. He presented him with the rarities of the country and wished to send him back, when suddenly in the year 988, 1580 (23rd Šafr=10th April), the cup of his (Ādil Shah's) life was spilled. Though Šāhib Ferishta (i.e., the author of Ferishta's history) has related that Hakīm Ali Gilāni went away before this event, taking with him the suitable presents previously given and that at this time Hakīm Aīnu-l-mulk Shirazī came as ambassador, and that on account of the inevitable event he went back without presents, yet in the opinion of the author of these pages the account of the circumstances by the very learned Abu-'l-Fazl is more correct.<sup>2</sup>

As the catastrophe of the killing of 'Ali 'Ādil Shah is not devoid of singularity, it is here related. He was the most just and liberal of the dynasty, but in spite of his excellent qualities he was very unchaste. At last being much inclined towards fair faces he by great efforts got from the ruler of Bidar two beautiful eunuchs. When his desire was nearly gratified, he being possessed by immodesty and baseness, in the darkness of his private chamber showed his improper desires to the elder of the two. That jewel of purity, from chastity and honour, would not yield up his body, and finished off the king with a dagger, which he had from foresight secreted on his person. A remarkable<sup>3</sup> thing is that Maulānā Muḥammad Reẓā of Mashhad, who had the *takhallas* of Reẓāī, found the chronogram *Shāh Jahān shud shahīd*: "The king of the world was martyred, 988."

Hakīm 'Ali in the 39th year prepared<sup>4</sup> a wonderful tank, a road within which led to a chamber (*kāshāna*). The extra-

<sup>1</sup> Chānd Bibī's husband.

<sup>2</sup> Akbarnāma III. 298, and Ferishta's account of the Bijāpūr dynasty. He is presumably a better authority on Deccan affairs than Abu-'l-Fazl.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the singularity of the chronogram lay in its describing a death under such circumstances as a martyrdom.

<sup>4</sup> See Elliot VI. 193, where is a quotation from the *Zubdatu-t-tawārikh*. See also A.N. III. 650-51. Badāyūnī, Lowe 272, and *Iqbāl-nāma* part II, account of the 39th year. It is in the *Iqbāl-nāma* that the statement occurs that the water was kept out by air. The subaqueous house was made at Lahore. It seems that Hakīm 'Ali

ordinary thing was that the water of the tank could not enter the chamber. Men went down and endured much difficulty in examining the place, and many were so troubled that they returned when they got half-way. Akbar went to see the spectacle and came to the chamber. He got under the water at a corner of the tank and after descending two or three steps he arrived at the room. It was much decorated and was well-lighted and there was space for ten or twelve people. There were sleeping coverlets (*farsh khwāb*) and clothing, and there was a collation. There were some books in recesses. The air did not allow a drop of water to enter. As the king stayed there for a little, a strange feeling took possession of the men outside. Up to the 40th year the Ḥakīm had attained the rank of 700. His cures astonished the world. At last when Akbar was attacked with diarrhoea, the Ḥakīm's endeavours were unsuccessful. The king got angry and said to him, "You were nothing but a foreign spice-seller (*pasārī*).<sup>1</sup> Here you put off the sandals of exile. We raised you to this rank in order that some day you might be of use." And being exceedingly angry he<sup>2</sup> flung two pajāma strings at him. The Ḥakīm taking something out of a bag flung it into a jug of water which immediately became congealed. He said, "I have got this kind of medicine, but of what use is it seeing that it does not apply to the present case." The king on account of the unsettlement and restlessness of illness insisted, saying, "Whatever is to be, will be: give this to me." Accordingly, owing to this medicine there was astringency and constipation in his frame. But there was a pain in his belly

constructed a similar chamber at Agra. See Tūzūk 73, and Elliot VI. 320; also Darbāri Akbarī, p. 124.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the true reading is *ba siyare-i-wilayat*, "You were nothing but a foreign vagabond."

<sup>2</sup> I believe that the words are *dū tikka* and that they mean two strings or bits of things, and that probably they were the rings of Akbar's sleeping suit. I think that we must look to the previous clause to understand the passage. Akbar is described as having reproached Ḥakīm 'Alī

with being an adventurer and as having said that he had loosed his sandal-straps (*pātāba*) in India. By throwing him the strings he told him in effect to go about his business. It was a rude and contemptuous way of dismissing him. Where the Maasir got the story I do not know. Perhaps it was from the Zakhira Khawānīn. The Zubdatu-t-tawārikh has a long account of the illness, but it does not mention this incident. The story however is told in the Hindustani translation of the Akbar-nāma.

which produced restlessness. So the physicians were obliged to use laxatives: These produced excessive motions, and he died.

One<sup>1</sup> of the wonderful things is the way in which the illness began. They say that there was an elephant in Jahangir's establishment named Girānbār, which no other elephant in the elephant stables of the emperor could withstand. But Sultan Khusrau had an elephant named Aprūp<sup>2</sup> which also was first rate in battle. Accordingly Akbar ordered that these two ponderous mountains should contend together.

*Verse.*

Two iron mountains moved from their place.

You'd have said, the earth moved from end to end.

He also appointed the elephant Ranhatan,<sup>3</sup> one of his special elephants, to act as an assistant, that is, whenever one of them got the better of the other, and the driver could not restrain him, the said elephant was to come out of ambush and assist the defeated elephant. Such an assistant elephant is called *tapānca*,<sup>4</sup> and this was one of the king's inventions. Akbar was seated in the *jhārōka* watching the spectacle, and the princes Selīm and Khusrau were on horseback and waiting. As it happened, the elephant Girānbār after much fighting overcame his antagonist. Akbar wished that the *tapānca* should come to the rescue, but prince Selīm's men forbade this and flung stones at Ranhatan, and his driver, who was bravely pushing forward, was hit with a stone so that the blood flowed. The courtiers excited the king by their urgency and he told Sultan Kharrām (Shah Jahan), who was by his side, to go to his father<sup>5</sup> and tell him that, "The Shāh Bābā (Akbar) said, 'In reality all the elephants are yours, why then this immoderation.'" The prince said in reply, "I did not know about it, and

<sup>1</sup> B. 467, and Khafi Khān I. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Abrūp seems to be the more likely reading. Apparently it had once belonged to the Rajah of Udai-pūr.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Ranthan. B. Rantahman. Perhaps Ranthan is right and may mean a pillar in battle like the first

part of the name of the fort of Ranthambhor-Ranthamba. See the account in Asad Beg's Wikāya where the elephant is called Chanchal, Elliot VI. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit.* "slap." It also means a pistol.

<sup>5</sup> "Shāh Bhye"—"The Shah-brother." See Price's Jahangir, 74.

I do not approve of the driver's having been struck." Sultan Kharram said, "If this is so I'll go and separate the elephants by means of fireworks." But though every effort was used, they were unsuccessful. At last Ranhatan too was worsted, and together with Aprūp plunged into the Jumna. Sultan Kharram returned, and by soothing words calmed down Akbar. Meanwhile Sultan Khusrau came making a noise and spoke unbecoming words about his father to Akbar, so that the latter's wrath blazed forth. All the night he was restless from fever, and his constitution was upset. In the morning Hakīm 'Alī, the Galen of the age, was called in, and Akbar said: "The foolish words of Khusrau have excited me and brought me into this state." Afterwards the fever ended in dysentery and was the cause of his death.

They say that as in the latter part of his illness H. Hakīm 'Alī prescribed melons, Jahangir<sup>1</sup> after his accession blamed him, saying that his prescription had killed his father.

In the third year of his reign 1018,<sup>2</sup> 1609, Jahangir also went to Hakīm 'Alī's house and visited the tank. After examining it, and coming out, he received Hakīm 'Alī into favour and gave him the rank of 2000. Some time after, the Hakīm died. They say he spent nearly Rs. 6,000 every year on medicines and broths for the needy. Hakīm 'Abdu-l-Wahāb his son in the 15th year made a claim for Rs. 80,000 against a number of the Saiyids of Lahore, saying that his father had made over this sum to them (i.e. to their father). And he produced a bond (khaṭ) with the Qāzī's seal on it and produced two witnesses in court to prove the claim according to law. The Saiyids denied, but it was not possible for them to get out of the obligation. Āṣaf Khān was appointed to enquire into the dispute. As a rogue is timid (khān khāif mibāshid) 'Abdu-l-Wahāb<sup>3</sup> proposed to the Saiyids to withdraw the claim. Āṣaf K. made various investigations and 'Abdu-l-Wahāb was obliged to confess that the claim was false. He was therefore deprived of his rank and jagir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Price's Jahangir, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Tūzuk 73. The year should be 1017, as Hakīm 'Alī died in the beginning of 1018, Tūzuk 74.

<sup>3</sup> See the story in the Tūzuk J. 306, and Iqbāl-nāma 161. Apparently the two authors of the Maasir did not know the 2nd volume of the Tūzuk.

'ALĪ MARDĀN<sup>1</sup> BAHĀDUR.

One of Akbar's officers. In the 40th year he held the rank of 350. He was appointed, for the first time, to accompany the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Rahīm in the affair of Mīrtha, and he did good service. In the 38th year he came to court with the Khān-Khānān and was admitted to an audience. After that he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the battle which took place in the 41st year under the leadership of M. Shahrukh and the Khān-Khānān with the Deccan leaders, he was in the *altamsh*. Afterwards he had the command of the Telingāna force. In the 36th year he from his zeal came to help Sher Khwāja near Pāthri. Meanwhile he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K. Gilāni—whom he had left with a few men in Telingāna—and he turned back to that quarter. He fell in with the enemy, and though most of his companions fled, he stood firm and was made a prisoner. In the same year, when Ābū-l-faḍl for political reasons made peace with the Deccan leaders, he was released and joined the imperial leaders. In the 47th year, he was in command of the left wing in the battle between M. Irij and Malik 'Ambar, and in which the imperial servants gained a great victory. In the 7th year of Jahangir he was appointed under 'Abdullah K. Firūz Jang. An order was given that they should go to the Deccan by the route of Nāsik with the army of Gujarat. They were to keep in touch with the second army which had been appointed under Khān Jahān Lodī and to carry out the king's business together. When 'Abdullah K. came into the enemy's country and saw no signs of the other force he turned back towards Gujarat. 'Alī Mardān resolved to die, and fought with the enemy's army, which was following him. He was wounded and made prisoner and was carried off by the *bargiān* (banditti or skirmishers) of 'Ambar. Though surgeons were sent to him, he died after two days in 1021, 1611. One saying of his is well known. Some one said on an occasion, "Victory is from heaven" (*asmānī*). The hero (bahādur) answered, "Certainly<sup>2</sup> victory is from heaven, but the fighting (maidān) is ours." His son Karm Ullah attained

<sup>1</sup> B. 496, Tūzuk J. 108, where it seems as if the two days afterwards referred to Zūlfiqār Beg who was wounded on the same day by a rocket.

<sup>2</sup> *Fath asmānī, āmā Maidān az mā ast*, Kāmgār Husainī. B.M. MS. 69b.



in Shah Jahan's reign to the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse, and for some time was governor of Udgir in the Deccan. He died in the 21st year.

‘ALĪ MARDĀN K. AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ.

His father was Ganj ‘Alī K. Zīg, which is a Kurdish tribe. He was an old servant of Shah ‘Abbās Māzī (‘Abbās the 1st). In the time of Shah ‘Abbās’ childhood and when he was living at Herat, Ganj ‘Alī was a head servant, and during his reign, by good service and courage—which he showed during the Uzbek interregnum in battles with that tribe—he attained to high rank, and received the title of Arjmand Bābā (honoured father) and for nearly thirty years was ruler of Kermān. He always showed the notes of justice and subject-cherishing. When the Shah in the time of Jahangir besieged Qandahar and after 45 days took it from ‘Abdul-‘Az-iz K. Naqshbandī, he made over the government to him. One night in the year 1034, 1625, he was sleeping in the verandah of the citadel of Qandahar on a couch which rested against the verandah railing. The railing gave way, and he between sleep and waking fell down, without any one’s noticing it. After a while some of his servants came upon him and found him dead. The Shah gave his son ‘Alī Mardān K. the title of Khān and made him governor of Qandahar and called him Bābā ‘Šānī (Bābā the 2nd).

After the Shah’s death, and when the sovereignty came to Shah Safī his grandson, the latter, on unfounded suspicions, degraded many of the Shah ‘Abbāsi officers. ‘Alī Mardān got frightened and considered that his safety lay in joining Shah Jahan, and wrote and spoke to S‘aīd K. the governor of Kabul. He also set about strengthening the walls and bastions, and made a fort on the top of the Koh Lakah—which is part of the fortress of Qandahar, and finished it in forty days. When the Shah heard this he resolved to destroy him, and in the first place sent for his eldest son. ‘Alī Mardān was obliged to send him, but when after that the Shah put to death every one whom he suspected he threw off the mask. The Shah despatched Siyāwash<sup>1</sup> Qul-lar-

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 31; *gullar-dgāshī* is a Turkish phrase meaning a

commander of troops. See Vullers s.v. Perhaps the meaning of the pre-

āqāsī—who had been sent to Mashhad—against him. ‘Alī Mardān K. sent a petition to Shah Jahan to the effect that the Shah was seeking his life and requested that the king would send one of his officers in order that he might make over the fortress and come to court.

In the 11th year 1047, 1637-38, S’aid K. the governor of Kabul, Qulij K. the governor of Lahore, as well as the governor of Ghaznī and Bhakar and Siwistan, went, in accordance with orders, to Qandahar. When S’aid K. arrived before Qulij K. he perceived that as long as Siyāwash was in the neighbourhood of Qandahar, the people would not be properly submissive. In concert with ‘Alī Mardān—his whole force being 8000 horse—he at the distance of one *farsakh* (league) from Qandahar attacked Siyāwash who <sup>1</sup> had 5 or 6000 horse. A great battle took place, and the Persians fled, and did not turn rein till they had got to their camp on the other side of the Arghandab <sup>2</sup> river. S’aid K. did not give them time to halt there, but went against them, and they left their baggage and evacuated the place. The heroes spent the night in the Persians’ tents, took all the property and returned to Qandahar. On the arrival of Qulij K., who had been appointed governor of Qandahar, ‘Alī Mardān went off to the Presence, and in the 12th year he kissed the threshold in Lahore. As before he arrived he had been made a *panj hazāri zāt u sawār* (holder of 5000 with 5000 horse) and had received a flag and drum, he was on this day made an officer of 6000 with 6000 horse, and was given the mansion of I’timādu-d-daulah which now belonged to the government. Ten of his leading servants received suitable positions. And out of special grace, ‘Alī Mardān who was accustomed to the climate of Persia, and could not stand the heat of India, was made governor of Kashmir. At the time of the royal standard’s proceeding to Kabul, ‘Alī Mardān took leave to his post, and when in the beginning of the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, Lahore became the royal residence, ‘Alī Mardān was summoned from Kashmir and made an

vious sentence is that though ‘Alī Mardān sent his son yet the Shah was still determined to destroy him (‘Alī Mardān).

<sup>1</sup> He also occupied a strong position. Pādshāhnāma II. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Text Andarāb, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 45.

officer of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in spite of his being governor of Kashmir, he was also made governor of the Panjab, so that he might by winter quarters and summer quarters pass the hot and cold seasons in comfort. In the 14th year, 1050, he was made governor of Kabul in succession to S'aid K. In the 16th year—when the royal residence was in Agra—he was summoned there and received the high title of Amīru-l-Umarā, the present of a krór of *dāms* and the gift of I'tiqād K.'s house, which was the finest mansion that officers of high rank had erected on the bank of the Jumna, and which at the king's request I'tiqād had presented as *peshkash*. Thereafter 'Ali Mardān received permission to return to Kabul.

In the 18th year Tardī 'Ali Qatghān,<sup>1</sup> the guardian of Subhān Quli K. the son of Nazr Muḥammad K.—who had been appointed by Nazr Muḥammad to the charge of Kahmard and its neighbourhood in succession to Īlangtosh (Yālangtosh)—wickedly attacked the Baluchis living in Zamīndāwar and plundered some of the Hazārī tribes who dwelt on the bank of the Helmand. He then halted twenty *kos* from Bāmīān with the intention of making another attack when an opportunity offered. 'Ali Mardān sent Farīdūn and Farhād, who were his confidential servants, against him, and they marching quickly fell upon the Uzbek encampment. Qatghān after some struggle took to flight. His wife and some of his kinsmen, and all his property were seized, and in the same year the Amīru-l-Umarā came to court and obtained leave to go and conquer Badakhshān, where Nazr Muḥammad had fallen out with his sons and servants. Aṣālat K. Mīr Bakhshī was appointed to accompany him. 'Ali Mardān K. in the 19th year sent<sup>2</sup> an army from Kabul against Kahmard, and as there were few men in the fort, they fled without drawing the sword, and the fort was taken possession of. On hearing this the Amīru-l-Umarā left with the Kabul army. On the march it appeared that the Kahmard garri-son had, from cowardice, at the approach of the Uzbek army, surrendered the fort, and been plundered<sup>3</sup> by the Aimāqs and other

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 458.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 460. The gar-

rison surrendered under promise of being allowed to depart in safety, but the promise was not kept.

tribes on their route. As under these circumstances it was, on account of the want of provisions and forage, difficult or rather impossible for the army to proceed, the recapture of the fort had to be put off to another time, and 'Alī Mardān turned his attention to the taking of Badakhshān. When he came to Gulbīhār, the thānadār of Panjshīr (Daulat Beg), who knew the road, stated that it would be difficult for a large army to get through the defiles and passes. It would also be necessary to cross the Panjshīr river in eleven places, which could not be done without bridging. Accordingly the Amīru-l-Umarā sent off Aṣālat K. to attack Khinjān. He went and came in sixteen days, and then went (with 'Alī Mardān) to Kabul. This going and coming at such a time when there was confusion<sup>1</sup> in Tūrān did not please Shah Jahan.

In the same year, in the beginning of 1056, 1646, Prince Murād Bakhsh, 'Alī Mardān and others with 50,000 horse were appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshān and to chastise the Uzbegs and Almānān. As at this time Jānnisār K. was sent off to Persia to offer condolences for the death of Shah Ṣafī, and congratulations on the accession of 'Abbās the 2nd, a request was made to the latter for the sending of the Amīru-l-Umarā's eldest son who was a hostage with the Shah. The Shah did not sever the links of old friendship but sent him. The Amīru-l-Umarā went off with Prince Murād Bakhsh by the route of the Tūl (long) Pass. When they came to Sirāb, Sultan Khusrāu,<sup>2</sup> the second son of Naẓr Muḥammad, who was in charge of Qanduz, could not maintain his ground there on account of the predominance of the Almānān (robbers) and joined the prince. Afterwards when the prince came to Khulm, three stages from Balkh, he sent the king's letter to Naẓr Muḥammad, in which were comforting messages and an invitation to him to come in. He said in reply that the whole country belonged to the empire, and that he desired after doing homage to go to Mecca. But that it was likely that the Uzbegs in their wickedness would kill him and plunder his property. The Amīru-l-Umarā went on rapidly with the prince to the Imām's

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 462. Shah Jahan thought advantage should have been taken of the confusion to conquer Badakhshān.

<sup>2</sup> See notice of Khusrāu in 1st vol. Maasir.

shrine (Mazār-u-sharīf), and then it appeared that Nazr Muḥammad was drawing out the time by wiles and deceits. They encamped two *kos* from Balkh. At evening Bahrām Sultan and Subhān Qulī Sulṭān, Nazr Muḥammad's sons, and many of the nobles came and did homage, and then returned after taking leave. In the morning they went on to Balkh to have an interview with Nazr Muḥammad and he went off to Bāgh Murād to prepare a feast. He took some jewels and *aṣhrāfīs* with him, and fled, and then made arrangements in Shiburghān for collecting soldiers. Bahādūr K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. pursued him and fought a battle. Nazr Muḥammad, seeing their power, turned his rein and went<sup>1</sup> to Andakhūd and thence to Persia. In the beginning of the 20th year the *Khuṭba* was read and coin struck in the name of Shah Jahan, and twelve<sup>2</sup> lacs of rupees' worth of gold and silver vessels as well as 2500 horses and 300 camels were seized. But it appeared from the clerks that Nazr Muḥammad had 70 lacs in cash and goods. Some of this was taken by 'Abdu-l-'Azīz (Nazr M.'s eldest son) and much was plundered by the Uzbegs, and a small portion Nazr Muḥammad had taken with him. Besides *Khusrau*, who had already gone off to court, Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān—two sons and three daughters and three wives—received in Kabul the kindness of the emperor. The enigmatic chronogram was:<sup>3</sup>

*Verse.*

Nazr Muḥammad was Khān of Balkh and Badakhshān;  
There he left his gold, his wives, his lands.

When Prince Murād Bakhsh wished to return before the newly-conquered territory had been properly settled and did not obey the king's prohibition, the affairs of the country again got confused, and Shah Jahan censured the prince and deprived him of his fief

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 552.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma 540.

<sup>3</sup> This is an obscure chronogram. The only way I can get at the figures 1056 is by supposing that there is a pun on the word Nazr. The lines may then be rendered Balkh and Badakhshān were the present (nuzzar) of

Muḥammad K. He left out gold, wife, and lands. Nazr-i-Muḥammad Khān yields 1703, and if we deduct zar, qabīla, imlākrā, the value of which is 647, we get 1056. 1703-647=1056. The Pādshāhnāma has another enigmatic chronogram at vol. II. 547.

and rank and ordered S'aad Ullah K. to settle the country. An order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā to punish the rebels of Qanduz and to return to Kabul after the arrival of the governor of Badakhshān. In the same year, 1057, 1647, Prince Aurangzeb was given the government of Balkh and Badakhshān and was sent there. The Amīru-l-Umarā also went with the prince. When they came to Balkh it appeared <sup>1</sup> that 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, the eldest son of Naẓr Muḥammad, and who was the governor of Bokhara, had proceeded from Qarshī to the Oxus and had sent in front of himself the army of Tūrān under Beg Oghlī. He had crossed the Oxus and taken up his position in Āqcha.<sup>2</sup> Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan, another son of Muḥammad Sultan, joined him. The prince went off in that direction without entering <sup>3</sup> Balkh. A battle took place in Timurabad,<sup>4</sup> and the Amīru-l-Umarā defeated his opponent and came to the quarters of Qutluq Muḥammad Sultan—which were far <sup>5</sup> from those of Oghlī. His men plundered the tents and goods and animals of Qutluq and returned safe and loaded with plunder. Next day Beg Oghlī attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with his whole force. He stood firm, and the prince (Aurangzeb) himself came to his assistance. A number of the Uzbek leaders were killed and the others fled. At this time 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. and Subhān Qulī Sultan his brother—who was known by the name of the Little Khan—joined with many Uzbeks and set about dividing the good <sup>6</sup> horses from the bad. Whoever had a good horse came forth to fight. Yādgār Tukriya attacked the Amīru-l-Umarā with a force of single fighters (ika tāzān = monomachi), and nearly made his way to him. The Amīru-l-Umarā seeing this drew his sword from the scabbard and spurred his horse. Others joined him, and the flames of battle burst forth. At last Yādgār was wounded <sup>6</sup> in the face by a sword and his horse

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 688. The text copies the Pādshāhnāma.

<sup>2</sup> Do. do.

<sup>3</sup> He came to Balkh but did not enter the city. This was on 1 Jumada-al-awwal 1057 = 25th May 1647.

<sup>4</sup> Timurabad, one kos from Fathabad. Pādshāhnāma 688.

<sup>5</sup> "Somewhat far," Pādshāhnāma 689. <sup>6</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 697.

<sup>7</sup> Khāfi K. I. 667, where he is called Yādgār Beg. According to Khāfi K. it was 'Alī Mardān who wounded him. See Pādshāhnāma II. 698. Yādgār, whom the Pādshāhnāma calls Yādgār Makrīt, was pardoned.

was wounded by a bullet, and they fell, and he was captured by the Amīru-l-Umarā's servants. He brought him to the prince, and was congratulated.

In fine there was a great battle for seven days, and 5 or 6000 Uzbegs were killed. The prince continuing the fight came to Balkh and wished to leave his camp in the city and to pursue the foe at full speed. 'Abdu-l-'Aziz turned his rein and in one day crossed the Oxus. Many of his followers were drowned. Afterwards when Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nazr Muḥammad, the Amīru-l-Umarā came to Kabul and looked after affairs there. In the 23rd year he came to court and was given the fief of Lahore. After some time he was allowed to go to Kashmir, the climate of which agreed with him. When prince Dārā Shikoh was appointed to the affairs of Qandahar, though the province of Kabul was assigned to his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh, yet the Amīru-l-Umarā was sent off to guard it. Then he again went to Kashmir. In the end of the 30th year he was summoned to court, and after arrival was attacked by dysentery; consequently in the beginning of the 31st year, 1067, 1657, he received permission to return to Kashmir. At the stage of Māchīwārah he died (on 16th April, 1657), and his body was brought to Lahore and buried in his mother's tomb. His effects to the amount of one kror of rupees in money and goods were confiscated. Though in Persia he behaved contrary to the ways of the servants of the Ṣafavī family and made himself charged with disloyalty and faithlessness to his salt, yet in India he attained great respect by his loyalty, courage and ability, and was exalted above all the other officers. His position with Shah Jahan was such that the latter called him Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend).

One of his great deeds, which will remain on the page of Time for ages, was his bringing a canal into Lahore, which is the ornament of that city.

In the 13th year 1049, 1639-40, 'Alī Mardān represented to the emperor that one of his servants who was skilled in excavating canals undertook to bring a canal to Lahore. One lac of rupees was estimated as the cost, and this was sanctioned. The person named surveyed the country from the debouchement of the Ravi—

which has a fall in the hill-country—through the level country to Lahore, a distance of fifty *kos*. He commenced to dig and completed the work <sup>1</sup> in a little over a year. In the 14th year on the banks of that canal and in the vicinity of the city, in a place which was high ground, he made a garden which became known as the *Shālamar* and was provided with ponds, canals and fountains.

This was completed at a cost of eight lacs of rupees in the 16th year under the superintendence of *Khalil Ullah K. Hasan*. Undoubtedly there is no other such garden in India.

*Verse.*

If Paradise be anywhere on earth  
It is here, it is here, it is here.

As the water did not come in sufficient quantity, another lac of rupees was put at the disposal of the engineers. It chanced that the chief workmen from ignorance spent Rs. 50,000 uselessly in repairs. At last by the decision of a number <sup>2</sup> of men who knew about water-works five *kos* of the old canal were preserved and 32 new *kos* were made. The water came then without hindrance to the garden.

*Ali Mardān* while governor of Lahore imprisoned and sent to Kabul the "*Faqrāi*," <sup>3</sup> who renounced prayer and fasting, and called themselves "*Independents*" (be *qa'id*, *Antinomians*), and were the cause of various immoralities and debaucheries. His wealth and power and executive ability are famous all over India. They say that in a feast to the king there were one hundred golden dishes with covers, and 300 silver ones. As regards his sons, separate accounts have been given of *Ibrāhīm K.*, who attained to high rank, and of *'Abdullah Beg*, who, in *Aurangzeb's* time, had the title of *Ganj 'Ali K.* He had two other sons *Isāḥaq Beg* and

<sup>1</sup> The statement in text seems rather confused. It is abridged from the *Pādshāhnāma* II. 168. The canal is the *Hasli* or *Shāhi* Canal described in I.G.VII. 17. It is now a small part of the *Bāri Dūāb* Canal. See *Muhammad Latif's* Lahore, p. 253. It

began about fifty miles above Lahore.

<sup>2</sup> See notice of *Mullā Alla-l-Mulk* alias *Fā'il K.*, *Maasir* III. 525.

<sup>3</sup> Should not this be *Fikriyā*, i.e., "the contemplative," see *Hughes Dict. of Islām*, p. 568, No. 10.



Ism'āil Beg, who, after their father's death, had each the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse and were both killed in the king's service in the battle of Samūgarha where they accompanied Dārā Shikoh.<sup>1</sup>

#### 'ALĪ MARDĀN K. OF HAIDARABAD.

His name was Mīr Ḥusainī, and he was one of the leading servants of Abū-l-Ḥasan, the ruler of Haidarabad. In the 30th year of Aurangzeb, after the taking of Golconda, he became a king's servant and attained the rank of 6,000 and the title of 'Alī Mardān K. He was appointed to the territory of Kanchī (Conjeveram) in the Haidarabad Carnatic. In the 35th year when Santājī Ghorpura came to relieve Ginjī—which was being besieged by the royal forces—he exerted himself to defeat him. After a struggle he was made prisoner,<sup>2</sup> and his elephants, etc., were plundered. After two years he was released by paying a large ransom. He was in his absence<sup>3</sup> (*ghaibāna*) restored to happiness by receiving the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Afterwards he was for a while governor of Berar, and for some time was deputy of Muḥammad Bidār Bakht in Burhānpūr. He died in the 49th year. Muḥammad Reẓā<sup>4</sup>, his son, was after his death made governor of the fort of Rāmgarha and held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

#### 'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD K. ROHILLA.

They say<sup>5</sup> that he was not really an Afghan. As he had lived for a long time with one of that tribe, and the latter was

<sup>1</sup> He also had a famous daughter, commonly called Sahibjī, of whom there is an account in the life of Amīr K. Mīr Miran I. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II. 416. He was wounded and made prisoner and was released after paying a ransom of two lacs of rupees. Khāfi K. says he was released after a few days, and the Maasir A., p. 364, does not say that he was imprisoned for two years, though it puts the release into the 37th year 1105, 1693-1694, while Khāfi K. puts the defeat into 1104. It is Khāfi K. who speaks of 'Alī Mardān as having

been of the rank of 6,000 when he was defeated. If so he was reduced when he got the rank of 5,000 afterwards. But perhaps there is some mistake on the part of K. K.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A., 364. *Ghaibāna* means that he was not at court when the honour was conferred.

<sup>4</sup> Maasir A., 516.

<sup>5</sup> The Siyar M. says he was an Ahīr; translation III, 233. See also Beale, and Forster's Travels. The Afghan who brought up 'Alī Muḥammad was called Dāūd. *Calcutta Review*, October, 1875.

rich and childless, he put 'Alī Muḥammad into possession. 'Alī Muḥammad took the property and at first took up his quarters in Aonla<sup>1</sup> and Bankar, which are parganas north of Delhi in the dāman-i-koh of Kumaon. He spent some time in the service of the zamindars and faujdārs there, and afterwards took to oppression and laid waste Bāns Bareilly and Muradabad which were the jagir of I'timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn. I'timādu-d-daula sent his matṣadī Hiranand<sup>2</sup> to settle the estates, and 'Alī Muḥammad encountered him and completely defeated him and got possession of much plunder and a large park of artillery. I'timādu-d-daulah was unable to remedy matters. After this 'Alī Muḥammad became a rebel and sent for many men from the Roh, which is the home of the Afghans, and took possession, partly of the royal territories, and partly of the lands of the Rajah of Kumaon. He prepared magnificent tents of a red colour like those of the kings of India. Accordingly the king himself set out to put him down. The vagabonds of the royal camp went on ahead and set fire to Aonla. At last by the intervention of the Vizier—who, in spite of his agent Hiranand's having been plundered, was partial to him on account of his dislike of Umdat-ul-Mulk and Šafdar Jang—a foundation of peace was laid, and he came in and did homage. He received the Sarkār of Sirhind in lieu of what he had held. When the Shāh Durrānī approached in 1161, 1748, he came out of Sirhind and took possession of his old estates of Aonla and Bankar (Bangarha?). In the same<sup>3</sup> year (1748) he died. His sons were Sād Ullah K., 'Abdullah K., and Faiz Ullah K. (and others). The first died of illness (in 1764). The second was killed along with Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat Ullah (in 1774), and the third is at the time of writing living<sup>4</sup> in Rāmgarha. Of his companions were Ḥāfiẓ Rahmat K. and Dūndī K.,—they were cousins,—and the former was closely connected with the Afghan (Dāūd), who had

<sup>1</sup> Text Anwala; it was in Sarkār Budaun, J. II. 288. Aonla is now a tahsil and town in Bareilly, I.G., V. 388. 'Alī Muḥammad is buried in Aonla.

<sup>2</sup> Or Harnand. He was killed in the battle.

<sup>3</sup> According to Forster he died on 4 Jumāda the 2nd, 1160 = 6th May, 1747. But this must be wrong. See note at end of article in C.R.

<sup>4</sup> He died in 1794. 'Alī M. is said to have left four sons (Beale). Another account is that he left six.

been 'Alī Muḥammad K's. master (*khāwand*). They took possession of his territory ('Alī Muḥammad's) and gained a name for leadership. The latter (*Dūndī*) died of illness (before 1774). The first lived for a long time till *Shujā'u-d-daula*, the son of *Ṣafdar Jang Abū-l-mansūr*, in the year 1188 led an army against him. After<sup>1</sup> a fight he was killed. Since then no one of the tribe has distinguished<sup>2</sup> himself.

### 'ALĪ QULĪ<sup>3</sup> K. OF ANDARĀB.

One of the protegés of *Humāyūn*. In the year when *Humāyūn* had heard untrue tales about *Bairām Khān* and had come to *Qandahar* from *Kabul*, he put 'Alī Qulī in charge of the latter city. Afterwards he accompanied *Humāyūn* to India and in the beginning of *Akbar's* reign he took part with 'Alī Qulī K. *Zamān* in the affair of *Hemū Baqqāl*. Afterwards he was joined with *Khawāja Khizr K.* in resisting *Iskandar (Sūr)*, and in the end of the sixth year he went with *Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K.* Atka to oppose *Bairām K.* Nothing more is known of him.

### 'ALĪ MURĀD KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR KOKALTĀSH K. ZAFR JANG.

His name was 'Alī Murād, and he was the foster-brother of *Sultan Jahāndār Shah*. He was of noble family. In the time when *Jahāndār* was a prince, he obtained a place in his master's heart, and when the latter was governor of the province of *Multan*, he managed the affairs. In the time of *Bahādur Shah* he got the title of *Kokaltāsh K.* After the death of *Bahādur Shah*, and the murders of three princes, and when that fair one (*shāhid*) the *Sultanate* of India came into the arms of *Jahāndār Shah*, he obtained

<sup>1</sup> He was killed in the battle, which took place on 10th *Ṣafr* 1388, or 23rd April, 1774. (Beale.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Alī Muḥammad was the founder of the present family of the Nawabs of *Rāmpūr*. The author of the *Hadīqa-ul-Aqālīm* has a good deal to say about 'Alī Muḥammad. He was present at *Bangarha* when 'Alī Mu-

hammad surrendered, and he describes his personal appearance. He gives the date of his death as 3 *Shawwāl* 1161, 15th September, 1748, in the first year of the reign of *Aḥmad Shah*. See p 141 of *Newal Kishore's* lithograph. He calls 'Alī Muḥammad a *Rajput*.

<sup>3</sup> B. 432.

the rank of 9,000 with 9,000 horse, the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Zāfir Jang, and the office of chief Bakhshī. Muḥammad Māh, his younger brother,—who had the title of Zāfir K.,—and his brother-in-law <sup>1</sup> Khawāja Husain K., each received the rank of 8,000. The former of them had the title of Aʿzim K. and the nizāmat of Agra, and the latter had the title of Khān Daurān and the 2nd Bakhshiship. This is the Khān Daurān, who was appointed guardian of Muḥammad Iʿzzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and who went off to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. His cowardice was such that without drawing his sword from its scabbard, or a drop of blood having fallen from a soldier's nose, he, at night, left <sup>2</sup> the camp with the said prince and took the road to Agra.

Kokaltāsh K. was not remiss in devotion to his master, but as there was rivalry between him and Zūl-siqār K., the materials of envy boiled over, and in councils they contradicted one another, and did not provide for the final issue of things, or do what was fitting. Moreover, the reigning sovereign was infatuated with Lʿal Kunwar and had bidden farewell to thought and prudence, and did not look after the affairs of state. The flower of success did not blossom, and the parterre of wish took the colours of autumn. In the battle which took place with Farrukh Siyar in 1123<sup>3</sup> near Agra, Khān Jahān stood firm and fell in his master's service.

### ALĪ QULĪ KHĀN ZAMĀN.

His father was Ḥaidar Sultan Uzbek Shaibānī. In the battle of Jām he joined <sup>4</sup> the Persians and attained the rank of an Amīr. At the time of the returning of Humāyūn from Persia he entered into service with his two sons ʿAlī Qulī and Bahādur and did good service in the conquest of Qandahar. When the king was pro-

<sup>1</sup> The husband of his wife's sister, Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Siyar M. I. 50, Irvine l.c., 185, Elliot VII. 435.

<sup>3</sup> 1123 is the year stated by Khāfī K. II. 721, but it really was 1124, and the last month of that year. The

English date is 10th January, 1713. See Irvine l.c., 198.

<sup>4</sup> Though Ḥaidar was an Uzbek by race, he had married a Persian wife, and apparently he fought on the side of Tahmāsp and the Persians in the battle of Jām which took place in September 1528.

ceeding towards Kabul, a plague broke out in the camp and many died. Among them was Haidar Sultan. 'Alī Qulī always behaved well in battle, and did especially well in the conquest of India, and rose to the rank of an Amīr. When a madman named Qambar collected a number of men in the Dūāb and Sambhal and opened the hand of plunder, 'Alī Qulī was appointed to put him down. He soon got possession of him and sent his head to court. When Akbar came to the throne, 'Alī Qulī K. had fighting with Shādī<sup>1</sup> K., who was one of the Afghan leaders. When he got news of the advance of Hemū towards Delhi, he regarded that as the more important matter and went off to Delhi. He had not arrived when Tardī Beg K. was defeated. He heard of this in Mīrtha and went towards the king. Akbar also on hearing the news of Hemū's presumption had returned from the Panjab. 'Alī Qulī waited upon him and went off as vanguard from Sirhind with 10,000 horse. It chanced that an engagement took place in Pānīpat where the battle between Bābar and Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī had taken place. A great battle ensued, and suddenly an arrow pierced Hemū's eye. His army lost courage and fled, and Akbar and Bairām K. had approached near the field of battle when there came the good news of victory. The officers who had distinguished themselves were exalted by suitable titles, and 'Alī Qulī was called Khān Zamān, and had an increase of rank and fief. After that he won great victories in Sambhal, and subdued many of the seditious as far as Lakhnau.<sup>2</sup> He also acquired much property and many elephants. In the third year Shāham Beg, the son of a camel-driver, who possessed beauty of form and on this account was one of Humāyūn's body-guard, and with whom the Khān Zamān, owing to his evil nature, had long been in love, fled from the presence and came to the Khān Zamān. The latter did not regard the majesty of empire, and according to the evil practice of Transoxiana called him Pādishāham "My king" and prostrated himself before him. When his doing of such things became known, he was summoned to court, but though orders were issued to him

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has Shāhī.

<sup>2</sup> It is Lakhnau also in A.N. II. 56, but it seems that the place meant is

Lakhnor in Sambhal. See Elliot V 384, and the note.

about the camel-driver's son they had no effect. This was the beginning of the cloud which came over the king's heart with regard to 'Alī Qulī. He gave many of his fiefs to men for their maintenance, and 'Alī Qulī in his presumption and immodesty became obstinate. Bairām K. out of magnanimity (or perhaps, from pride) overlooked this and did not attempt to put him down, but Mullā Pīr Muḥammad K. Shirwānī—who was the Khān-Khānān's wakil and was master of the power of the State—disliked the Khān Zamān. In the fourth year the remainder of his estates was confiscated and given to Jalāir officers,<sup>1</sup> and he was appointed to Jaunpūr where the Afghans were plotting opposition.

The Khān Zamān sent his confidential servant, Burj 'Alī by name, to make his apologies and to conciliate the court. On the first day Pīr Muḥammad K., who was in the fort of Firūzābād (near Delhi) began a dispute with Burj 'Alī, and at the end said, "Fling him down from the tower of the fort." In consequence, his skull was fractured. The Khān Zamān perceived that his enemies desired, under the pretext of Shāham Beg, to destroy him. Accordingly he sent him away and went to Jaunpūr, and by great contests succeeded in bringing that extensive territory into order. When Bairām K. was set aside, the Afghans of that country thought their opportunity was come and raised up the son of 'Adilī and gave him the title of Sher Shah. They attacked Jaunpūr with a large force and 500 elephants. The Khān Zamān collected the officers of the districts and engaged the enemy. The latter were victorious and entered the lanes of the city. The Khān Zamān came from behind and regained what had been lost. He dispersed the foe and obtained many elephants and other plunder. But he did not send the fruits of these celestial victories to court, but became proud and arrogant. Akbar made an expedition to the eastern provinces in Zī-l-qada of the 8th year, July 1562. The Khān Zamān with his brother Bahādur K. did homage in the town of Karra—which is on the Ganges—and presented the rarities of the country together with noted elephants, and he was allowed to depart.

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<sup>1</sup> A.N. II. 68, where Husain K. Jalāir is mentioned.

In this year Fath K. Patnī (or Panī) and others made the son of Selīm Shah the material of strife and collected a large army in Bihar and took possession of the Khān Zamān's estates. The Khān Zamān went there with other officers, and as he did not think it expedient to give battle he laid the foundation of a fort on the bank of the Sone and entrenched himself there. The Afghans attacked him, and he was compelled to come out and engage them. As soon as they encountered him, they routed the imperial forces. The Khān Zamān—who was sheltering himself behind the wall—set his mind upon death, and went to one of the bastions and discharged a cannon. By heaven's decree the ball struck Hasan K. Patnī's elephant, and there was a great uproar in the army, and the men fled. The Khān Zamān gained an unexpected victory. How the world acts like wine!

*Verse.*

It develops whatever one is.

The Khān Zamān in his arrogance did not recognize the rights of his master, and in the 10th year he in concert with the Uzbeg chiefs raised the standard of rebellion and went to war against the fiefholders of that country. When he heard of the approach of the royal army he crossed the Ganges and encamped near Ghazipur. Akbar came to Jaunpūr and sent Mun'im K., the Khān-Khānān, against him. That honest Turk in his simplicity accepted the Khān Zamān's hypocritical excuses and begged for his being forgiven. In company with Khawāja Jahān—who, at his request, had gone from Akbar to soothe and conciliate him (Khān Zamān)—he embarked on a boat and had an interview with the Khān Zamān. The latter, out of craft and hypocrisy did not agree to appear before Akbar in person, but sent off Ibrāhīm K. who was the greybeard among the Uzbegs together with his own mother and noted elephants. It was agreed that until the king returned he should not cross the Ganges. But the presumptuous man did not wait for the king's return and crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to take possession of his fiefs. Akbar censured Mun'im K. and went off on the expedition himself. The Khān Zamān heard of this and left his tents and other property and went off. After

that he again sought to unite himself with the Khān-Khānān and obtained once more, at Mun'im's intercession, the pardon of his crimes. Mir Murtaẓa Sharifi and Maulānā 'Abdullah Makhdūm-ul-Mulk went to the Khān Zamān and confirmed his repentance by exacting *toba*<sup>1</sup> (repentance or perhaps vows). After this, when Akbar proceeded to Lahore to put down the commotion of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Khān Zamān, who had become infected with sedition (*lit.* whose navel has been cut in sedition) again raised the head of disaffection and recited the Khuṭba in the name of Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He gave Oudh to Sikandar K. and Ibrāhīm K. and appointed his brother Bahādur K. to oppose Āṣaf K. and Majnūn K. in Karra Mānikpūr. He himself took possession of the territory up to the bank of the Ganges and came to Qanauj. He besieged M. Yūsuf K. (Mashhadī) who was the *jagirdar* there, in the fort of Shergarha four *kos* from Qanauj. On hearing of this offensive news Akbar hastened<sup>2</sup> to Agra from the Panjab and then went off eastwards. The Khān Zamān heard of this, and as he did not think that the king would return with such rapidity he recited the verse

*Verse.<sup>3</sup>*

His swift, gold-hooved steed beats the Sun  
Which goes from east to west but halts a night.

He was helpless, and left the foot of the fort and went to Bahādur K. at Mānikpur. From there he in pargana Singraur made a bridge over the Ganges and crossed. The king hastened from (Rāi) Bareilī and crossed the Ganges at Mānikpūr on an

<sup>1</sup> A.N. II. 268. For Mir Murtaẓa's death, etc., see Badayūnī, Lowe 101.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar did not make great haste on the way from Lahore to Agra. He stopped at Thānesar and saw the fight between the Sannyāsīs. He left the Panjab on 22nd March 1567. (Elliot V. 318). He left Agra, where he heard of the Khān Zamān's besieging Shergarh, on 3rd May, having arrived there 19 days before, *viz.*, on 15th April.

<sup>3</sup> This comes from Ferishta, who

probably does not mean that 'Alī Qulī actually uttered the words. The Darbāẓī Akbarī has a long account of the Khān Zamān, and in quoting the lines at p. 220 it says that Khān Zamān used them ironically. It also has a different reading, the word *mānd* ending both lines whereas the Maasir has *mānd* in the first line and *āmid* in the second. As Ferishta has *mānd* and *āmid* does not rhyme, I have adopted *mānd*. *Mānd* may also mean "resembles."



elephant with ten or eleven men. He with a few men—in all there were one hundred horse—arrived to within half a *kos* of the enemy's camp and halted that night. Majnūn K. and Āṣaf K. came with their troops—which were the vanguard—and sent Akbar news one after the other. It chanced that on the night the Khān Zamān and Bahadur K. were in complete carelessness and were spending their time in drinking. Whoever spoke of the king's rapid march and of his being near at hand was supposed to be romancing. On the morning of Monday in the beginning of Zī-l-ḥajja 974, 9th June 1567, Majnūn K. was placed on the right wing and Āṣaf K. on the left, and in the fields of the village of Sakrāwal, one of the dependencies of Allahabad—which was afterwards styled Fathpūr—they reached the Khān Zamān. Akbar was on the elephant Bāl Sūndar, and he put M. Koka in the howda (*'imārī*) while he himself took the place of the driver. Bābā K. Qāqsāl in the first onset dispersed the enemy and came up to the Khān Zamān. One of the fugitives in his confusion struck against the Khān Zamān, and the turban fell off his head. Bahādur K. attacked Bābā K. and drove him off. Meanwhile the king had got on horseback. As the enterprises of the ungrateful are unsuccessful, Bahādur K. was made prisoner, and his army fled. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground and was asking about the position of his brother when suddenly he was struck by an arrow. Another arrow struck his horse and brought him to the ground. He was on foot and was drawing the arrow out of his body when the elephants of the royal centre arrived. The driver Somnāth drove the elephant Nar<sup>1</sup> Singh against him, and the Khān Zamān said, "I am a leader of the army, take me alive before the king and he will honour you." The driver said, "Thousands of men like you are passing away without name or mark. It is better to kill an illwisher of the king." He then trampled him under the foot of his elephant. As no one knew what had become of the Khān Zamān, the king while standing in the battlefield said: "Whoever will bring a Moghul's head from among the enemy will get an *ashrafī*, and whoever brings the head of a Hindustani will get a rupee." One of the

<sup>1</sup> This is the name given by the T.A. and by Badayūnī, but the A.N.

II. 295 calls the elephant Nainsukh (delight of the eyes).

plunderers had cut off his (K. Zamān's) head, and another took it from him on the way in the hope of the *ashrafi*. They say that a Hindu named Arzānī, who was the Khān Zamān's factotum, was standing there among the prisoners and looking at the heads; when his eye fell upon the head of the Khān Zamān, he took it up and smote his own head with it (?) and flung<sup>1</sup> it at the foot of the king's horse saying, "This is 'Alī Qulī's head." Akbar alighted from his horse and returned thanks to God, and sent the heads of both brothers to Agra and other places.

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

The chronogram found was Fath Akbar Mubārik. "The glorious victory of Akbar." (974.) Another was *Dū khūn shuda*. (975). "There were two deaths."

The Khān Zamān had the rank of 5,000 and was a man of fame and majesty. He was unique for courage and vigour and

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no authority for the statement in text that Arzānī flung the head at the foot of Akbar's horse. The man was deeply grieved at his master's death and struck his own head in sorrow either with the head or with his hand. See A.N. II. 295 and Badayūnī, Lowe 100. Badayūnī calls the Hindu Rai Arzānī.

<sup>2</sup> The verse is as follows:—

The heads of thy enemies! God forbid

That thy enemies should not do thee reverence (*sir nabashid*).

I stop my words at "the heads of thy enemies." For there is no better conclusion than this.

The verse which contains the chronogram is—

*Verse.*

'Alī Qulī and Bahādur were slain by the might of Heaven.

Beloved, ask not from me Bedil how it happened.

I sought the year of their deaths from the Sage of Reason.

He heaved a sigh and said 'There were two slayings.'

The chronogram yields 975, which is one year too much; but a note to the text I. 630 points out first that the event took place in the last month 974, so that the anachronism is not, great, and secondly, that the heaving, of a sigh means that the first letter of, *ah* "a sigh" should be deducted, which would make the date right. The word "broken-hearted" (*bedil*) is probably the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name of the composer. The chronogram is given in Badayūnī, Lowe 101. The second chronogram given there,

Qatī dū nimakharām be dīn

"The slaughter of two faithless traitors"

yields 975 and not 973 as stated by Mr. Lowe. Both brothers, *viz.*, 'Alī Zamān and Bahādur, were killed. The date as given by Badayūnī is 1 Zū-l-hajja 974=9th June, 1567. The name of the village where the battle was fought was Mankarwāl according to Elliot V. 321—and Badayūnī. But A.N. II. 296 has Sakrāwal.

military skill. Though he was an Uzbek, yet as he had been nurtured in Persia and his mother was of that country, he was a Shia. He did not practice any subterfuge (*taqiya*) about this. He had a poetical vein, and his *takhallaṣ* was Sultan.

### ALIF KHĀN AMĀN BEG.

By family he was a Caghatai Barlās. His ancestors had served the Timurid family. 'Ali Sher K., one of the trusty officers of Timur, was an ancestor of his. His father Mirzā Jān Beg—whose<sup>1</sup> nature afterwards changed so that there was a worsening of his character—was in the service of the Khān-Khānān M. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm and attained high rank. When he died, Amān Beg revived the qualities of his ancestors and became a servant of Shah Jahan. He obtained the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse and was appointed<sup>2</sup> governor of the fort of Qandahar. He held this appointment for a long time, and in the 26th year got the title of Alif Khān. In the end of the same year 1063, 1653, he died. He had gallant sons. Among them was Qalandar Beg, who held the rank of 600 under Shah Jahan. After the first battle with Dārā Shikoh which took place near 'Imādpur in the vicinity of Sāmegarha in the Agra district, he obtained from Aurangzeb the title of Khān and the charge of the fort of Kalyān in the province of Bidar, and went off to the Deccan. It was as if this family had been set up as the barbican of the court of the Sulatanate! The Khān in question and his sons spent their lives in guarding the forts of the Deccan. After he had been long in Kalyān he guarded Ahmadnagar, and in the 15th year (of Aurangzeb) he became, in succession to Mukhtar Khān, the faujdār and governor of the fort of Zafarabad-Bidar.<sup>3</sup>

When the fortress of Naldrug fell into the hands of the im-

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what this refers to. A Jān Beg is mentioned in A.N. III. 718. 'Ali Sher is mentioned by D'Herbelot as the lieutenant of Sultan Hussain in Samarkand, and as for a time being Timur's colleague there. Perhaps the Jān Beg referred to is the man whom Jahangir had made

Wazīru-l-Mulk when he was prince Tūzuk, J., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Pādishahnāma I, Part II. 216. His rank is there stated as 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

<sup>3</sup> Zafarabad is another name for Bidar.

perial servants, he became the governor thereof. Lastly he obtained the governorship of the fort of Gulbarga and also had the charge of the shrine of Saiyid Muḥammad Gesū<sup>1</sup> darāz—May the peace of God be upon him! He also served in war. He died one year before the victory over Bijāpūr. Among his sons—who were all masters of their profession—was Mirzā Parvez Beg, who was governor of the fort of Mulkher *alias* Mozaffarnagar which is eight *kos* from Gulbarga. Also there was Nūru-l-aiyān, who obtained the title of Jān-bāz Khān, and afterwards was known by his grandfather's name and again by his father's. He in the beginning was governor of the fort of Murtaẓābād Mirich and afterwards died as governor of Naṣirābād Dhārwar belonging to Bankāpūr. But the most famous was Parvez Beg. His first title was Jān bāz Khān, and afterwards he was called Beglar Khān. He was governor of many forts. When Ankar Firūzgarha was taken he was made governor of the fort, but a year had not elapsed when he died. His son Beg Muḥammad K. became governor of Adonī, and his son Mirzā M'aālī became governor of Gulbarga. From there he went to Qandhar (in the Deccan) and died. His son Burhānu-d-din Qalandar was for a long time governor of Mulkher. He reckoned nothing as of any moment,<sup>2</sup> and was a qalandar pure and simple. He<sup>3</sup> was contented with the unsubstantial four walls of crumbling yellow stone which (God) had made.

#### 'ALĪVERDĪ KHĀN MĪRZĀ BANDĪ.'

They say that he and Hājī Aḥmad were two brothers and the sons of Hājī Muḥammad who was steward (Bakāwal) on the estab-

<sup>1</sup> A famous saint of the Deccan, 721-825 H., 1321-1421. See Rieu's Cat. I. 347b, and Khazīna Aṣṣiyā I. 381. See Haig's Hist. Landmarks of the Deccan, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Alif hech nadārad*. "He regards Alif as of no consequence." According to the Bahār-i-'Ajam this is a proverbial phrase, and a couplet of Ṣa'ib is quoted in explanation of it. Possibly the author is making a pun. Alif was Burhānu-d-din's ancestor's title, and the point may be that he

did not regard his ancestry. *Alif shudan* is a phrase meaning "to be poor, or a recluse." The phrase *alif hech nadārad* may therefore mean "he did not mind being poor."

<sup>3</sup> The sentence is metaphorical. Apparently *shikananda* here means "crumbling" and yellow stone means flesh.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant "Mirzā Hindī" Indian Prince. But it is M. Bandī in the Riyāzu-s-Salāṭīn, p. 293. Aliverdī is said to mean "the gift

lishment of Prince Muḥammad A'zim Shah (third S. Aurangzeb). 'Aliverdī when in poor circumstances had acquaintance<sup>1</sup> with Shujā'ud-daula, the Nāzim of Bengal, and during the reign of Muḥammad Shah came to Bengal along with Ḥājī Aḥmad and trod the path of exile. Shujā'ud-daula received them with kindness and gave allowances to both brothers. He made them his companions and friends and did nothing without consulting them. He wrote to court and obtained a suitable rank and the title of Khān for 'Aliverdī. As the province of Patna was included in Bengal, 'Aliverdī was made deputy thereof. He during Shujā'ud-daula's life behaved presumptuously in Patna and obtained from the king the title of Mahābat K. and the substantive subahdarship of Patna. Shujā'ud-daula was obliged to leave him in possession of the province. After Shujā'ud-daula's death, and when the government of Bengal came to his son 'Alāud-daula Sarfarāz K., the latter owing to a penurious disposition, which is contrary to chiefship, turned off many soldiers. 'Aliverdī in the year 1152, 1739, took it into his head to seize Bengal and proceeded to Murshidabad with a strong army on the pretext of having an interview with Sarfarāz. He told his brother Ḥājī Aḥmad—who was in Sarfarāz's employ—what this intention was. Ḥājī Aḥmad helped him in his deceit. When Mahābat Jang approached, Sarfarāz awoke and went out with a small force to meet him. He made a feeble fight and was killed in 1153, 1740. Murshid Qulī K. who had the *takhallaṣ* of Makhmūr<sup>2</sup> and was the son-in-law of Shujā'ud-daula was at that time the governor of Orissa. He collected an army and hastened to engage 'Aliverdī and was defeated (near Balasore) and came to the Deccan to Āṣaf Jāh.

of 'Alī. Siyar M. I. 276, translator's note. Verdī is often written Berdī.

<sup>1</sup> He was related to him through his mother. He went to Orissa, and his brother came afterwards. See Siyar-ul-M., translation I. 275. 'Alī-verdī's mother was a Persian lady, of the Afshar tribe.

<sup>2</sup> "The intoxicated." As it was his pen-name, it was presumably adopted by himself, and means intoxi-

cated in the sense of being filled with Divine Love or with poetical fervour. The Riyāzu-s-Salāṭīn has Majbūr. Makhmūr is probably right as Beale says he was called poetically *sarshar*, which also means intoxicated. See also Rieu II. 796b, and Oude Cat. 194, where he is styled Makhmūr. He wrote Rekhtah poetry and died in the Deccan.

Mir Ḥabīb Ardīstānī—who was Murshid Qulī K.'s *bakhshī*—went to Raghū Bhonsla who was *mukhāsadār*<sup>1</sup> of Berar and urged him to conquer Bengal. Raghū sent a large army under the leadership of Bhāskar Pandit, his Diwān, and 'Alī Qarāwal—who was his best general<sup>2</sup>—along with Mir Ḥabīb to Bengal against 'Āliverdī. Fighting went on for nearly a month, and then 'Āliverdī proposed peace. He invited Bhāskar Pandit, 'Alī Qarāwal and 22<sup>3</sup> other leaders to his tent on the pretext of a banquet, and put them all to the sword. The army scattered like "The daughters of the Bier" (the constellation of Ursa Major). Raghū and Mir Ḥabīb returned unsuccessful, but every year an army was sent to ravage Bengal. At last 'Āliverdī fixed to pay a sum of money to Raghū, and in lieu of it gave him Orissa, and so preserved the country from ruin. He ruled for thirteen years. After his death his daughter's son, who had the title of Sirāju-d-daula, ruled for ten months. In that time he plundered the port of Calcutta. Afterwards he was defeated by the army of the Feringhi hat-wearers and got into a boat and fled. When he came to Rājmaḥal, one of his servants by name Nizām arrested him and sent him to Mir J'aafar his Bakhshī, who was married to Mahābat K.'s sister and was in league with the Feringhis. His head was severed from his body by the pitiless sword, and Mir J'aafar had the title of Shamsu-d-daula J'aafar 'Alī K. and became the ruler by the help of the Feringhis. In the year 1172, 1758-59, when the army of Sultan 'Alī Gohar came to Patna and besieged it, Šādiq 'Alī K. *alias* Mīran the son of Mir J'aafar was appointed to relieve Patna. He stood firmly in the battle, and was wounded.<sup>4</sup> When the prince turned his rein towards Murshidabad,<sup>5</sup> Mīran marched off quickly and joined his father. Afterwards he went towards Purniya where

<sup>1</sup> Properly mukhāsadār, a collector or revenue-agent. See Wilson's Glossary, 352b.

<sup>2</sup> 'Alī Qarāwal was originally a Hindu and a Mahratta. Riyāzu-s-Salāṭīn, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the total number was 22.

<sup>4</sup> Mīran's wounds are mentioned in the Siyar Mutakharīn, translation

II. 344, and in the Riyāz S. 375. The battle took place near Bārḥ on the bank of the Adhuh (†). Shah 'Ālam had previously defeated Rām Narain at Fatūha.

<sup>5</sup> The Riyāz has Bardwan and the Siyar M. says Bihar, but it appears that the prince's general did make an attempt to march on Murshidabad. See Siyar M. 345.

Khādim Ḥasan, the Deputy-Governor, was behaving rebelliously. When he came near Bettiah, which is a dependency of Purniya, he on a night in 1173 (July 1760) was struck by lightning, and the harvest of his life was consumed. The chronogram is

*Banāgah barq<sup>1</sup> aṭṭāda b (a) Miran.*

“Suddenly lightning fell upon Miran.”

After this occurrence Qāsim ‘Alī K. (Mīr Qāsim), the son-in-law of J’aafar ‘Alī, dispossessed his father-in-law and became ruler. Accordingly J’aafar ‘Alī went to Calcutta. In the end Qāsim ‘Alī did not get on with the Christians, and J’aafar ‘Alī laid hands on power for the second time. Qāsim ‘Alī K. came away and brought the reigning king and Shujā’ud-daula, the Vizier, to the province (Bihar). But nothing was successful. For a long time he waited for his opportunity in attendance on the emperor. When he had no success, he for a time went away to outlying places. It is not<sup>2</sup> known what finally became of him. But J’aafar ‘Alī K. died in 1178, 1765. After him his son Najmud-daula sat upon the masnad and died in 1179, 1766. After him Saifud-daula for a time and Mubārak Ullah for some months had the name of rulers. In 1185, 1771-1772, the whole of Bengal and Bihar fell into the possession of the hat-wearers.

#### ALLAH QULĪ-KHĀN UZBEG.

He was the son of the famous Alang Tosh, who was one of the Cossacks and eminent horsemen of Tūrān. He belonged to the Almān tribe, and his name was Jātī. In a battle he attacked with his breast bare, and from that time he was known as Alang-tosh, for *alang*<sup>3</sup> means in Turkī bare, naked, and *tosh* means breast. He was servant of Nazar Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, and held Kahmard and its appurtenances and the Hazārajāt in fief. As he

<sup>1</sup> The chronogram yields 1173. The event occurred in July 1760. For Khādim Ḥasan the Riyāz has Khādim Ḥusain.

<sup>2</sup> He died near Delhi, in 1777 (1191). At Kotwal an obscure village. (Beale).

The Siyar M. IV. 51 says, he died at town between Agra and Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling Alang or Ilang, *Alā*, is wrong: it should be Ilang or Yālāng as in Maasir I. 740. See Zenker a. v. It is curious that *ulanga* is Bengalee for naked. *Tosh* is Turkī for breast.

got small pay as a servant he was an *aimāncī*<sup>1</sup> (?) and a plunderer and raided as far as Qandahar and Ghaznīn and so got his livelihood. He also constantly made incursions into Khurāsān. The Shah of Persia was unable to protect the peasantry against him. Gradually he added soldiering to his robberies, and extended his power far and wide, and in order to subdue the Hazāras, whose settlements were within the Ghaznīn boundary, and who from old times paid revenue to the ruler of Ghaznīn, he established a fort there and in the 19th year of Jahangir a great battle took<sup>2</sup> place between him and Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat K., who was ruling in Kabul on the part of his father. Many Uzbegs and Almāns were slain, and Alang Tosh felt the claws and was defeated. After the death of Jahangir and in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan, Nazr Muḥammad K. thought he had an opportunity of conquering Kabul and drew up an army against it. Alangtosh did not fail to harry the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Kabul. At last when the time of Nazr Muḥammad's power was coming to an end and his fortunes declined, he took away Alangtosh's fief without his having committed any fault, and gave it to his own son Subhān Qulī. In similar manner he annoyed many of his officers, and *went to the place that he went to*. Allah Qulī, before Nazr Muḥammad K. had deposed his elder brother Imām Qulī K. and had added Samarkand and Bokhara to Balkh, had separated from his father, and came to Kabul in the 13th year with the idea of serving Shah Jahan. The latter from his spirit of appreciation presented him with Rs. 5;000 by an assignment on the treasury at Atak. He also sent Rs. 5,000 to S'aīd K., the governor of Kabul, who had made an advance (to Allah Qulī). When in the 14th year he entered service, he was raised to the office of 1,000. Shah Jahan gradually advanced him to 2,000, and in the 22nd year when he had distinguished himself, along with Rustum K. and Qulij K. in the battle with the Persians at Qandahar, he got an increase of 500. When in the 24th year J'aafar K. was sent off as governor of Bihar, the Khān

<sup>1</sup> Probably the word is *aimāncī*, for *al'mān* or *alamān* means plunder. *Almāncī* is given in P. de Courteille as meaning a plunderer.

<sup>2</sup> *Tāzūk* J. 387.



was appointed to that province. In the 26th year he came to the presence and was raised to the rank of 2,500 and 1,500 horse.

### ALLAH YĀR KHĀN.

His father was Iftikhār K. Turkamān, who in the time of Jahangir was one of the auxiliaries in Bengal. When Islām K. Cistī became the governor of that province, he sent a force under the command of Shujā'at K. Shaikh Kabīr against Uṣmān K. Lohānī, who was rebelling in that quarter. The command of the right wing was entrusted to Iftikhār K. When the battle was imminent<sup>1</sup> and the two forces were confronting one another, Uṣmān drove forward a warlike elephant against the imperial vanguard and defeated it and turned against Iftikhār. He stood firm and stretched forth the arm of battle, and after a number of his old servants and followers had been slain, Iftikhār was also killed.<sup>2</sup>

Allah Yār, after the heroism of his father, became a favourite of Jahangir and in time rose to be an Amir. In the end of that king's reign and the beginning of Shah Jahan's he attained the rank of 2,500, and according to old custom was enrolled among the auxiliaries of Bengal. Qāsim K., the governor of Bengal, sent his son 'Inayat Ullah along with the Khān to take the port of Hoogly, which is one of the leading ports in Bengal. The leadership and control were entrusted to the Khān. He did good service in this victory and by his skill and bravery rooted out in the fifth year the tree of infidelity and of the sway of the Frank which had put down its veins and fibres (*rag u resha*) in that country, and in place of the *nāqūs*<sup>3</sup> (wooden gong) he caused the voice of God's praise to resound. As a reward he received an increase in horsemen and in rank. After that, he during

<sup>1</sup> *Kūzār tarāzū* a similar phrase to *jangtarāzū* used in the notices of Abul-Maālī and Jahangir Qulī.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "After a number of the old servants and helpers had decked the face of courage with the rouge of life-sacrifice, that drunkard with

bravery's wine manfully drained the bowl of death."

<sup>3</sup> See Hughes' Dict. of Islam. The *nāqūs* is used in some eastern churches, but here must be understood to mean the bells. For account of siege of Hooghly see Elliot VII. 31.

the government of Islām K. (Mashhadī) together with Islām K.'s brother Mir Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī S'aadat K. led<sup>1</sup> an army into Kūc Hājū in the north of Bengal and did good service in extirpating the Assamese who attempted to help the ruler of Kūc Hājū and who trespassed<sup>a</sup> into the imperial territory. He reduced the arrogant to obedience and returned safe and full of plunder. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same province (of Bengal) he died in the 23rd year, in the beginning of 1060, 1650. He had sons and other kindred. His sons Isfandiyār, Māh Yār and Zū-l-fiqār obtained suitable fiefs and appointments in that province. The second son died in the 22nd year in his father's lifetime, and the third in the 26th year after his father's death. Raḥmān Yār, the brother of Allah Yār, obtained in the 25th year, at the request of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', the governor of the province, the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the office of the charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). Afterward, he got the title of Rashīd K., and in the 29th year he had been appointed as Prince Muḥammad Shujā's deputy to the charge of Orissa. He delayed to go there and occupied himself with his former employment (at Dacca). When Shujā retreated before Aurangzeb, he went off to Bengal in a ruined condition and vainly tried to oppose the pursuit of M'uazzam K. Khān-Khānān, and in the 2nd year of Aurangzeb established himself in Tānda in order to spend the rains there. When he heard that Rashīd K. was recalcitrant and that a number of the landholders in that part of the country had joined with him in opposition and that he wished to take the imperial fleet and join M'uazzam K., he deputed his eldest son Zainu-d-dīn<sup>2</sup> along with Saiyid 'Ālām Bārha in order that when he (the son) came to Dacca he might arrange to kill Raḥmān Yār. By fraud and pretext he (Zainu-d-dīn) one day

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 75. It was in the 10th year of the reign 1047, 1637-1638. See also Khāfi K. II. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. I. 570 and 618 has Zainu-l-'ābidīn, but at II. 49 he has Zainu-d-dīn. In the Flochmann MS. and the I.O. 628 we have *ke* instead of *ta* in the third last line of the

biography. The account in text is taken from the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 515, where the name of Shujā's son is given as Zainu-d-dīn. It was Zainu-d-dīn, who went to Dacca and had Rashīd K. *alias* Raḥmān Yār put to death.

summoned him to the hall of audience and gave a signal to his men. They all attacked Rahmān Yār with their weapons and killed him.

#### ALLAH YĀR K. MĪR TŪZAK (Marshal, master of ceremonies).

He was a servant of Aurangzeb from the days of his princehood, and was in attendance in the battle with Maharājah Jeswant Singh. He distinguished himself in the first battle against Dārā Shikoh. In the first year of the reign he received the title of Khān, and he conveyed the treasure from the royal camp to Multan for the expenses of the force which under the charge of Khalil Ullah K. had set forth to pursue Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Muhammad Shujā' he was made superintendent of the cavalcade (?) (darogha-i-mulāzamān-i-jilau) and given a commission of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the fifth year he was appointed in succession to Hūshdār K., darogha of the *ghusalkhāna* (private audience-room) and given a flag. He died in the 6th year, 1073, 1663.

#### AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN<sup>1</sup> ZAMĀN BAHĀDUR M.

Son and heir of Mahābat K. Zamāna Beg. His mother belonged to the Khānazāds of Mewat. In contradistinction to his father he was adorned with praiseworthy qualities, and was superior in excellencies to his contemporaries. Men were astonished at such a father having such a son. When in the 17th year of Jahangir, the die for overthrowing the fortune of Shah Jahan was cast in the name of Mahābat K., the latter was recalled from Kabul, and the management of that country was given to M. Amān Ullah as deputy for his father, and he received the rank of 3,000 and the title of Khānzād Khān.<sup>2</sup> The Uzbek named Jatī, who belonged to the Almān tribe and was a servant of Naẓr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh—he was commonly called *Īlangtosh* because in battle he left his chest bare, for the Turks term "naked" *il-*

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Khānazād in variant and in Iqbāl-nāma. The explanation of *Īlangtosh* is given in Iqbāl-nāma 228, where the real name is said to be Khastī or Ḥas-

nī. See also Tūzūk J. 388. Though here the word is written as *Īlang*, it is *Alang* or at least only *Īlang* at I., p. 187. But *Īlang* or *Jeleng* is right. See Zenker. a. v.

ang, and chest *tosh*—was prominent on the borders of Khurāsān, and between Qandahar and Ghaznīn, and acquired a name as a raider and several times attacked Khurasan, so that the Shah of Persia (Shah Abbas) was alarmed <sup>1</sup> at him. He founded a fort <sup>2</sup> in the Hazārajāt in order to control the Hazāra tribe whose seat (*yūrat*) was on the boundaries of Ghaznīn, and who from old times paid tribute to the governor thereof. He also sent his sister's son with an army to overawe them. Thereupon the heads of the Hazāra tribe applied for help and redress to Khānzād K. He hastened with a well-equipped force against the Uzbegs, and their leader (Īlangtosh's sister's son) and a number of his followers were slain in battle. Khānzād K. also destroyed the fort. Īlangtosh by opportunity got a sort of leave from Naẓr Muḥammad K.—who had no intention of attacking the imperial territories—and in the 19th year prepared for battle, accompanied by a large number of Uzbegs and Almāncīs,<sup>3</sup> at a distance<sup>4</sup> of two *kos* from Ghaznīn. Khānzād K., with the help of the contingent of the province, distinguished himself in this battle and showed devotion in killing and making prisoners of the enemy. They say that the elephants did great things in this battle. Whenever the Uzbegs made an attack, the elephants were driven against them, and their horses took fright. In short the Uzbegs could not advance and Īlangtosh was obliged to fly. They say that in the battle an armed trooper was made prisoner. They were about to kill him when he cried out that he was a woman. When they stripped the trooper they found that he was a woman. She stated that nearly a thousand women like her were in the army, and wielded swords in a masculine manner. Khānzād K. pursued the foe for six *kos* and then returned victorious.

When the government of Bengal was given to Mahābat K., Khānzād K. was at his father's request recalled from Kabul. In the 20th year when Mahābat was censured and summoned to

<sup>1</sup> See Iqbāl-nāma 228, and Tūzūk J. 388.

<sup>2</sup> At Citūr, Iqbāl-nāma 225, and Sewār in Tūzūk J. 386, where the word Īlang tosh is given as Palangposh.

<sup>3</sup> Text Imāncīs, but the word is Almān or Alamāncī, i.e. "robber." See T. Jahangiri 387.

<sup>4</sup> Sark dara, Iqbāl-nāma, 226.

court, the government of Bengal was assigned to Khānzād. Afterwards, when Mahābat K. in retribution for his deeds fled from the banks of the Jhelam, Khānzād was removed from his government of Bengal and came to court. By his excellent behaviour he retained respect and did not deviate one hair's breadth from submission to Āsaf K. After Jahangir's death, he was associated with Āsaf K. in the proceedings that were taken then. In the beginning<sup>1</sup> of Shah Jahan's reign he came from Lahore and did homage, and received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Khān Zamān and the government of Malwa in succession to Moẓaffar K. M'amūrī. In the same year, when his father was made governor of the Deccan, he went<sup>2</sup> there as his father's deputy. After that, when in the 2nd year the government of the Deccan was given to Irādat K., who had the name of A'zim K., Khān Zamān kissed the threshold and went off to his fief of Sam-bhal. When Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to quell Khān Jahān Lodī, the Khān Zamān followed him and joined Āsaf K. Yemenu-d-daula who had been appointed to chastise Muḥammad 'Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijāpūr. In the 5th year at the time of the royal return from Burhānpūr to Upper India, the government of the Deccan and of Khandes was taken from A'zim K. and given to Mahābat K. who was then in charge of Delhi. An order was issued to Yemenu-d-daula to leave Khān Zamān and his contingent in Burhānpūr and to come to court with A'zim Khān and other officers. At the same time, Khān Zamān got<sup>3</sup> possession of the strong fort of Gālwa. Maḥmūd K. the governor of the fort had withdrawn from obedience to Faṭḥ K., the son of Malik 'Ambar, because he had put to death the Niẓām Shah, and wished to make over the fort to Sāhū Bhonsla. When Khān Zamān's father addressed himself, in the 6th year, to the taking of the lofty fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān came with 5000 troopers prepared for battle, and went to every battery that needed assistance. At that time 20,000 cattle,<sup>4</sup> as also corn, and a number of the contingent troops, were in Zafarnagar, but were not able to join or

<sup>1</sup> Pādashāhnāma I. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Pādashāhnāma I. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Pādashāhnāma I. 442-444.

<sup>4</sup> Pādashāhnāma I. 505. The cattle

account of the predominance of banditti. Khān Zamān went there, and Sāhūji Bhonsla and Bahlūl K. surrounded him in Cakl-thāna<sup>1</sup> three *kos* from Khirkī. The Khān Zamān maintained his ground, and discharged rockets, *gajnal*<sup>2</sup> (elephant-guns) and muskets. From whichever side the enemy advanced, they received a rebuff, and when night fell both armies left off fighting. The Khān Zamān remained on the field of battle and prudently waited (on guard) till the morning. The enemy saw that they could not succeed and retreated in despair. He conveyed the provisions to his father, and continually behaved bravely both in the batteries and on foraging parties. On another occasion he went off to bring in the corn, the money, and the gunpowder of the empire, which had reached Rohankhera and could not advance farther. Randaula K., Sāhū and Yāqūt Ḥabshī followed him up with the idea that they might lay hands on the convoy. The Khān Khānān heard of this and appointed Naṣīrī K. (i.e., Khān Daurān) to assist him. Khān Zamān by his vigour and courage took everything (of the convoy) with him and was returning. When on the march the vanguard and the rearguard were more than a *kos* from the centre, and as they were entering Khirkī the enemy suddenly fell upon them. A great fight took place. The enemy were punished and fled. After the victory over the fort (Daulatabad), he was, at the request of prince Shujā', appointed to take part in the siege of the strong fort of Parenda. Khān Zamān went off in advance and did not fail to drive mines and erect batteries, but on account of the double-facedness of the officers and the arrival of the rainy season, the taking of the fort was delayed. The prince Mahābat K. and others returned without having effected their object.

Although Mahābat K. was fonder of him than of all his other sons, and whenever it was mentioned that such and such a thing was the affair of Amān Ullah (sir—i—Amān Ullah) he would give up the claim even if it was a matter of lacs of rupees, yet from savagery and wickedness he would in public *diwān* use outrageous.

were for carrying the grain, and in the *Pādshāhnāma* the phrase is *gāo-ghala*, not *gāo u ghala* as in text.

<sup>1</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* I. c. Bāgh Cakl-thāna.

<sup>2</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* I. p. 506, says *gajnal* = *badalica*.

abuse about him. Though the Khān Zamān both openly and by hints sent messages to him begging him to have respect to his (Khān Zamān's) years and to preserve his honour, and not to bring him into contempt, Mahābat only insulted him the more. The Khān Zamān repeatedly said, "Death is not in my power, and what difficulty would there be in going away,<sup>1</sup> but I should be ruined both spiritually and materially." When his soul was specially afflicted, he went <sup>2</sup> off without taking leave and departed by the Rohinkhera *ghāt* with the intention of going to court. On the first day he reached Burhānpūr, and after a night crossed by the Handia ferry. Mahābat K. was vexed and grieved, and said, "If the courtiers—who are all against me—say evil things of me to the king, it will be ascribed (by the king) to enmity and envy, but now that such a son, who is famed throughout the world for goodness, goes off in this way, there will certainly be a bad mark against me. He has disgraced me in my old age." And then he would heave a cold sigh and <sup>3</sup> lay his hand upon his knee, and say, "Ah,<sup>4</sup> Amān Ullah, you will die young." They say that when Khān Zamān's arrival was reported to the king he recited this verse.

*Verse.*

The beloved is so treated, alas then for the stranger.

As it chanced on the day that Khān Zamān was to do homage there came the news of Mahābat K.'s death. Shah Jahan sent

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is obscure, but nearly all the MSS. seem to agree in the reading *kushtan* "to kill." I cannot however think that Amān Ullah spoke of killing his own father. I think that we must read *gashtan*, to depart. Perhaps *cha qadr kār ast* means, "What sort of thing would it be for me to leave my father. I should be ruined morally and physically." Possibly we should read *kushtī* wrestling, and understand the son as saying that he could not contend with his father. B.M. MS. Add. 6537 apparently has *kushti* "struggling or wrestling."

<sup>2</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* I, Part 2, p. 59, *Khāfi* K. I. 501.

<sup>3</sup> An attitude in prayer.

<sup>4</sup> Alluding to the belief that those who cause their elders to be ill-spoken of will die young. See B. 569 note, where a similar verse is quoted about 'Urff as his chronogram. Apparently the eastern superstition referred to by B. is connected with the fifth Commandment. Mahābat's remark came true, for Amān Ullah only survived his father by two years, dying in 1046, while his father died in 1044, 1634-36.

Yemenu-d-daulah and other officers to offer condolences and sent for Khān Zamān and treated him with various favours. As up to that time there had been one governor for Khandes and Berar, there was now a division<sup>1</sup> made. The Bālāghāt, which means Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Sangmanir, Junair, Pattan, Jālnapūr, Bir, Dhārwar and part of Berar, and the whole of Telingāna, the revenue of which was one and twenty krors of dāms, was made over to him (Khān Zamān), and he was sent off to take charge. As in consequence of the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bandila, the government of Malwa was made over to Khān Daurān, Khandes was assigned to Ilāhwardī, and Berar was made part of the Bālāghāt and given to the Khān Zamān.

In the 9th year when Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan to visit the fort of Daulatabad, the Khān Zamān was sent off with Rāo Sātṛ Sāl and other Rajputs, as vanguard, and Bahādur K. Rohilla and a number of Afghans, as rearguard, to conquer the territory of<sup>2</sup> Camārgonda which was the home of Sāhū, and also the country of the Konkan which was in his possession, and likewise to devastate the Bijāpūr lands which were in that direction. He chastised Sāhū several times, and placed *thānas* in Camārgonda and other estates of Ahmadnagar. When ʿAdil Shah submitted, he returned and received the title of Bahādur. After that, he was sent to take Junair, which is one of the great Nizām Shāhī forts. The Khān Zamān regarded the pursuit and punishment of Sāhū as the most important matter, and followed him to the Konkan. He never ceased his pursuit. Sāhū allowed his home and goods to be plundered and took refuge in the fort of Māhūli. As Randaula K. was ordered, on the part of ʿAdil Shah, to co-operate with the Khān Zamān Bahādur and to rescue the forts which Sāhū had taken possession of, and to make them part of the imperial territories, he invested Māhūli on one side while Khān Zamān did so

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I. 502. Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. p. 62. The Deccan was now divided into the Bālāghāt (above the Ghats) and the Payāghāt (below the Ghats). 1 *arb* and 20 krors of dāms would be £3,000,000.

<sup>2</sup> "Thirty-two miles south of Ahmadnagar. The Chambergoonder of the Bombay Route Map." Elliot vii. 52 note, and I. G. xxii. 309.



on the other. Sāhū<sup>1</sup> became frightened and surrendered to the Khān Zamān the forts of Junair, Tringalwārī, Trimbak, Haris, Jūdhan and Harsal (Harsira of Elliot), together with the relative of the Nizām Shah,—who was with him,—in the 10th year of the reign 1046, 1636-37. When the ṣubāhdārī of the whole of the four provinces of the Deccan was entrusted to Prince Aurangzeb Bahādur, the Khān Zamān returned to Daulatabad and entered into that prince's service. He had long suffered from various diseases. Sometimes he got well and sometimes he had relapses. At last in the end of the year in question he died.<sup>2</sup> The chronogram was *Rustum Zamāna mard*: "The Rustum of the age is dead." (1047,<sup>3</sup> 1637.) They say that when he recovered consciousness at the last breath, he uttered this famous stanza:—

*Verse.*

Amānī,<sup>4</sup> life hangs on the lip like a lamp at dawn :  
I desire the signal which may end matters.

He was the unique of the age for courage and military skill. He was very choleric and jealous, but in spite of that he was so mild and courteous that those who were deadly enemies of his father unrolled for him the carpet of love and single-heartedness: though Mahābat K. used to say, "Their love is enmity against me, and if after my death this unanimity and friendship remain, you have permission to abuse me!" He was also unequalled for wisdom and knowledge. He wrote<sup>5</sup> a history of all the princes of the earth. He also composed the collection called the *Ganj Bādāward*.<sup>6</sup> Amānī was his poetical sobriquet and he is the author of a *divān*. These lines are from it:—

<sup>1</sup> Elliot VII, 59, 60: Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 228, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 257. He died on 14 Zilhajja 1046 = 29th April, 1637; *id.* 293.

<sup>3</sup> The chronogram is not quite correct for he died in the last month of 1046.

<sup>4</sup> I presume that it is the angel of death who is supposed to be speaking.

Compare Johnson's "Counts death kind Nature's signal of retreat."

<sup>5</sup> Rieu Cat. 509a. Sprenger's Cat. 330 and 109. Ethé Ind. Cat., p. 857, No. 1571? There is a copy of Amānī's *diwān* in the Bodleian Library. See Cat., p. 683, No. 1095.

<sup>6</sup> Bādāward was the name of the second of Khusrāu's treasures. See

## Verse.

Write our name on the rim of the cup  
 That it may abide while the cup goes round.  
 Should the sphere not turn as we wish, say "Turn not"  
 Enough if the cup turn concordant with our wish.

He had one son. His name was M. Shukr Ullah. He was able and known to the sovereign. At the time when his father went to relieve Junair, he as his deputy was sent off to guard Burhānpūr.

## AMĀN ULLAH KHĀN:

Grandson of Ilāhwirdī<sup>1</sup> K. 'Ālamgīrī; his father probably was the Amān Ullah K., the son of Ilāhwirdī, who after his father's death became *faujdār* of Agra and got the title of Khān. In the 22nd year he (the father) was *faujdār* of Gwalīyar and fell bravely at the battle<sup>2</sup> of the intrenchments of Bijāpūr. The subject of this notice apparently got his father's title and had a commission of 1000 with 500 horse and was distinguished among the *khānazādas*. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he came to the front by his courage and devotion and became an Amir. When in the beginning of 48th year the king—the holy warrior—(*jehād āīn*) addressed himself to the capture of the robber-castles, he after taking the fort of Rājgarha turned his rein towards capturing the fort of Tornā<sup>3</sup> which was distant four *kos*.

It is well known that in the end of Aurangzeb's reign many forts, which belonged to Sīva<sup>4</sup> (Sivaji) and which were taken from his agents, were obtained by the imperial officers sending money to the governors, in order to get their own discharge (from the task of taking them). The governors therefore surrendered them. The king was quite aware of this, and so it repeatedly happened that the very sum which had been paid for the delivery of the fort was given to the taker after the capture by way of a present.

Rieu, II, 439b and 509b. Ethé states that it was a work on agriculture.

<sup>1</sup> Or Ilāhvardī (the gift of God).

<sup>2</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 262.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* 486, Khāfi K. II, 521. Elliot

VII, 377. Twenty m. S.W. Poonah. Rājgurh is three m. east of it, Grant-Duff I, 131-32.

<sup>4</sup> Sīva died in 1680, 27 years before the end of Aurangzeb's reign.

But this fort came into the possession of the imperial servants by dint of courage and the stroke of the sword! The brief account of this is that Tarbiyat K. set<sup>1</sup> himself to run an entrenchment from the side of the gate and Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahādur barred the egress of the besieged in another direction. Sultan Ḥusain known as Mīr Malang on one side, and Amān Ullah on another girt up the loins of self-sacrifice. At last, on 15 Zul-Qtada 1115, 11 March 1704, at night, Amān Ullah K. induced some Māwali<sup>2</sup> footmen to send, first, one of their number, who parted, as it were, with his life, to the stone heap (*sangchān*, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> *Bamīrcāl dawānī nishast*. The text has *dawālī*, which does not seem to have any sense. The B.M. MSS. which I have consulted have also *dawālī*. But the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī from which the passage has been copied has at p. 486 *dawān* (دوان), and it is so also in the B.M. MS. of the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī Add. 19, 495. My friend Mr. Irvine has suggested that *dawānī* is right and that the phrase means to run, i.e., to make, a battery or entrenchment. I think that this view is correct, for I find in Khāfī K. I, 688, the phrase *naqb dawāndan* twice used to mean the driving of a mine. See also Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 413, three lines from foot, the phrase *murcāl rawān sūkhī*, and do. 413, two lines from foot, the phrase *murcāl dawīd*. The same phrase *murcāl dawānī* occurs in Maasir III, 41, six lines from foot.

<sup>2</sup> *ماولی mawālī*. This is the Mawlaee of Grant-Duff, I. 224, and the word means an inhabitant of the Mawals or mountain valleys: see *id.* I. 127. Grant-Duff says, "Both they and the Hetkurees possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing, and could mount a precipice, or scale a rock with ease where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces." In the

Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 437, the word is wrongly written *مادالپا mādalpa*, with the variant *mādaliya*. It is written correctly in Khāfī K. II, 522, whom the Maasir has copied. The *māl ya'nī kumund* "māl, that is to say, noose or lasso" of the Maasir was perhaps "the strong narrow band of considerable length tightly girt about the loins" of Grant-Duff I. 224. Perhaps however *māl* is *māla*, a garland, and also a string, and the word is almost certainly connected with the *malchār* of the Pādshāhnāma, Part II, of vol. I, pp. 107, 108, and 109, referred to by Irvine, Army of Moghuls, p. 278. Mr. Irvine thought that *malchār* might mean a trench, but the expression *malchār khud*, "their own *malchār*," at top of p. 109, shows that this cannot be so. Also on p. 107 we have the word *malchār* followed a line or two below by the word *kumund*, and as if the two were synonymous. Grant-Duff refers to the escalade of Tornā in a note at I, p. 399. The day of the capture was also Aurangzeb's birthday and the day of his accession, Khāfī K. II. 522. It was the first day of Farwardīn. The account of a Māwali being sent up to fasten a rope or ladder of ropes may be compared with the account of the taking of Singurh in Grant-Duff I. 243.

embrasure) of the fort, and to make his *māl*, i.e., lasso fast to the stones. Five and twenty men got on the top of the lofty hill by help of this lasso and entered the fort. They raised the cry of victory. The Khān and his brother 'Aṭā Ullah K. and some others followed at their heels. Hamīdu-d-dīn K., who was waiting for his opportunity, on hearing this news fastened ropes on his waist like those who had gone before and got up. Many of the infidels who tried to oppose were slain. The others crept into the citadel and asked for quarter. The fort received the name of *Fatūh-al-ghaib* (marvellous victories), and Amān Ullah K. received an increase of 500 with 200 *dūāspa* (two horse) horse. After that he received royal favours and did many brilliant feats. He got promotion again and again, and after the victory of Wākinkera <sup>1</sup> he received drums in token of his good services. After the death of Aurangzeb he hastened from the Deccan to Upper India along with Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah and fought bravely in the battle with Bahādur Shah and was severely wounded. He then surrendered his borrowed life!

#### AMĀNAT K. MĪRAK M'UĪNU-D-DĪN AḤMAD.

The forgiven Khān was by name Mīrak M'uinu-d-dīn Aḥmad Amānat Khān Khwāfi. He was right-minded, well-principled; an acute perceiver of the truth; humble in disposition, independent in soul; of a heavenly nature, and a holy blend; of excellent manners, and praiseworthy morals; a master of gentleness, harmoniously elevated; of an excellent countenance, and lofty genius; pure-hearted, magnanimous; an established pillar of trust and reliability; a solid foundation of generosity and bounty; of sound judgment, and right-thinking; hating little, loving much.

The real home of his honoured ancestors was the city of Herat, the capital of Khurāsān. His grandfather Mīr Ḥasan was annoyed for some reason or other and took the path of separation from his father Mīr Ḥusain, who was one of the leading men of that city, and came to the township of Khwāf, which is a small tract in that kingdom, the inhabitants of which have been distinguished from early times for ingenuity and intellect. Khwāja 'Alāu-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot vii, 377.

d-dīn Muḥammad, who was one of the principal men of Khwāf, had regard to old acquaintance with his ancestors, and received him with kindness and gladness, and took him into his house. As the light of greatness and nobility appeared on the forehead of his character, he gave him his daughter in marriage. In consequence, Mir Ḥasan took up his abode there and became the father of a family. Afterwards when the famous Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Khwāfi, the son and heir of the Khwāja aforesaid, entered the service of Akbar and obtained high rank and consideration, Mirak Kamāl, the son of Mir Ḥasan, went off to India to his mother's brother (*taḡhai*) with his son Mirak Ḥusain, and spent his days in affluence and comfort. There too he married one of the daughters of the Saiyids of his native city. Mirak 'Aṭā Ullah was the fruit of this marriage, and in the Balkh campaign accompanied Prince Aurangzeb, and acquired respect and consideration. On account of some reason, he separated from Prince Aurangzeb and became one of the king's servants, and was raised to the rank of 700. He was first bakhshī of the *Aḥādīs* at Kabul and afterwards diwān of Patna. In that place the lamp of his life was extinguished in the close of Shah Jahan's reign. But Mirak Ḥusain (the son by the first marriage) was distinguished during the reign of Jahangir for his skill and knowledge, and held high office. In the 8th year he was employed in company with Prince Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) in the campaign against the Rānā (of Udaipūr), and when Udaipūr was taken, and military stations were established in the Rānā's territory, Mirak Ḥusain was made bakhshī and record-keeper of Kumbalmir. After that he became bakhshī of the Deccan, and after Shah Jahan's accession he became diwān of the Deccan. From that day to this—which is more than a hundred years—this office has been hereditary in the family. In the 8th year he received a present of Rs. 10,000, with a robe of honour and a horse, and was sent on an embassy to Nazr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, in company with Payinda<sup>2</sup> Be, the ambassador of the said Khān, with presents to

<sup>1</sup> He was a very distinguished officer and became diwān of the empire. See Blochmann, 445.

<sup>2</sup> It is Nābahar Be in Pādshāh-nāma I, Part II, 104. Cf. Khāfi K. I. 508-9.

the value of Rs. 125,000. In the royal letter he was styled in eloquent language a Saiyid of true race and of approved abilities. On his return from Tūrān, he was censured for some reason. When he died his heirs continued to be employed in the government service. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang remembered the old intimacy and procured their advancement. The heir of the deceased, Mirak M'uīnu-d-din Aḥmad, was in the flower of his youth. After acquiring the current sciences he entered the king's service, and in the year 1050, 1640, he was made bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Ajmere. After that it is probable that he went to the Deccan for service. Accordingly Shaiikh M'arūf Bhakkarī writes in his Zakhīra-ul-Khwānīn, which was composed in 1060, 1650, "Mirak M'uīnu-d-din, the son of Mirak Ḥusain Khawāfi—whose father and grandfather were higher than the sun for greatness and family—is perfectly endowed in this household (?) (*darīn ḥawālī*) with wisdom, knowledge, ability and calligraphy, and conducts himself with honour in the Deccan." In the 28th year of Shah Jahan, he was with Prince Dārā Shikoh in the Qandahar campaign, and after his return in the same year, he was, in 1064, 1654, made diwān, bakhshī and historiographer of the province of Multan. He spent a long time in that quarter. High and low, small and great, there beheld his truthfulness and honesty, and strength and counsel and put the ring of devotion in their ears and behaved as his disciples. Up to the present day Mirak Jū's name is on the lips of the people there. At two *kos* distance from the city he made a house and garden which became known as "Kūtila-i-Mirak<sup>1</sup> Jū." In the time of 'Ālamgīr he was made ṣubāḥdār of Kabul and received the title of Amānat Khān.

Though<sup>2</sup> the conferring of titles by an author of bounty (i.e., a kingly benefactor, etc.) depends upon the qualities of the nominee, and it behoves the latter to strive to live up to his title, yet this cannot be said in this instance, for in it the name and the person named were identical. Or rather the latter was a thousand

<sup>1</sup> Kūtila or Kutīlī is a Hindustani word signifying a granary.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is obscure, and I am by no means sure that I have fully understood it.

times nobler and more valuable than the name. In the world of creation and existence no quality comes up to trustworthiness and honesty (*amānat u diānat*). They are very precious and very rare. Wherever they bloom there is a spring-time of blessings. They are the source of lofty dignities and the elixir of fortune and happiness. In the world's market, merchandise is disposed of by the brokerage of honesty, and in life's garden the fruits of success are to be gathered from the tree of Trust (*amānat*).

In fine he was promoted in the 14th year of 'Ālamgīr to the rank of 1000 with 200 horse, and to the diwānī of the Khālṣa in succession to 'Inayat K., and he received a crystal<sup>1</sup> inkstand. When in the 16th year Asad K.—who after the death of Ja'afar K. carried on the duties of the Viziership as deputy—withdrawed his hand from affairs, Amānat K. and the *Diwān-i-tan*,<sup>2</sup> in accordance with orders, put their<sup>3</sup> own signatures and seals on the papers of their offices.

Inasmuch as the thoughts of honourable men who have no mixture of hypocrisy or self-interest are engrossed by duty to God, and the welfare of their master, they have no fear of the blame of critics. At this time the Begams of the palace and the confidential eunuchs, who had audience of the king and were proud of their intimacy, out of base covetousness did improper acts and repeatedly made improper recommendations. As now there was no place for such recommendations, and whatever was profitable to the government and was to the advantage of the people of God was carried out without the instigation of any adviser, the edge of their sword did not cut. Of necessity they girt up their loins for annoyance, and as nothing stopped their intrigues<sup>4</sup> they made use of the report<sup>5</sup> of 'Abdu-l-Hakīm the *Peshdast*. As in consequence

<sup>1</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgīrī 110, and Bloch mann 412, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For *tankhwāh*. The department of grants, Irvine A. of M. 39. For Asad K. Asafu-d-daulah's temporary retirement see his biography I. 311. The diwān-i-tan then was Kifayat K.

<sup>3</sup> See the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 126, where it is recorded that "it was ordered that Amānat K., the diwan of

the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., the diwān-i-tan, should put their seals below the seal of the chief diwān and carry on the duties of the diwānī." This was in 1083, 1672-73. See also this quoted in Maasir-i-Umarā I. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Literally "the nails of their digging were not stopped anywhere."

<sup>5</sup> In the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī 144 it is mentioned that Amānat K. resigned

of continual toil <sup>1</sup> Amānat K. was disgusted and was in search of an excuse for resigning, he made use of this affair and in the 18th year presented his resignation at Hasan Abdal. Though the king observed that the report of the Peshdast was no cause for resigning, Amānat would not agree. As the marks of honesty and skill (in Amānat) had been impressed on the heart of the king, he immediately appointed him to the charge <sup>2</sup> of Lahore and its fort. He also was made Diwān of the province. Though he declined financial work, yet the king ordered that his eldest son 'Abdu-l-Qādir should carry on the duties. There, besides the buildings of Kawāfipura near the Chauk, he made a large building and baths which are famous throughout the world. In the 22nd year, when the king was staying at Ajmir, Amānat was made <sup>3</sup> Diwān of the provinces of the Deccan and received a robe of honour. From that time till now this office has mostly remained with this family. When in the 25th year Aurangabad was honoured by the king's presence, the house of Nizām Shāh known as Sabz (green) Bungalow—which is at present the governor's house—was his (the king's residence). It belonged to Prince Muḥammad A'ẓim. Amānat K. wished to buy the fort of Harsūl, which is two *kos* from the city, and to make it his permanent <sup>4</sup> residence. The king

the *peshdastī* of the Khālṣa and was appointed to the charge of Lahore. Then it says that Kifayat K., the *Peshdast* of the office of the *Tan*, was appointed to the *peshdastī* of the Khālṣa in Amānat's room. There is an account of Amānat K. in Khāfi K. II. 261 and 376-78. In the latter passage great praise is given to Amānt, but it is stated that he incurred the king's displeasure by remitting the poll-tax in a number of instances. This act was brought to the king's notice by Rashid K., whom the Maagir 'Ālamgiri calls the *peshdast* of the Khālṣa. Khāfi K. calls him the Diwān of the Khālṣa and says he had a rivalry with Amānat. Perhaps Rashid K. is another name for 'Abdu-l-Hakīm. There is however an 'Abdu-

l-Hakīm named at p. 266 of the M. 'Ālamgiri. He may have been a descendant of the Mullā Abdu-l-Hakīm of Sialkote and have made a report against Amānat for not collecting the *jizīya*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sifāriṣh*, which has also the meaning of recommendations, and may refer to reports made by Amānat's enemies.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the Amānat of Manucci I. 159 and Catrou, who speak of him as being a great friend to the Christians. But they are wrong in speaking of him as an officer of Jahangir's time. He was great-grandfather of Shah Newāz the author of the Maagir U.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. II. 261.

<sup>4</sup> *ba jark mukān*. *multan* etymologically means "root-place, perman-



decided upon the residence of Malik 'Ambar, which is close to Shāhganj (for Amānat). Amānat K. was not content to hire it, and so bought it from the government. Hence this too is known as the Kūtila (of Amanat?).

In the beginning of the 27th year when the king went to Aḥmadnagar, inasmuch as his desire was to conquer Bijāpūr and Haidarabad, the pious man (Amānat) thought it right to abstain from a war against Muhammadans and presented his paper of resignation—which he had (always) at his finger-ends. The acute king read his countenance and did not take him with him, but left him in charge of Aurangabad. After some months of the year his spirit flew in 1095, 1684, to the gardens of paradise. He was buried south of the city near the shrine of Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī. *Saiyid bihiṣṭī shud*, "The Saiyid became paradisaical," gives the date 1095. In truth, the word of Death in the case of such wakeful hearts which gather outward beauties and store up spiritual rewards and live for ever is but a customary phrase.

*Verse.<sup>1</sup>*

Never are the men of soul dead, nor will they die.

Death is but a name when applied to their tribe.

The truth-knower Miyān<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nūr Ḥamāmī, who was a dervesh, who was master of perfection, frequently said, "What men ask from us is possessed by this bābāī pīr (young saint?)" and then he would point to that heart-knower (shināsā dil) (Amānat).

Khāfi Khān, the author of the Lab-Labāb-history, who was a man of sincere speech and a seeker after justice, has stated<sup>3</sup> that a really honest man who does not think of his own advancement, and who regards the welfare of the people as of more importance than the profit of the government, and in whose administration

ent abode." The meaning however may be that Amanat wanted to make his home in Harsūl just as he had formerly done in Multan.

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is Faiẓi's and occurs in his elegy on Fath Ullah Shirazi.

See above p. 103 and the Akbar-nāma III. 564.

<sup>2</sup> Shāh Nūr survived Amānat K., not dying until February 1693. (Beale.)

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. II. 261.

no harm has been done to the person or property of a single individual, has, with the exception of Amānat K., been rarely seen or heard of. There were frequent instances of accountable collectors and impoverished landholders coming near to death in prison. Such things only produced oppression and gave a bad name to the government. He took a little in comparison with what was demanded from them, and fixed instalments for each person and then released them. Accordingly in Lahore on one occasion the news-writers reported that there had been a loss of two lacs of rupis on this account. The king was displeased, but when he became acquainted with the facts of the case, he applauded Amānat. In the Deccan<sup>1</sup> also there was an old balance of ten or twelve lacs of rupis debited against imaginary (*saqīmu-l-hāl*) ryots. Every year *aḥādīs* and *maṣabdārs* were appointed. They did not realise a single *dām* of it and showed<sup>2</sup> a large amount as held in suspense (*mauqūfāna*). Similarly he by one stroke of his pen wrote off as remitted a large sum due from needy proprietors as *peshkash* (presents due by them to the king or his officers).

By chance<sup>3</sup> the king one day was praising his honesty. Amānat said, "There is not another traitor (*khāin*) like me, for

<sup>1</sup> *id.* 377.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is obscure both in the text and in *Khāfi Khān*. Judging from the sentence that follows I am inclined to think that the real meaning is that Amānat did not collect the money but wrote it off as irrecoverable (*mauqūfāna*) as remitted. Observe that in *Khāfi K.* there is a dash after *mirāftandān* (377, line 7) to indicate that there is a break in the sentence. The meaning however may be that the collectors did not allow the ryots any credit for the current year for what they paid, but credited everything to these old and imaginary balances. The *Maasir* in copying *Khāfi K.* has altered his phraseology and omitted one or two important words. The words "*tūmār nadārād*" in the text and in *Khāfi K.* (377, line 8) seem to me to be a technical expres-

sion. *Khāfi K.* has after them the word *navishta*, and apparently he means that Amānat wrote "*tūmār nadārād*," i.e., unrealisable, or "not to be entered in the accounts," and so remitted these old and imaginary balances. It was an old custom in Bengal to make the ryots who remained, or the head-man, responsible for the rents of ryots who had died or run away (*palaṭaka*), and I imagine that the same practice was followed in the Deccan.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* 377, where the conversation is given at greater length. The final treasury referred to by the king means the treasury in heaven. *Khāfi K.* represents him as saying that Amānat looked after both his earthly and his heavenly treasure. The *Maasir* does not go on to say that Aurangzeb, though he forgave the

every year I remit sums due by debtors to my master." The king observed, "I know that you are heaping up money for me in the final treasury."

In short, the service which this great man performed for the State in a small office—for his rank was not more than 2000—was a strange one. There were many dealings which were contrary to humanity, and so though they were all royal orders, from piety and gentleness of heart he did not carry them into effect. On account of so acting contrary to the pleasure of his master he used to tender his resignation; but the righteous king had regard to his disinterestedness and honesty and passed over the matter without notice.

They tell that Mukhlās<sup>1</sup> Khān Bakhshī used to relate that Amānat K. held a singular position in the king's mind. At the time when the king was at Aurangabad Prince Mu'izzud-dīn represented: "Our workshops have for want of space been placed outside of the city, and in this rainy season they are becoming rotten. I ask that the mansions of Sanjar Beg deceased, whose bath is famous in that city, which have recently been escheated, and which the heirs have not yet quitted, may be given for the storing of our goods." The king therefore issued an order upon the relatives of the deceased. No attention was paid to it. The petition of the prince was again brought before the king, and an order was given to Muḥammad<sup>2</sup> 'Alī the Khānsāmān—who had no equal or partner in respect of intimacy and influence (with the king)—that he should set some one over Amānat K. to see that the building was delivered up to the prince's men. The worshipper of right (Amānat) did not attend to this either. At last one day in a cortège, when both of them were in the retinue, Muḥammad 'Alī K. represented that although a *sazāwal* had been appointed to

other remissions, censured Amānat for remitting the poll-tax (*jizya*), and that in consequence Amānat refrained in future from remitting the poll-tax. See p. 378. The Maasir has the phrase "end of the words" at the close of the abstract of Khāfi K. as if it were a verbatim quotation.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a post. See Khāfi K. II. 381. But more probably the Mukhlās K. of Maasir III. 566 who was Bakhshī of Balkh.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Ḥakīm Daud Taqarrab K. III. 625.

make over the house to the prince (*murāhidzāda* "his Master's son"), nothing had been done. The king turned to Amanat K., and he frankly said, "The place cannot be made over to the prince at this season of lightning and rain (*barq u bārān*). Where will Sanjar Beg's people find shelter and shielding (*sir u sāya*). I'm frightened for myself for I have a wife and children (*kul u kuware*); to-morrow this day's case may be theirs." At the same time he tendered his resignation in order that such a task as this might be assigned to some one else. The king hung his head and was silent.<sup>1</sup>

In his mode of life he had nothing in common with the rich, and had no acquaintanceship with the pursuits of the worldly. He was fond of learning and possessed the current accomplishments. He composed a treatise on the laws of Islam, which is a collection of the rules of the Law. He was a master of Shikasta and Nasta'liq writing. He had seven sons and eight daughters, and they all left large progeny. But the second son Wazārat Khān, whose poetical name was Girāmī, was pre-eminent for excellences. He had a poetical vein and is the author of a divān. This verse of his is famous.

(Verse, see above in Gholām 'Alī's preface.)

He had a son called Mirak M'uīn K. who died some time before his father and left no offspring. The accounts of the others, viz., Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K., Mīr Ḥusain Amānat K. No. 2, and Kāzīm K. the direct grandfather of the writer of these pages, have been separately written. It is due to the good qualities of this great man that in this world of change, where in the twinkling of an eye great families become weak and contemptible, his children during four generations have up to the time of writing,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my friend Mr. Irvine for help in understanding this passage. I think that كورى here does not mean blind people but that كور is *kuwar* a son and that *kul u kuware* must be a Deccani phrase for wife and children. *Kul* however may also mean household or domestics.

The phrase "to-morrow," etc., may be compared with the Latin inscription often found in graveyards, *Hodie mihi cras tibi*. Amānat was referring to the inhuman practice according to which an officer's property escheated to the crown. See Bernier on the subject in connection with Shah Jahan.

1159,<sup>1</sup> 1746, been Diwāns of the Deccan and have filled other high offices with honour and credit. Such absence of misfortune is rarely seen in other families.

### AMĀNAT KHĀN THE 2ND.

He was Mīr Husain, the third son of Amānat K. Khwāfi. On account of his uprightness and ability he was the companion and friend of his father. After the latter's death he, as well as his brothers, became a favourite of the Khalifa-r-Rahmān (the Vicar of God) Aurangzeb, and, though in small offices, was regarded as a confidant. It was like "One<sup>2</sup> of the blessings from the Barmecides," he inheriting all the respects that his father had. High and low of this family were treated with the favour shown to *Khānazāds* (children of the household). They say that one day the appreciative king appeared in public audience. When the Khān (Amānat No. 2) entered with his son the enclosure (*sarāparda*) a *chōbdār* (usher)—a set of men who for the most part deserve on account of their mordacity and mischievousness the rod (*cob*) and are fit for the gallows, seized the son's hand and kept him back. The Khān in his wrath paid no heed to the respect due to the place where he was, but turned round and seized that saucy fellow and went on and represented to the king: "If sons of the house are to be insulted by fellows like this, what expectation have they of fame and honour in the king's service?" The king out of respect to him dismissed the whole of the guard of that day.

As the ability of the Khān made an impression on the king, when he, near the end of the 31st year, was at Bijāpūr, in the beginning<sup>3</sup> of the 32nd year conferred on him his father's title and made him diwān of Bijāpūr. When in the end of the 33rd year (June 1690) he left the town of Badrī,<sup>4</sup> which is 17 *kos* north of

<sup>1</sup> At this time the author had been for four or five years out of employ. He was not restored till the following year, 1160. Perhaps he never was formally dismissed.

<sup>2</sup> A proverb. See D'Herbelot s.v. Barmekian. As pointed out by him,

the story is told in the Nigaristan. See Bombay lithograph of 1829, p. 39, *et seq.* <sup>3</sup> Maasir A. 317. 8

<sup>4</sup> This can hardly be the Bīdar of I.G. See Maasir A. 335. Galgala is the Gulgulla of Grant-Duff I. 378, and Tūrgal is the Toorgul of *id.* 186. It

Bijāpūr, and came to Quṭbābād Galgala belonging to Tūrgal, 12 kos north of Bijāpūr and on the Kishna, the Khān was raised from the position of diwān of Bijapur to that of *daftardār-i-tan* in the place of Hājī Shafī Khān. In the 36th year he was made governor<sup>1</sup> of Aurangabad in the room of M'amūr K. and had his rank increased to one of 1500 with 900 horse. In the same year he was summoned to court and given the office of *biyūtātī-i-rikāb* (steward) on the death of Khwāja 'Abdu-r-Rahīm K. At this time he was again appointed governor of the fort of Aurangabad. At last he was made *matṣadī* of the port of Surat. He managed matters there to the profit of the king and the comfort of the subjects, and got promotion. In the 43rd year, 1111, 1699-1700, he died.<sup>2</sup> He is buried outside that town near the city-wall. He had four sons. The first was Mir Ḥasan who married the daughter of Muḥammad Murād K. Uzbek. He is the father of the writer's mother. He died of plague in Galgala in the prime of his youth. Their son was Kamālu-d-dīn 'Alī K. who is beloved by his cotemporaries for his praiseworthy character and right-thinking. At the time of writing he manages the estates of Aurangabad which are the fief of Āṣaf Jāh. The second, Mir Saiyid Muḥammad Irādātmand K., is the son-in-law of his uncle Dīānat K. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Qādir. In the time of Aurangzeb he was appointed to the *biyūtātī* of Aurangabad and in the time of Bahādūr Shah was made diwān of Burhanpur. The third is Mīr Saiyid Aḥmad Niyāzmand K. He was for a long time diwān of Berar and in the beginning of the present reign (Muḥammad Shah's) went to Bengal. Ja'afar K. (Murshid Qulī) the Nāẓim there out of love for his father welcomed him and made him superintendent of the fleet, which is the highest post in that province, and obtained for him from the court the title of Amānat K. and an increase of rank. After the death of Ja'afar K. he was made *faujdār* of the estates in that province, and in the year 1157, 1744, he died. The fourth was Mīr Muḥammad Taqī<sup>3</sup> K. who is

is the Toragal of the maps. See Mr. Irvine's article in Numismatic Supplement VII of A.S.B. for 1907, p. 57. It is 36 m. S. Galgala and is on the Malprabha river, a tributary of the Kistna.

<sup>1</sup> *id.* 347.    <sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 412.

<sup>3</sup> See Khāfi Khān II. 666-68. The name is there, p. 688, given as Muḥammad Naqī. The capture of Burhān-dūr and the death of Mīr Aḥmad the governor took place in the reign of

married to the writer's full aunt. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was made *bakhshī* of Burhānpūr. In the catastrophe of Mīr Aḥmad K. the governor there who was killed in battle with the Mahrattas many of the *maṭṣadīs* (clerks) were made prisoners. Every one of them sought to get deliverance from their clutches by craft and deceit. He from simplicity showed himself as in good circumstances and paid a large ransom. He did not approve of minimising his position. All his descendants are alive.

### (RĀO) AMAR SINGH.

Eldest son of Rajah Gaj Singh Rāthor. He began with a suitable office, and in the 2nd year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 2000 with 1300 horse. In the 8th year his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the present of a flag and an elephant. In the same year he was appointed, along with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. When the fort of Dhāmūnī was taken, and Khān Daurān went inside, and Amar Singh and other leaders were outside, and waiting for the morning and the looters had entered and were occupied in looking for plunder, the ashes of a torch fell into the powder magazine under the fort, and the bastion was blown up. The pieces of stone mostly fell outside, and killed several of his companions. After returning from there he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2500 horse.

When in the 9th year the king went in person to the Deccan to put down the disturbance of Sāhū Bhonsla,—who, in spite of the Nizāmu-l-mulk's being imprisoned in Gwalior, had raised up a boy from among the Nizām's relatives and was making a commotion,—and after crossing the Narbudda established his camp near the fort of Daulatabad, he made three of his officers leaders (of armies) and sent them off, and he deputed Amar Singh to accompany Khān Daurān Bahādur. In the 10th year he came to

Shah 'Ālam (Bahādur Shah) in the year 1161, 1748. Khāfī K. tells how one officer Sharafu-d-dīn, the Biyūtāt (the Registrar or perhaps the Surveyor) of the city, passed himself off as a musician and so escaped for a ransom of Rs. 1,200. Muḥammad Naqī,

according to Khāfī K., who was a relative, was too honest or too dignified to do this, and so admitted his official rank and had to pay Rs. 30,000. Khāfī K. calls him *bakhshī* and reporter (*wūḡa'nigār*) of the city of Burhānpūr.

court with Khān Daurān, and in the 11th year when 'Alī Mardān K. made over the fort of Qandahar to the imperial servants, and there was a probability that Shah Šafi would come in person to that neighbourhood, Sultan Shujā' was sent off there with a large force, and Amar Singh received a *khilat*, a horse with a silvern saddle, and a drum, and was made one of his companions. Afterwards, when his father died in that year, and the Rāj and the succession went to his younger brother Jeswant Singh for reasons which have been stated at the end of the notice <sup>1</sup> of Rajah Gaj Singh, he received an increase of 500 horse and the title of Rāo, and his rank became 3000 with 3000 horse. When in the 14th year Sultan Murād Bakhsh was sent to Kabul for the second time, he was appointed to accompany him. After an order came for chastising Rajah Jagat Singh the son of Rajah Bāsū who had become rebellious, he went off with the prince, and in the 15th year, when the Rajah in question had surrendered, and the prince waited upon his father, Amar Singh was also gratified by a reception. In the same year, when a movement of the king of Persia towards Qandahar became known, and Sultan Dārā Shikoh was sent in that direction, he had an increase of 1000 and held the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and was appointed to accompany the prince. As it then happened by Divine decree that the king of Persia died, the prince received orders to return, and Amar Singh came back and did homage. In the 17th year in the end of Jamāda-al-awwal corresponding to 1054, 25 July <sup>2</sup> 1644, as he had been unable for some time to present himself on account of illness, he on convalescence came to the darbār. After doing obeisance he suddenly drew his dagger and killed Šalābat K. Bakhshī, as detailed in the account of the latter. On this catastrophe Khalīl <sup>3</sup> Ullah K. and Arjan the son of Rajah Bethal Dās Gaur fell upon him. He struck Arjan two or three times with his dagger, and

<sup>1</sup> See Maagir II. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch clergyman Baldaeus says the occurrence was on 4 August 1644 in the afternoon, and that Amar Singh was offended because Šalābat asked him why he had not previously paid his respects.

<sup>3</sup> Baldaeus says Gali (Khalil?) K. and the son of Rajah Betal Dās finished him. The king ordered Amar's body to be thrown into the river, and this offended the Rajputs.



Khalil Ullah K. struck Amar Singh with his sword. Arjan also struck him twice with his sword. Meanwhile other men came up and finished him. Though the king made inquiry into the origin of this uproar, nothing appeared except the long use of intoxicants aggravated by the illness of some days. But before this there had been a dispute<sup>1</sup> about boundaries between his men—who were in his fief of Nāgor—and the men of Rāo Karn the son of Rāo Sūr Bhūrīha<sup>2</sup> the jagirdār of Bikānir—who had been appointed to the Deccan campaign—and his (Amar Singh's) business men had been killed. Amar Singh had written to his men to collect a force and to attack Karp's troopers, and Karn learning this had written to Śalābat K. and asked for an Amīn (to settle the boundary). Accordingly Śalābat K. had reported the matter, and an Amīn had been appointed. Perhaps, Amar Singh had looked upon this as siding with Karn and so committed the outrage.

After this occurrence, Mīr Khān Mīr Tūzak, and Mulak Chand the accountant of the daulātkhānakhāṣ, brought the body of Amar Singh, in accordance with orders, outside the vestibule (*dāhlīz*) of the *khilwātkhāna* (private chamber) and sent for his men, in order that they might take it to his house. Fifteen of his servants heard of the affair and laid hands on their swords and daggers; Mulak Chand was killed, and Mīr Khān was wounded and died on the following night. Meanwhile the Ahādīs and others came out and sent that rabble to hell. Six of the mace-bearers were killed and six were wounded. Not contented with this, a number of Amar Singh's servants resolved that they would go to Arjan's house and kill him. Balūn Rāthor and Bhāo Singh Rāthor, who at first had been servants of Amar Singh and his father and afterwards had become servants of the king, shared in this enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

When this was reported to the king, he forgave the crew for

<sup>1</sup> Pādīshāhnāma II. 382.

<sup>2</sup> See account of Rāo Karn Bhūrīha II. 287.

<sup>3</sup> The story is told at length in the Pādīshāhnāma II. 380 *et seq.* See also Tod's Rajasthan, Chapter V, Annals of Marwar. Tod tells the

story of Amar Singh, whom he calls Umra, being disinherited by his father, and also gives details of his outrage and death. Tod and the Pādīshāhnāma have Buloo or Balui instead of Balūn as in text.

their ignorance and ordered men to go and explain to them that if they wished, they could go to their homes with their families and goods. Why should they ruin their house and honour? After the extent of their obstinacy was perceived, an order was given to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha and the men of the *jīlau* (bodyguard) and to Rashīd K. Anṣārī—whose turn it was to be on guard—to go and kill them. They opposed and fought as long as there was breath in their bodies, and then were slain. Among the king's men, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-rasūl Bārha—who was a brave man—and Saiyid Ghulām Muḥammad, son of Muḥīu-d-dīn his brother, and five of his relatives were slain. Amar Singh's son Rai Singh came and did homage in the 18th year and received the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 19th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh in the affair of Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year he held the office of 1500 with 800 horse and accompanied Sultan Aurangzeb on the second occasion to Qandahar. In the 26th year he accompanied Dārā Shikoh, and in the 28th year he was appointed, along with S'aad Ullāh K., to raze Chitor. In the 30th year he received an increase of 200 horse.

When the sovereignty came to Aurangzeb and the victorious army had reached Mathura, Rai Singh did homage and went with Khalīl Ullāh in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. In the battle with Sultan Shujā' he was in attendance on the king. After the return to Ajmere he, in order to spite Maharaja Jeswant Singh, received the title of Rajah and a robe of honour, an elephant and a female elephant, an adorned sword, a drum, and one lac of rupees, and received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and was made head of the Rāthor clan, and ruler of Jodhpūr. He was in the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards he was appointed to the campaign of the Deccan and did good service along with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh in attacking Sīva Bhonsla's lands and in devastating the country of the 'Adil Khan. In the 16th year, when Khān-Jahān Bahādūr Kokaltāsh was made viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed to his vanguard. In the 18th year, in the act of preparing for battle with 'Abdu-l-Karīm Miyāna—who had drawn up his forces,—he fell ill and died. Rāorāsapūra outside the city of Aurangabad was

established by him. After him, his son Indra Singh received a suitable *manṣab* and became the leader of his native country; in the 22nd year, on the death of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, he received <sup>1</sup> the title of Rajah, a robe of honour, a decorated sword, a horse with golden trappings, an elephant, a flag, a *togh* and drum. In the 24th year he went with Sultan M'uazzam in pursuit of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar. Afterwards, he was for a long time appointed to serve under Firūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. After Aurangzeb's death he went to A'zim Shah and was made an officer of 5000. Along with Zūlfiqār K. he was appointed to meet Sultan Bīdar Bakht who had, in accordance with an indication from his father, come to Ujjain but had no army with him. Indra Singh however turned aside on the road and went home. Har Nāth Singh one of his grandchildren had come before this to the Deccan and received an estate in the province of Bihar in fief. He died in 1190, 1776. Indra Singh's great-grandson Mān Singh was a long time in the Deccan, and was going home when he was killed on the road by the Bhils.

#### AMIN K. DECCANI.

Son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām. In the battle fought by Muḥammad A'zim Shah he and his half-brother Farīd were the advanced guard (*muqaddama-ul-jaish*), and his full brothers Khān 'Ālam and Manawar were in the vanguard (*harāwal*). He showed much valour and such as befitted his name and race. As some days of his life remained, he escaped without injury. They say that when Khān 'Ālam and Manawar K. rushed against 'Azīmu-sh-shān they fell upon that prince's left, drove off the men in front of them and came to the rear. When they looked towards their own left, the prince's <sup>2</sup> howdah came into view. They turned

<sup>1</sup> The bestowal of the title of Rajah on Indra Singh and his receiving the rank of 3000 zāt with 2000 horse, of which 300 were dūāpa, are recorded in the Akhbārs presented to the R.A.S. by Colonel Tod in 1828. He is called in the Akhbār the Zamindar of Nagaur.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfī K. II. 588 and Siyar M. I., p. 7. The prince meant is Bahādur Shah's son 'Azīmu-sh-shān—afterwards drowned in the Rāvi. The word for howdah is *bangala*, and it appears from Khāfī K. II. 98 that this was the name of a kind of howdah which Aurangzeb had invent-

round and with thirty troopers flew like moths (round a candle) in that direction. Bahādur Shah after the victory had consideration upon Amīn K., and though he had been on the opposite side, he, on account of his being the survivor of a brave family, encompassed him with favours. Afterwards he made him faujdār of Serā,<sup>1</sup> which is an expression for the Carnatic of Bijāpūr. It is a wide and rich territory. As contiguous to that Sarkār was the territory of various zamindars, each of these paid tribute in accordance with his possessions. Among them was the Mysorian, the ruler of Srīrangpatan (Seringapatam), whose revenue is more than four krors of rupees. There is no other zamindari in the Deccan which is equal to it for its equipments, extent of territory and abundance of treasure, or rather there is none which comes up to one-hundredth part thereof. It was subjected to a fixed tribute. The faujdār of Serā used to collect more or less revenue according to his strength, and, in the course of demanding an increase, things ended in a campaign. Accordingly it happened in the time of the Khān (Amīn) that a large force was appointed under the command of the Dalawā, which is the same thing as Commander-in-Chief. After a fight, and manful struggles on both sides, the Khān's men fled on account of the superior numbers of the enemy. He himself with 300 brave men stood firm, and was near losing his life. Suddenly, an arrow (or a bullet), from his hand killed the leader on the other side, and defeat became victory. His authority was established. Men of every quarter felt awe (*hiṣāb bardāshband*) of him, and those who lived at a distance recognized his power and supremacy. Afterwards the faujdārī of Karnūl was conferred on him, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar, Haidar Qulī K. the chief Diwan of the Deccan procured for him the subāhdārī of Berar. His Naib had taken possession and he was still in.<sup>2</sup> Bālkanda, which was his old estate, when news came of the approach of the Amīru-l-Umarā Husain 'Alī K. Out of shortsightedness and arro-

ed. The battle referred to in the text is that of Jajau near Agra, which was fought 8th June, 1707, between Bahādur Shah and Azīm Shah. The latter was defeated and slain along with his two sons.

<sup>1</sup> Serā or Chera, an old name for the southern part of the Madras Presidency. See Chera in I.G. X, 192.

<sup>2</sup> E. Nānder and S. Godavery.

gance, the Khān delayed to go and welcome him. After the victory over Dāūd K., the Amīru-l-Umarā sent one of his companions—Asad 'Alī K. Jūlāq, whose grandfather was one of 'Alī Mardān's Turks—to take possession of Berar, but when the Khān submitted, it was restored to him. When 'Iwāz K. Bahādur was appointed from the court to that government, the Khān went off to the administration of Nānder. Owing to greed and injustice and at the instigation of the zamindars of pargana of Bodhan<sup>1</sup> appertaining to Nānder,<sup>2</sup> there arose an unjust quarrel with the fiefholder, who was Māndhata<sup>3</sup> by name, and whose father Kānhoji Sirkiyā<sup>4</sup> was one of the Mahratta panj-hazārīs, and had performed exploits in the time of Aurangzeb. Amīn K. got him into his power by means of agreements and promises, and destroyed him. Subsequently he, owing to the old quarrel, sought to punish Jagpat Īma (?) who had taken possession of Nirmal,<sup>5</sup> and that proprietor, knowing of this, asked assistance from Fath Singh the adopted son of Rajah Sāhū who was the makāsdār<sup>6</sup> of that district. Another circumstance increased the audacity of that wicked person (either Jagpat or Fath Singh). The account of it is as follows: At this time the Mahratta peace had been made, which fixed the stain of a bad name on the Amīru-l-Umarā, which will last till the judgment-day. The agreement was that in the case of those estates where, on account of the strength of their position and the resistance of the landholders, the *chaut* could not be collected, the Amīru-l-Umarā should render assistance. As in the *t'ālūqs* administered by the Khān not one *dām* of the *chaut* had been collected in some places, even in the time of the height of the robbers' (the Mahrattas) success, the Khān in spite of the letters of the Amīru-l-Umarā would not lend himself to the disgrace<sup>7</sup> and altogether neglected to collect

<sup>1</sup> In Sarkār Telingāna, Jarrett II. 237. I.G. VIII. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Nānder is in the Nizām's Dominions, on the Godavery and N. of Haidarabad.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly this is the name of a place, and the Manhat of Grant-Duff's map.

<sup>4</sup> The Sirkay family of Grant-Duff, I. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett II. 237. Neermal of Grant-Duff's map. E. Nānder.

<sup>6</sup> See Grant-Duff I. 80, 220. It was the title of a revenue officer.

<sup>7</sup> Khāfi K. II. 789.

the *chaut*. The province was taken from him and given to Mirzā 'Alī Yūsuf K. who was one of the brave men of the time. The Khān—whose authority had been diminished by the report that he had been superseded—went off to Bālkanda on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. All at once Fath Singh and Jagpat came against him. He looked to his lineage and glory and did not consider the number of the foe and went to encounter them with a few men. As in this topsy-turvy world, success is twinned with failure, and fortune and misfortune come together, the Khān played away against these worthless fellows his amīrship and his many years of reputation, but at last escaped<sup>1</sup> and came to Bālkanda.<sup>2</sup> After that, Saiyid 'Ālam 'Alī K. Bahādur, when he was master of the Deccan, restored him to his province of Nānder, and appointed him to the command of the right wing in the battle that he had with Nawāb Fath Jang (Āsāf Jāh). The worthless fellow acted in an unsoldierlike manner and did not put his hand to the work and became a mere spectator, and drew the line of erasure over the deeds of his ancestors. Though after the victory Fath Jang sent him back to his *t'ālūqs*, his position in hearts was lost and his reputation was gone. At the same time, as 'Iwaz K. Bahādur was, on account of his rapacity (*shaltāq*), averse to his returning to Berar, he procured his being set aside, and Mutahawar K. Bahādur Khweshgī's being appointed in his room. As soon as he heard of this he went to Nawāb Fath Jang—who had then gone towards Adonī,—but received no encouragement. He returned and settled at the town of Parbanī,<sup>3</sup> which was an estate in his fief and is twelve *kos* from Pāthri. In the *mashrūt* (i.e. assigned) *maḥals* of Nānder he offered opposition to the collector. Although the Khān aforesaid tried to amend him yet he did not emerge from his ignorance and folly. At last he was arrested by him and remained in prison for a long time. When his son Muqarrib K.—in whose biography<sup>4</sup> there has been mention made of these things—was promoted to service, he was by his

<sup>1</sup> Khān K. II. 790. He was wounded and made prisoner.

<sup>2</sup> Bālkanda of Grant-Duff's map, E. Nānder and S. Godavari.

<sup>3</sup> In Sarkār Pāthri. Jarrett II. 236. The Parbhani of I.G. XIX, 410.

<sup>4</sup> See Maasir III. 796.

intercession released, and villages yielding Rs. 50,000 were settled upon him out of Balkanda for his expenses, and he spent a long time in the charge<sup>1</sup> of his son. As he felt distressed by his control, he in the 8th year of Muḥammad Shah came to Aurangabad and sought the help of 'Iwaz K. Bahādur and entertained hopes of recovering his rents and jagir. At this time Āṣaf Jāh came from Upper India, and the battle with Mubārīz K. took place. From the necessity of the time he got fresh encouragement and bound the girdle of companionship on the waist of endeavour, and after remaining in the city (Aurangabad) for some time, making preparations, he came out. When from reverses and a succession of errors his senses and intellect had left him and he had become debased, he vainly thought of turning over a new leaf and by marching in the evening and the night joined Mubārīz K. (in Haidarabad), who had secretly<sup>2</sup> shaken the chain of promises and agreements. On the day of battle, without his having achieved anything, the figure of his life was, by the water of the enemies' sword, obliterated from the page of Time. This happened<sup>3</sup> in the year 1137, 1724.

#### AMĪNU-D-DAULA AMĪNU-D-DĪN KHĀN BAHĀDUR SAMBALĪ.

He was one of the *shāikhzādas* of Sambhal which lies N. E. the capital. His lineage went back to Tamīm \* Anṣārī. He began his service under Jahāndār Shah, and in the time of Farrukh Siyar he was made one of the *yesūwals* (state-attendants). In the time of Firdūs Arāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) he was promoted and made Mīr Tūzuk (master of the ceremonies). Gradually he rose to having the rank of 4000, and 6000 with 6000 horse, and had the title of

<sup>1</sup> The text has *dastnigar* which means "needy." Probably we should read *dastgīr*, or else *dastnigāh*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably this rather refers to the hopes held out to Mubārīz by Muḥammad Shāh.

<sup>3</sup> In the biography of the son Muqarrīb K., Maasir III. 796, it is

mentioned that the father and son fought on opposite sides, and that the son had his father's head cut off. The battle in which Amīn K. Deccanī was killed occurred in the beginning of 1137, 10 October, 1724. Mubārīz K. was killed in the same battle.

<sup>4</sup> See D'Herbelot s.v.

Amīnu-d-daula, and the gift of the estate of Sambhal with fully <sup>1</sup> three lacs of rupees of revenue. He was a devoted gourmand (*yār-bāshī*) and a voluptuary. In the same reign, after the departure of Nādir Shah from India, he died. He made many houses, gardens and *serais* in his native country. Among his sons, Amīnu-d-dīn K. and Irshād K. were distinguished.<sup>2</sup>

(MUHAMMAD) AMĪN KHĀN MĪR MUHAMMAD AMĪN.

S. Mu'azzam K. Mīr Jumla Ardistanī. When the oppression of his father by Quṭb Shah the ruler of Telang was stopped by the exertions of Prince Aurāngzeb, he was released from prison and went to wait upon Sultan Muḥammad who had been sent on in advance to that country. He met Sultan Muḥammad twelve *kos* from Haidarabad and was relieved of his fears. In the 30th year of Shah Jahan he, along with his father, entered the imperial service. When he came to Burhānpūr he, on account of the rain and of illness, fell somewhat behind. Afterwards he came to court and received a robe of honour and the title of Khān. In the same year Mū'azzam (Mīr Jumla) K. obtained leave to attend upon Prince Aurangzeb and to attack and devastate the country of 'Adil Shah. He performed this duty well and Muḥammad Amīn had the increase of 1000 personality, and his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse and he was ordered to act as deputy-Vizier till the arrival of his father. When in the 31st year Mū'azzam K., on account of certain things which were disapproved of, was deprived of the diwanship, Muḥammad K. also was inhibited from office. But as his rectitude and ability had been impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, he had an increase of 500 horse, and the gift of a decorated pen-case and was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Dānishmand K. (Bernier's patron) who resigned his appointment.

When Prince Aurangzeb arrested Mū'azzam K., who according to an order was going to court with his troops, and would on

<sup>1</sup> *ba kāmāl*, which I suppose means this. There is the variant *bakābul*.

<sup>2</sup> This biography is signed Q. The *Taḥkira-ul-Umarā* of Kewal Rām says

that Amīnu-d-daulah died in the 19th year of Muḥammad Shah's reign (1739).



no account put off his journey, and kept him under surveillance in the Deccan, Dārā Shikoh, on hearing of this, was convinced that the thing was done in collusion between the Khān and Aurangzeb and impressed this view on Shah Jahan. Muḥammad Amīn was suspected without cause, and Dārā having got permission to arrest him had him brought from his house and imprisoned. After three or four days the king was convinced of his innocence and released him from the confinement in which Dārā had placed him. After Dārā's defeat, Muḥammad Amīn, on the second day after the standards of victory had been unfurled, and when the hunting-box of Samogarha on the bank of the Jumna had been brightened by Aurangzeb's presence, hastened to pay his respects. He was graciously received, and obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the same month he was confirmed in the post of Mīr Bakhshī. When in the battle with Shujā', Rajah Jeswant Singh behaved treacherously and withdrew from Aurangzeb's army and went rapidly home, with the intention of joining Dārā, Muḥammad Amīn, after the battle and the return from there, was sent with a well-equipped army to punish Jeswant. But as Dārā—who was marching from Ahmadabad to Ajmere—had approached, Muḥammad Amīn turned back near Puhkar (Pūshkar) and joined the king's army. In the 2nd year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse, and in the 5th year he had an increase of 1000 horse.

When in the beginning of the 6th year Mīr Jumla died in Bengal, Prince Muḥammad Mū'azzam visited Muḥammad Amīn and administered consolations, and brought him with him to the king. A robe of honour was bestowed upon him. In the 10th year the Yūsufzai tribe again assembled at Ohand—which is the mouth of the hill-country—and made a disturbance, and Muḥammad Amīn was sent with a suitable force to chastise them. Though before the arrival of the Khān, Shamsher<sup>1</sup> K. Tarīn had defeated and punished the tribe, yet the Khān also entered their territory and devastated their country and then returned in accordance with the king's orders. Thereupon he was appointed governor of Lahore in succession to Ibrāhīm K. In the 13th year he was made governor

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<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 61 and 'Ālamgirnāma 1045, 1053, etc.

of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. (the 2nd), and in the same year Ja'afar K. the Grand Vizier died, and Asad K. carried on some of the business as deputy. The king considered that only a first-rate officer could carry on the duties, and so summoned Muḥammad Amīn to court. In the 14th year he came and was received with princely favours. But though he was famed for his business capacity and his ripe judgment, yet he had some defects and he accepted the Viziership on certain conditions which were altogether opposed to the king's disposition, and annoyed him by some of his objections and representations.

As Fate had decreed that an evil day should come to him he obtained leave to go and make the settlement of Kabul. He received royal gifts, and among them was the elephant 'Ālam<sup>1</sup> Gumān with silver trappings. Inasmuch as the dyes<sup>2</sup> of arrogance produce nothing but yellowness to the face, and the wind of the moustache of conceit only casts the dust of failure on one's fortune, and presumption causes joy to the enemy, and ends in failure, and haughtiness leads to contempt and a bad ending, the Khān in his self-will took all the materials of grandeur and magnificence with him, and thought to march from Peshawar to the capital of Afghanistan and to root out the turbulent Afghans.

In the 15th year, on 3<sup>d</sup> Muḥarram 1083, 21 April 1672, before he had traversed the Khyber, though news had come that the Afghans on hearing of his design had closed the roads and were numerous as ants and locusts, he in his arrogance made no account of them and went on. During the march, from want of care and from treachery, there occurred what happened in Akbar's time to Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul-fath and Rajah Birbal. The Afghans attacked on all sides and shot arrows and threw stones. The troops got confused, and the men, the horses and the elephants fell upon one another. Some thousands fell from the

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the Tūzūk Jehān-gīrī.

<sup>2</sup> *baqamhāi gharūr*. Baqam is Brazil-wood, and the dye produced from it. It also appears to be a name for the datura-plant; for *bād i-barūt*, see Bahār 'Ajam and Vullers, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine, Manucci II, 200, note, gives on the authority of the T. Muḥammadi, 7 Muḥarram = May 6, 1672 N.S., as the date. It is also stated there that the son-in-law was killed on this occasion.

heights into abysses and were killed. Muḥammad Amīn in his pride wished to sacrifice<sup>1</sup> his life, but his servants seized his rein and led him away. Not thinking of his honour he hastened back in a miserable condition to Peshawar. 'Abdullah K. his worthy son was killed in that imbroglio. The baggage was plundered and many men's wives were made prisoners. The young daughter<sup>2</sup> of Muḥammad Amīn and some of his ladies were released on payment of heavy ransoms.

They say that after this catastrophe the Khān wrote to the king that what fate had decreed had occurred, but that if the task were again committed to him, he would amend matters. The king asked for advice, and Amīr K. (s. Khalil Ullah, *Maasir* I, 277) said that, like a wounded boar, Muḥammad Amīn would fling himself against the enemy whether it were feasible or not. Accordingly, his rank which was 6000 with 5000 horse was reduced by 1000 *zāt* and he was sent to be governor of Gujarat. And an order was given that he should go there without presenting himself at court. He served there for a long time, and in the 23rd year when Aurangzeb was at Ajmere, he was sent for and did homage. He accompanied the Rānā to Udaipūr, and after receiving royal favours took leave at Chitor. In the 25th year on 8 Jumāda-al-akhīrī 1093, 4 June 1682, he died in Aḥmadabad. Seventy<sup>3</sup> lacs of rupees, and one lac and 35,000 ashrafis and *ibrā-hīmīs*, and 76 elephants and other properties were confiscated. He had (i.e. he left) no son. Saiyid Muḥammad was his sister's son, and his son-in-law was Saiyid Sultan Karbalai, who was a leading Saiyid of that holy place. He at first had come to Haidarabad. The ruler there, 'Abdullah Quṭb Shah, chose him for his son-in-law. It happened that on the day the marriage was to take place, Mir Aḥmad 'Arab, who was the elder son-in-law and had the management of affairs, and was the intermediary on this occasion, had words with the Saiyid, and this went so far that

<sup>1</sup> *Maasir* A., 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfi* K. II, 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Maasir* A., 226, where it is said there were also 432 horses. Manucci has a good deal to say about Muḥammad Amīn and speaks of his great

wealth. See vol. II, 196, *et seq.* I do not know the value of the *ibrā-hīmī*. Presumably it was a Deccanī coin. The *Maasir* A., 219, gives 20 instead of 8 Jumāda the 2nd as the date of death.

that hapless Saiyid set fire to the furniture (preparations) and came away.

Though Muḥammad Amīn was proud and self-conceited, yet he was one of the unique <sup>1</sup> of the age for honesty and truth. He strove after right-thinking. He had a powerful memory. In the end of his life, at the time when he was governor of Gujarat, he in a very short time became a Ḥāfiẓ of the holy volume. Consequently Aurangzeb called him Muḥammad Amīn K. Ḥāfiẓ. He was a bigoted Imāmiya. He did not admit Hindus to his privacy. If any of the great Rajahs, who could not be denied, came to see him, he afterwards had the house washed and the carpets removed, and changed his clothes.

### (SAIYID) AMĪR K. KHAẒAFĪ.

His name was Saiyid Mīr and he was the younger brother of Shaikh Mīr. When Aurangzeb after the first battle with Dārā Shikoh proceeded from Agra to Delhi and on the way arrested Murād Bakhsh, who had shown signs of presumption, and sent him to the fort of Delhi, he made Amīr K. governor of the fort and presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, and gave him the title of Amīr K., a sum of Rs. 7000, and made his rank 2000 with 500 horse. In the first year of the reign he conveyed Murād Bakhsh to the fort of Gwalior and then joined the royal army. When in the battle near Ajmere Shaikh Mīr fell in the king's service, Amīr K. obtained the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the 3rd year he was appointed, with a suitable force, to chastise Rāo Karn, zamindar of Bikānīr, who in Shah Jahan's time belonged to the Deccan contingent, and had at the time of the contest between Aurangzeb and Dārā Shikoh left the Deccan without orders and gone to his native country. When he arrived at the borders of Bikānīr he brought Rāo Karn, who had respectfully appeared before him, to court. In the 4th year he was appointed to the charge of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and received a robe of honour, a special sword and

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<sup>1</sup> Maasir A., 219.

dagger set with pearls, a Persian horse, a special elephant and had the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, of which 1000 were two-horse and three-horse. In the 6th year after the return of the royal retinue from Kashmīr to Lahore he was summoned to court, and then after some time was allowed to go to his estates. In the 8th year he, the second time, came unattended to court and was received with favour, and then returned to Kabul. In the 11th year he was removed from there and came to court. As he had resigned his office, he took up his residence in the capital. In the 13th year corresponding to 1080, 1669-70, he died.<sup>1</sup> As he was without sons, his brother Shaiḫ Mīr Khawāfi's sons were given mourning dresses.

#### AMĪR KHĀN MĪR MĪRĀN.

Son of Khalīl Ullah K. of Yezd. His mother Ḥamīda Bānū Begam was the daughter of Saif K. and the daughter's daughter of Yemenu-d-daula Aṣaf K. In the 29th year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 100 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and was made Mīr Tūzuk. In the 31st year when Khalīl Ullah K. became governor of Delhi, he obtained the title of Mīr Khān and was appointed to accompany his father. In the reign of Aurangzeb he, after his father's death, obtained an increase of rank and was made faujdār of the hill-country (Kohistan) of Jamū. In the 10th<sup>2</sup> year he was appointed to accompany Muḥammad Amīn K. Mīr Bakhshī on his expedition to chastise the insolent Yūsufzai. The general sent him with a force to the neighbourhood of Shahbāzgarha, which is near Langarkot, and he plundered the villages of the Yūsufzai, and then he came to the plain<sup>3</sup> (jaḏāi) of (inside of) Koh Kara Mār, and set fire to some other villages. He returned to camp with much cattle. In the 12th year he was appointed, in place of Ḥasan 'Alī K., to be

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Amīr Khwāfi is the author of the history of 5 years of Aurangzeb's reign described in Rieu I. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Ālamgīrnāma 1045, 1057, etc., Maasir A. 61.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is taken from Ālamgīrnāma 1059. The Koh Kara Mār seems to be the Black Mountain of the expedition of 1668 and to be near Abbotabad.

*darogha* of the *mansabdars*. In the same year, on the death of Iahverdi K. 'Ālamgīrī, he was made governor of Allahabad, and received a *mansab* of 4000 with 3000 horse, consisting of two-horse troopers. In the 14th year he was removed from his appointment and brought to court, and for some reason he was for some days deprived of office. In the same year he was restored and was treated with favour. When in the 17th year he was nominated to the *faujdārī* of Īrij<sup>1</sup> he refused the appointment and in consequence was deprived of his rank and went into retirement. In the 18th year (Maasir A. 139) he again was received into favour and obtained the title of Amīr Khān and an increase of rank. He received<sup>2</sup> charge of the government of Bihar. There he exerted himself in chastising 'Ālam, Ism'a'il and other Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Kānt Golah, and seized them when they had taken refuge in a fort. In the 19th year he came to court and joined the expedition of Shah 'Ālam Bahādur to Kabul.

From a long time this country had been a house of turmoil from its occupation by Afghan tribes. Especially was it so in the time of Akbar. On every opportunity it rose into rebellion. The royal armies, in order to root out these sedition-mongers repeatedly trod the land under their horses' hoofs. When it had been filled with revenge and slaughter, though many retired into obscurity, yet the sparks were not entirely extinguished, and the old state<sup>3</sup> of things revived. Sa'id K. Bahādur Zafar Jang rooted out most of the thorns, and afterwards the army of Shah Jahan arrived at Kabul the capital and there was coming and going of the armies which marched to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and which also

<sup>1</sup> In the province of Agra, Jarrett II, 187, Maasir A. 132. From his opinions being asked in the 15th year about Mīr Jumla's son Muḥammad Amīn, it would seem that he was then in favour. See Maasir U. III, 519.

<sup>2</sup> Kānt Golah and Shāhjahānpur were not in Bihar but in Rohilkand. Amīr K.'s report about these is mentioned at p. 146 of Maasir A., and his coming from Bihar is mentioned later, p. 148. For Kānt Golah and Shah-

jahanpur see Elliot Supp. Glossary II, 167. Perhaps, however, the Afghans had fled from Rohilkand to Bihar and Bengal, and been there seized by Amīr K., for it is mentioned that he sent them in with Ibrāhīm K. who was coming from Bengal to court.

<sup>3</sup> *Maham kahna lang*, see Vullers II, 923a, for explanation of term *kahn lang*, "res quae e loco suo exire vel moveri non potest."

passed by this road for the Qandahar expedition. On these occasions the most of the Afghans abandoned their disturbances and placed the foot of respect under the skirt of obedience. Many of the presumptuous who lived in their own land and did not submit their necks to the yoke of tribute became submissive.<sup>1</sup> In short the affairs of that country took a proper shape and there was ostensible peace. Afterwards when there was the rule of Aurangzeb, and the governors became slothful and fond of their ease, the Afghans again grew haughty and presumptuous, and became like a wasp's nest. They were numerous as ants or locusts and swooped upon the land like crows and kites, for the imperial armies submitted to be plundered by those evil-doers, and the high officers when confronted with them simply allowed themselves to be robbed and killed, and made no opposition. At last the royal standards reached Hasan Abdāl, and there was much planning. The thread<sup>2</sup> of their dissensions could not be extracted. After returning to Lahore, Prince Muḥammad, styled Shah 'Ālam Bahādur, was chosen for the work. The Prince either by his own right understanding, or from secret knowledge such as often inspires the fortunate, perceived that the settlement of this distracted country was implicated in the governorship of Amīr K., and wrote to court to this effect. The Khān in the 20th year 1088,<sup>3</sup> 1677, on 4 Muḥarram, 21st February, was made governor of the province in place of 'Āzīm K. Koka. Aghar (Aghuz ?) K. was in the vanguard, and a beginning was made by chastising the Afghans of Peshawar. Thereafter the army proceeded into the Lamghānāt. Aghar (or Aghuz) K. in that neighbourhood showed great activity in slaying Afghans and engaged in a close conflict with Īmal<sup>4</sup> K. who had taken the title of Shah and struck coins in his own name in the hills. He showed his courage by standing firm, when his men took to flight. He was nearly being killed, when some of his well-wishers, showed devotion and seized his rein and brought him

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "drew back their feet from their limit," that is, kept themselves within bounds.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a metaphor taken from

the process of extracting the worm that produces the Delhi sore.

<sup>3</sup> Text 1008, but evidently it should be 1088.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. II, 233, 243, etc.

out from that dangerous place. Amīr K., after showing the strength of his army, by degrees practised such soothing and kindness towards those strangers to the kingdom of civility that the heads of the tribes gave up their savagery and wildness and visited him without any apprehensions. They settled accounts, and during his government of two and twenty years he never met with any disaster, nor submitted to any humiliation nor did any evil act. On 27 Shawāl of the 42nd year 1109, 27th April 1698, he bade the world adieu. He was attached to the Imāmiya (Shia) religion, and sent much money to the learned and pious men of Persia. He was buried in the capital in his father's tomb. He was an officer full of wisdom and sagacity. It would be good if the secretaries of the age and learned thinkers could take sketches of plans, wholesale or in part, from the margin of his heart. His ingenuity of thought removed the wickedness of strife from the kingdom's conscience, and his index-finger detected the pulse of the age and grasped the vein<sup>1</sup> which puts sedition to sleep. His effective hands made the hands of oppressors surrender, and his active feet tripped up the feet of robbery. He cast down the foundation of force. He stripped off the wings of tyranny. A lofty fortune is a great possession! Whatever nursling he planted in the garden of his thoughts became a fruit-bearing tree. Nothing appeared on the tablet of his projects but what was successful. Nor did anything appear on the page of his hopes which did not take the form of fulfilment. He so drew by the noose of kindness the Afghan leaders—who held their necks and heads higher than the heavens—that they became obedient, and he so captured by sincerity and friendship those savages that they voluntarily bound themselves to the saddle-straps of obedience. By the magic of his right-thinking, the leaders of that tribe spread out the carpet of mutual dissension and fell upon one another. Stranger still, every one of them sought to improve his affairs by taking the advice of Amīr K.

They say that at one time there were few of the Arghan tribes which did not rally round Īmal Khān. Every one in the

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<sup>1</sup> *rag-i-khwāb-i-fitna*. See Vullers II, 49a, for this phrase.



hill country took some days' provisions and presented themselves. There was tumult and there was a great assemblage. It was impossible for the army of the subāhdār of Kabul to cope with this. Amīr Khān was troubled and got 'Abdullah K. Khweshgī, who was a leading man among the *mansabdārs* and auxiliaries, and was famed for his dexterity and craft, to write a false letter to the chief of every tribe to this effect: "We for a long time were waiting for some hidden good, and that the sovereignty might be transferred to the Afghans. God be praised that our old hope has been realized. But we are unacquainted with the disposition of the person who has been raised to the throne. Write to us if he be fit for empire; then we too shall approach him, for service with the Moghuls is a profitless thing." In reply they wrote praises of Īmal Khān and urged him to come in. 'Abdullah K. again wrote, "These qualities are excellent, but the finest thing in rule is justice and consideration for the subjects of every class. In order to test him, be good enough to take the trouble to enquire how he will divide the territory among the tribes if it come into his possession. If he be timid or partial, it will at once become evident." The heads of the tribes acted upon his counsel and sent a message to Īmal K. He was at a stand-stay as to how he should divide a small country among a great number. On this account there was a schism among them. Many of the ignorant and of the general public went off. He was compelled to make a beginning of a division. As of course he paid attention to his own set and favoured those who were nearer to him, the others raised a dispute. Each of the leaders went off to his own country and wrote letters to 'Abdullah K. forbidding him to join.

Amīr K.'s wife was known as Šāhibjī, and was the daughter of 'Alī Mardān K. Amīru-l-umarā (the famous maker of canals). She was a wonderful lady for her prudence and knowledge of affairs. She took part in political and financial matters and showed excellent sense in the conduct of business. They say that one night news came to Aurangzeb of the death of Amīr K. Immediately he sent for Irshad K., who for a while was diwān of Kabul, and at this time was diwān of the Khālṣa, and said to him that a heavy misfortune had occurred, viz. the death of Amīr

K. A country which was prepared for any amount of tumult and disaffection was left unguarded, and it was to be feared that there would be a rebellion before another governor could arrive. Irshad K. insisted upon it that Amīr K. was alive; who said he was dead? The king put the official report into his hands, and he replied, "I admit it, but the administration of that country is bound up with Šāhibjī. As long as she is alive, there is no probability of a disturbance." Aurangzeb immediately wrote to that able administratrix, and told her to conduct affairs until the arrival of Prince Shah 'Ālam.

They say that as the coming and going of governors in that turbulent country was not devoid of danger, it seemed impossible that the camp of a deceased governor could depart in safety. Šāhibjī so concealed the death of Amīr K. that there was absolutely no rumour of it. She got a person who resembled Amīr K. to sit in an ayinadār<sup>1</sup> palanquin and so make the journey, stage by stage. Every day the soldiers saluted him and took leave. When the cortège emerged from the hill-country, she performed the mourning rites.

They say that till Bahādur Shah arrived, and he was a long time in coming, Šāhibjī made great arrangements for the administration of the country. As most of the chiefs had come to mourn for Amīr K., she kept them honourably near her, and sent messages to the Afghans to the effect that they should act according to their customs and abstain from tumult and highway robbery, and not exceed their position. "Otherwise the ball and the field were ready (metaphor from polo). If I win, my name will remain till the judgment-day." They felt the justice of this, and renewed their oaths and promises, and did not in any way prove disobedient.

It was reported by trustworthy persons that when this chaste

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "mirror-holding." Probably it here means a palanquin or litter provided with glass-doors. See Bernier II, 235, who says that *takht-rawān* or litters were furnished with glass-doors, II, p. 235. As Grant-Duff

points out, there is a difference between a palanquin and a *palki*, III, 79 n. In the *Maasir A.*, p. 354, we have the phrase *pālki āyina* applied to a *palki* sent as a present by Aurangzeb to his second son Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh.

lady was one day in the time of her youth passing along the narrow streets in her litter, a royal elephant, which was the premier one of them all, appeared, in the height of its pride, in front of her. Though the guardians of order wanted to turn him, the driver would not be restrained, for his tribe is never without haughtiness, and the glory of the imperial equipage added to his arrogance. He drove the elephant on, and though men put their hands to their quivers, the elephant put his trunk on the litter, and wanted to twist it and to tread it under foot. The bearers threw the litter on the ground and fled. That lion-hearted woman jumped out on to a money-changer's shop which was opposite the litter, got inside, and shut the door. Amīr K. for some days was moved by Indian jealousy to displeasure, and wanted to separate from her, but Shah Jahan rebuked him and said, "She did a manly act, and saved her honour and yours. If the elephant had twisted her in his trunk and shown her to the world, how would her modesty have remained?"

Amīr K. had no children by Šāhibjī, and as she fully ruled him, he in great secrecy kept mistresses and had many children by them. At last this came to Šāhibjī's knowledge, and she behaved kindly to them and brought them up. Two years after Amīr K.'s death and after she had administered the affairs of Kabul she came to Burhānpūr. As permission had been given to her to go to Mecca she sent off Amīr K.'s sons to court and hastened to the port of Surat. Afterwards, when Amīr K.'s property had been examined, an order was sent that Šāhibjī herself should come to court, but her ship had sailed before the order reached her. As she spent large sums of money at Mecca, the Sharif and others treated her with honour. The eldest son of Amīr K. obtained the title of Mīr Khān and the rank of 1000 with 600 horse, and was married to the daughter of Bahramand K. Mīr Bakhshī. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was appointed as deputy of Aṣāfu-d-daula to the government of Lahore. Another of his sons was M. Jāfar 'Aqīdat K. who in the time of Bahādur Shah was made governor of Patna, and afterwards bakhshī of Prince 'Azīmu-sh-shān. The accounts of M. Ibrāhīm Marḥamat K. and M. Isāḥaq Amīr K.—who were more distinguished than their other

brothers, and both of whom as well as Khadija Begam, the wife of Rāḥ Ullah K. the 2nd, were by one mother—have been written separately. The other sons did not attain so much fame. For instance there were Hādī K. who went to Patna when Marhamat was Naib there, and Saif K., who was *farjūdār* of Purnia, and Asad Ullah K. who on the recommendation of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh was made *bakhshī* of the Deccan.

### AMĪR KHĀN SINDHĪ.

His name was 'Abdu-l-Karīm, and he was the son of Amīr K., son of Amīr Abū-l-qāsim<sup>1</sup> Nimakīn. When his grandfather became attached to Bhakkar in the time of his government he made his tomb there. His father also died in the province of Tatta and was buried beside his father. On this account that country has been the birth-place and educational home of many of the family. Hence the application of the word Sindhī. But they really were Saiyids of Herat, as has been shown in the account of Amīr K.'s ancestors. Also in the biography of Amīr K. deceased it has been stated<sup>2</sup> that he, like his father, had many children. Even at the age of one hundred he did not fail to beget children. Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm was the youngest of all his brothers. As none but the sons of amīrs and *khanazādas* (house-born ones) is reckoned fit for the personal service of kings, and the passage to this is by being a *khwāṣī* (personal attendant), 'Abdu-l-Karīm was at first a *khwāṣī* and afterwards a leader of *khwāṣīs*. As promotion<sup>3</sup> and exaltation were in his horoscope, he in the 26th year, when the city of Aurangabad had acquired the name of *Khujasta Banyād* by the king's advent, was made superintendent of the oratory. Afterwards he had charge of the seven guards<sup>4</sup> (*haft caukī*) along with the care of the oratory. As

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 470.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> See Blochmann 472. His first employment was apparently that of collector of the poll-tax for Burhānpur, Khāfi K. II, 278-79. See also id. 238, where he is called Sharif K. and

spoken of as having collected the poll-tax with great severity.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 257. The guarding of the palace, etc., was apparently arranged by having seven changes of guards. See Maasir A. 240.

the king desired to advance him, he was also appointed superintendent of the *naqqāsh-khāna*.<sup>1</sup> In the end of the 28th year he was found<sup>2</sup> in fault and was removed from the office of superintendent of the oratory (*jānamāzkhāna*). In the 29th year when Prince Shah 'Ālam Bahādur and Khān Jahān defeated the army of Abū-l-ḥasan, the ruler of Telang, and took the city of Haidarabad, Amīr K. was sent<sup>3</sup> (by Aurangzeb) with robes of honour and jewels to the prince and the leading officers. Some other persons of note accompanied him. When they came within four *kos* of Haidarabad, Shaikh Nizām of Haidarabad fell upon them with a body of men. Najābat K. and Aṣālat K.—whom Qulij K. the governor of Zafarabād<sup>4</sup> had given as guides—on account of the old association that they had with the enemy, joined him (Nizām). The jewels, the dresses of honour, and other things, and the merchandise, and the equipments of the men who had accompanied the party as if it were a caravan, were plundered. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Karīm, who fell wounded on the field, was made prisoner and conveyed to Ābu-l-ḥasan. Four days afterwards he was conveyed from Golconda to the prince's camp near Haidarabad by men who then withdrew<sup>5</sup> themselves. Muḥammad Murād K. ḥājib (chamberlain or perhaps here envoy) heard of this and brought him to his house and treated him kindly. When his wounds were healed, he waited upon the prince, and conveyed the verbal messages he had been entrusted with. On taking leave of him he went with Khān Jahān Bahādur who had been summoned to the Presence, and rubbed his forehead on the threshold of sovereignty. During the siege of Golconda, as Sharīf K., the *Krorī* of the camp-treasury, had been appointed to collect the poll-tax of four provinces of the Deccan, Amīr K. was appointed to act as his deputy as treasury-*krorī*. At the same time he was

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 255. "The picture gallery," but probably Aurangzeb did not allow of portrait-painting. The paintings were probably illuminations to books. The author of the Maasir A. states in the same place that Amīr K. was made accountant (*mashraf*) of the same office (*naqqāshkhāna*).

<sup>2</sup> id. 261.

<sup>3</sup> id. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Another name for Bidar, W.N.W. Haidarabad. It probably received the name of Zafarabād because it was taken in one day by Aurangzeb. See Grant-Duff I, 156, and note.

<sup>5</sup> Maasir 'Alamgirī 269.

also appointed superintendent of Fines.<sup>1</sup> In the 33rd year as a reward for his good service as Treasury-*krorī*, whereby he showed plenty and cheapness alongside of the scarcity and dearness in Haidarabad, he received the title of Multafat K. (the provident *Khān*). Afterwards, on the death of *Khwāja Hayāt K.*, he was put in charge of the *abdārkhāna*<sup>2</sup> (stillroom). In the 36th year he was made superintendent of the pages (*darogha-i-khwāṣān*) on the death of Anwar K. the son of Wazīr K. Shahjahānī, and obtained a *manṣab* of 1000 and became envied by his contemporaries for his intimacy and understanding of the disposition (of Aurangzeb). In the 45th year he had the title of *Khānazād K.*, and after that had the title of *Mir* prefixed to that of *Khanazad K.*, and in the 48th year, after the taking of Torna, he obtained the hereditary title of his father—that of *Amīr K.* At that time the king said, “Your father *Mir K.*, when he became *Amīr K.*, gave a lac of rupees as *peshkash* to Shah Jahan for the addition of the letter *alif*, what do you offer?” He replied, “May there be thousands and thousands of life-sacrifices for the holy personality! My life and property are devoted to Your Majesty.” Next day he presented the Koran written by *Yāqūt*.<sup>3</sup> His Majesty said: “You have presented a thing which the world and all that is therein could not equal in value.” After the taking of *Wākin-kera* he got an increase of 500 and had a *manṣab* of 3000. In the end of Aurangzeb’s reign he was his companion, and had no superior in companionship and in the confidence reposed in him. Night and day he was in attendance. In the *Maasir Ālamgīrī* it is stated<sup>4</sup> that at *Devāpūr*, three *kos* from *Wakinkera*, the king was attacked by illness, and this was so severe that he sometimes became delirious. As he had reached the age of 90, men began to

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 131. See *Maasir A.* 304. His business probably was to realize the fines imposed on the inhabitants of *Bijāpūr* and *Golconda*.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann 55.

<sup>3</sup> A famous calligraphist, but *Yāqūt* is also the name of a kind of writing.

<sup>4</sup> 508 *et seq.* Aurangzeb wrote

many letters to *Amīr K. Sindhī*. See *Rieu's Cat. I.* 400b. The *Maasir A.* 507 says, “Three *kos* from *Rahmān-bakhsh Khaira*.” But this was the name given by Aurangzeb to *Wākin-kera* after its capture. See *Khāfi K. II.* 538. *Wākin-kera* is E.S.E. *Bijapur*, and *Devāpūr* was near the *Kistna*.

despair, and the country was nearly being upset by the dread of what might happen.

Amīr K. used to tell<sup>1</sup> how one day at this time when the king was very weak he heard him saying under his breath :—

*Verse.*

When you have reached your 80th and 90th year,  
Many evils have you suffered from Time,  
When after that you attain the 100th stage  
It is death in the form of life.

“ When this fell upon my ear I quickly said, ‘Save Your Majesty, the Shaikh of Ganj (Nizāmī), May God’s mercy be upon him! uttered these lines as a prelude to a couplet, which is this :—

*Verse.*

Then, ’tis better that you remain joyful,  
And that in that joy you remember God.

He said, “Repeat the lines.” I did so several times, and he signed to me to give them him in writing. I wrote them out, and he read them over. The Giver of strength gave him power, and in the morning he came out to the hall of justice. He said, “Your verse has given me perfect health, and conveyed strength to weakness.”

The Khān was endowed with a quick intelligence and an excellent understanding. One day during the siege of Bījāpūr the king was carried in a litter (*takht-rawān*) to see a mound (*damdama*) which had been raised to a level with the battlements, and cannon balls from the fort were passing over the litter, when Amīr K., who was then superintendent of the oratory and had not yet become a person of consequence, made this impromptu line and wrote it on a piece of paper with a lead-pencil<sup>2</sup> (*qalm-i-*

<sup>1</sup> id. 59. The lines come from the Khusrāu and Shirīn, near the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> See Vullers, s.v. *qalm*, p. 737, cols. 1 and 2. M.A. 279.

surb) and presented it, *Fath Bijāpūr*<sup>1</sup> *zūdī mī shawad* "The conquest of Bijapur will soon take place." 1099 (1688). The king received it as a good omen and said, "God grant that it be so." In the same week the fort was surrendered. After the fort of Golconda was taken the chronogram<sup>1</sup> was found (by Amir K.):—*Fath qilā Gulkanda, mubārak bādā*. "The conquest of Golconda, may it be blessed." 1099 (1688). He was approved of by the king, and as he had the demerits of annoyance and presumption, he gave himself airs (lit. he set the peak of the cap of presumption crookedly on the head of license), and though of low rank he bore himself head and shoulders higher than the leading officers. He acquired such influence that the highest of them made entreaties to him. When an order had been given that with the exception of him who had had a palanquin given him from the imperial establishment, no one, either of the princes or of the officers entitled to travel in a palanquin, should enter the enclosure (*gulālbār*<sup>2</sup>), he, who was at that time termed Multafat

<sup>1</sup> The two chronograms seem to yield 1099 or 1687-88, but if so they are both wrong. Bijāpūr and Golconda were not taken in the same year. Bijāpūr was taken first, and in the year 1097 or 1686, some time in October. The chronogram in the text gives 'Abdul-Karīm's correctly as stated in the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī 279, but I think the editors have made a mistake in reckoning the p of Bijapur as equal to b and consequently as representing the figure 2. There is no p in Arabic, and though p is often in *abjad* regarded as = b, this is not the case here. If we deduct the p, we get 1097 the real date of the capture of Bijāpūr as shown in the M.A. and in Khāfi K. Possibly 'Abdul-Karīm, as he was writing extempore, made a mistake in his count and forgot that though *hā* is the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, it counts 8 in *abjad*. Golconda was taken in the following year 1098 or about September 1687. The chronogram in text wrongly has

*bādā* as the last word, whereas it should be only *bād* as in Khāfi K. 368, and in M.A. 300. This gives 1098, which is the correct date, as appears from the M.A., pp. 298-99.

With reference to the litter or *takht rawān* of the text it may be noticed that the M.A. represents it as being carried on the backs of horses, p. 278, unless indeed *takht-rawān* is used there rhetorically for a saddle. Ordinarily a *takht-rawān* was borne by men. See Bernier II, 235, and 238. The date of the visit was 25 Shawāl 1097, 4 September 1686, and Bijāpūr was taken on 4 Zilq'ada in the 30th year of the reign 1097 = 12 September 1686. Golconda was taken on 24 Zilq'ada 1098, or 21 September 1687.

<sup>2</sup> The *gulālbār* was a red screen round the *daulat-khāna* or collection of imperial tents. The privilege referred to is mentioned in the Maasir A. 354. For *gulālbār* or "red wall" see Blochmann 45 and 54, and Irvine



Khān, and the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad Khān, were, shortly afterwards, allowed to enter in their palanquins. After that, permission was also granted to Bahramānd Khān, Mukhlās Khān and Rūh Ullah Khān. It may be gathered from this what his position was and what a place he had taken in the king's heart. He was also of surpassing trustworthiness. Agents<sup>1</sup> at his orders would send him the productions of every country at one-half or one-third of the real price. He took notice of this and privately made a full enquiry and ascertained what the price was. After the death of Aurangzeb he accompanied Muḥammad 'Azīm Shāh, but as he had no force he remained with the baggage in Gwaliyar. When Bahādur Shah became king and the officers of the former reign, whether loyal or the reverse, obtained promotion, Amīr K. too was raised to the rank of 3000 with 500 horse, but he had not the same intimacy nor the same pomp. He felt helpless and accepted the governorship of Agra fort and retired into obscurity, and saved himself from seeing things that should not be seen. Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān, who for worth and humanity was the unique of the age, gave him in consideration of his old pre-eminence the governorship of Agra. Afterwards he was removed from this and confined to the government of the fort.

When in the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar weakness had crept into the management of public affairs owing to the predominance of the Saiyids of Bārha, and there came a necessity for consulting the officers of Aurangzeb, 'Inayat Ullah K., Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K. Bahādur and Muḥammad Niyāz K. all were again received into favour, and Amīr K. also was summoned from Agra and made superintendent of the personal attendants. After

A. of M. 199. Perhaps *gulāl* is Turki and means "red rose."

<sup>1</sup> *ahl rūzgār*, which I think must mean here agents, though it may also mean workmen or men of business. Presumably the goods were sent to him in his public capacity. His agents perhaps understated the price in order to gain his favour, or it may be that workmen and others sent him the goods under cost price, knowing

that he would ascertain the real value and pay them accordingly. The text differs from the Blochmann MS. and from I.O. 628. The text has *dar parda qadaghan-i-isti'āb* where the MSS. have *tadyin* instead of *qadaghan*. I think however the text is right. The text has *arz* "price" but the MSS. have *āz* "avarice" and they have 'ḥazīz' instead of *hissas*.

the deposition of the king and when the reins of power fell into the hands of the Saiyids of Bārha, Amīr K. was made Ṣadru-l-ṣadūr in the place of Afzal K. They say that Qutbu-l-mulk (the elder Saiyid) out of regard to his former eminence did not cease to honour him, and made him sit on a corner of his own *masnad*. At this same time death called him. None of his sons distinguished<sup>1</sup> themselves. They were contented with their father's acquisitions, except Abu-l-Khair K., who, on account of his relationship with Khān<sup>2</sup> Daurān Khwāja 'Āṣim, obtained the title of Khān in the reign of the deceased emperor and had a position (*daṣṭgāh*). He died in company with the Khān Daurān aforesaid. Mir Abū-l-wafā, the grandson of Ziyāu-d-dīn K. the elder brother of Amīr K., became distinguished in comparison with his sons. In the end of Aurangzeb's reign he was honoured by being made superintendent of the Oratory. The emperor was impressed by his ability and resource. Accordingly,<sup>3</sup> one day a report in cypher of Prince Bahādur Shah was produced before the emperor. As the cypher was not known, the emperor made over his private memorandum-book to the Mir and said, "We have entered in it explanations of two or three cyphers. Compare them with this cypher and make out its meaning." The Mir by his cleverness and quickness brought out the meaning of the hidden cypher and wrote it out and presented it, and was applauded.

### 'AQIL KHAN 'INAYAT ULLAH.

Brother's son and adopted son of Afzal K. Mullā Shukr Ullah. His father's name was 'Abdul-l-Haqq, who during Shah

<sup>1</sup> One son, Ashraf, collected and published Aurangzeb's letters to his father. See Rieu I. 400b.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir I. 819. He was Amīru-l-Umarā and was wounded in battle with Nadir Shah and died of his wounds. Mir 'Abdul-l-wafā fell along with him. This Khān Daurān is not mentioned by Beale in his list of Khān Daurāns, but his death is described in Elliot VIII, 62. The emperor referred to as deceased is pre-

sumably Muḥammad Shah who died in 1748.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A., pp. 459, 460. There we have the negative "*du sih ramz nāwūzah*" "two or three obscure cyphers" but I am not sure if this is right. The Maasir A. adds that Mir Abū-l-wafā received the reward of a *muhr* weighing 50 *muhrs*, Rs. 500, and an increase of horse for interpreting the cypher!

Jahan's reign attained the rank of 1000 with 200 horse and was called Amānat Khān. He wrote *nashh* exceedingly well, and in the 15th year, as a reward for the inscription which he had written on the cupola (the Taj) of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī, received the gift of an elephant. He died in the 16th year. 'Āqil K., in the 12th year, was made 'Arz mukarrir (reviser of petitions), and afterwards received the title of 'Āqil K. In succession to Multafat K. he was made diwān of the Biyūtāt and in the 15th year his rank was 2000 with 500 horse, and he had the appointment of Mīr Sāmān. In the 17th year, when Mūsavī K. died, he was made 'Arz Waqāi of the provinces and of the department<sup>1</sup> of presents which also had belonged to Mūsavī K. In the 18th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and the office of Arz Waqāi of the provinces was given to Mullā 'Alā-ul mulk in his room. In the 19th year his rank was 2500 with 800 horse. Afterwards, when, in succession to him, the office of Khānsāmān was given to Mullā 'Ala-ul-mulkī, he received an increase of 200 horse and was made 2nd Bakhshī, and Arz Waqā'i of the provinces. In the 20th year he was sent off with a body of troops to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Ghorī to Shāh Beg K. the thānadār there. In the same year his rank became 3000 with 1000 horse, and he had the gift of a flag. In the end of the 22nd year corresponding to 1059, 1649, at the time when Kabul was the halting-place of the standards of victory, he suddenly died. He was versed in poetry and in accounts. The adopted daughter of Satī<sup>2</sup> Khānim—who had charge of the king's harem—was married to him.

The said Khānim was descended from a Māzhindarān family, and she was the sister of Ṭālib<sup>3</sup> Āmulī who in the reign of Jahangir received the title of Maliku-sh-sh-'aarāi (king of poets). After the death of her husband Naṣīrā, the brother of Ḥakīm Rukna<sup>4</sup> of Kāshān, she by good fortune entered the service of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (Nūr Maḥal, the wife of Shah Jahan). As she was adorned with an eloquent tongue, and a knowledge of etiquette, and knew house-keeping and medicine, she advanced beyond other servants

<sup>1</sup> *Risāla-i-in'āām*. Pādshāhnāma I, 373.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 151, 394; II. 628.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu 679b.

<sup>4</sup> Rieu 603a.

and reached the rank of *muhrdār* (sealer). As she knew<sup>1</sup> the art of reading (the Qoran) and was acquainted with Persian literature, she was appointed to be instructress to the Begam Šāhib (Aurangzeb's eldest daughter) and so attained to high distinction (rose to the sphere of Saturn, the seventh heaven). After the death of Mantāzu-z-zamānī, the king, who appreciated her merit, made her head of the Harem. As she had no child, she after Tālībā's death adopted<sup>2</sup> his two daughters. The eldest was married to 'Āqil K., and the younger to Zīā-ud-dīn, who was styled Raḥmat K. and who was the son of Ḥakīm Qutba, the brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā. In the 20th year, when the royal residence was Lahore, the younger daughter—of whom the Khānim was very fond—died in childbed. The Khānim went home and mourned for her for some days. After that, the king sent for her and placed her in the quarters that he had in the palace, and personally came to her there and administered her consolation. She, after discharging the duties connected with the presence<sup>3</sup> of the king, went to her appointed dwelling and surrendered her soul to God. The king gave from the treasury Rs. 10,000 for her funeral and burial, and ordered that her body should be kept in a temporary grave. After a year and odd it was conveyed to Agra and buried at a cost of Rs. 30,000 in a tomb west of the sepulchre of the Mahad 'Alīya (Nūr Maḥal) in the Jilaukhāna Chauk (the square of the equipages?). A village yielding Rs. 3000<sup>4</sup> was assigned for the expenses (of the upkeep) of the tomb.

#### (RAJAH) ANŪP SINGH BĀDGŪJAR.<sup>5</sup>

He is known as Anī Rai Singhdalan. Badgūjar is a tribe of Rajputs. His ancestors were zamindars. They say that his grandfather on account of poverty used to hunt deer, and live upon their flesh. By chance he one day in the jungle fired at what he thought was a tiger. He hit a royal *cīta* which they had let loose

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

<sup>2</sup> She sent for them from Persia. Pādshāhnāma II. 630. See also Maasir U. II. 283, notice of Raḥmat K.

<sup>3</sup> The duty of preparing Shah

Jahan's breakfast. Pādshāhnāma II. 630. (*Khūrāndīn māḥazar khāna*).

<sup>4</sup> Text 30,000, but it is 3000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 629.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot's Supp. Gloss. I. 38. "One of the 36 royal races of Rajputs."

at the deer, and which had secretly entered the jungle. The bell and golden collar enabled Anūp Singh's grandfather to recognize that it belonged to the royal establishment. He took off the trappings and flung the body into a well. Those who were looking for the *cīta* came to the well and gathered that this was the work of the Rajput who was always going about hunting. They went to his house and got the bell and collar. They also seized him and brought him before Akbar. When he was told what had happened, he approved of his courage and marksmanship and took him into his service. On account of his love for shooting he gave him a suitable office. His son Bīr Narayan also received a post and rose higher than his father. When his son Anūp came to years of discretion, he by his good service attained, in last years of Akbar's reign, the rank of head of the *khidmatgārs* who are called *khwāṣṣ*. He also discharged the same duties for a time during the reign of Jahangir. In the fifth year of his reign Jahangir was one day engaged in *pergunnah* Bārī in hunting with leopards (*yoz*). In the course of this, Anūp Sing who was bringing on a party of the hunters<sup>1</sup> learnt that there was a powerful tiger and went off towards it. With the help of the party he surrounded it and sent word to the king. Though it was the end of the day, and the elephants—which are necessary for hunting this dangerous animal—were not present, Jahangir, from his love for tiger-hunting, rode off to the spot. After seeing the tiger he dismounted and fired at it twice. As it was not badly wounded, it went to a low place and lay down. As the sun had declined and he was bent on shooting the tiger, and except Prince Shah Jahan, Raja Rām Dās Kachwāha, Anūp Singh, I'timād Rai, Hayat K. K., superintendent of the *abdarkhāna* (wine-cellar), Kamāl Qarāwal and three or four *khwāṣṣ*, no one else was present, he advanced some steps and fired. It happened that this time too no such wound was produced as would stop the tiger's spring. In his rage the tiger rushed at the king, roaring and growling. There was such a stampede of men that Jahangir was pressed

<sup>1</sup> The text has the word *bāra* which I do not know, but which the *Maasir* explains as meaning a number. Ap-

parently the word is *pāra* for this occurs in the *Tūzuk* J. 89, line 16.

backwards and at the side, and after going back one or two paces he fell. He himself writes that two or three in their confusion trampled over his chest. Meanwhile the prince fired, but without effect. The tiger came upon Anūp Singh who was sitting down and holding the stand (*pāya*) of the special gun in his hand. He struck the tiger on the head with a stick that he had in his hand. The tiger threw him down. At this time when the tiger's head was towards the king, Anūp Singh put one hand into the tiger's mouth and rested the other on his shoulder. The Prince on the left side drew his sword and wished to strike the tiger on the shoulder, but seeing Anūp Rai's hand there, he struck the tiger on the loins. Rām Dās also used his sword, and Hayat struck some blows with a stick. The tiger left Anūp and went off. He, as his hand, on account of the rings, had not been made useless, followed the tiger and struck him with a sword. When the tiger turned round, he struck him again on the face so that the skin of his eye-brows came off and fell over his eyes. Meanwhile men assembled and at last disposed of the tiger.<sup>1</sup> Anūp got the title of Anī Rai Singhdalan, i.e. the subduer of the tiger, and an increase to his *manṣab*. When one day Jahangir for some reason blamed him, he immediately drew his dagger and struck himself on the belly. From that time his rank and influence increased. Sometimes he was leader of an army. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan, when his father Bīr Narayan, who had a *manṣab* of 1000 with 600 horse, died, Anūp Rai got the title of Rajah. In the 10th year he died. He had attained to the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse. He also had some literature and skill in letter-writing. Jai Rām was his son. Of him an account has been given.

### RAJAH ANURŪDHA GAUR.

Eldest son of Rajah Bethal Dās. When his father was made faujdār of Ajmere, he was made his deputy and took charge of the office. In the 19th year of Shah Jahan, his rank was 1500 with 1000 horse, and in the 24th year he was given a flag.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the affair is abridged from that in the *Tūzūk*, J. 89, et seq. Jahangir, p. 90, says that *anī*

means in Hindi a leader, and *singh-dalan* means tiger slayer. See also *Iqbāl-nāma* 40, etc.

In the 25th year, when his father died, his rank was 3000 with 3000 cavalry, two-horse and three-horse, and he had the title of Rajah and the gift of a drum, a horse, and an elephant. On his father's death, he was made governor of the fort of Ranthambhūr. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who was appointed for the second time to the Qandahar expedition. When he returned in the 26th year, he was allowed to go to his fief and after that he went off with prince Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. After coming there he went off with Rustum K. Bahādur Firūz Jang to Bast. In the 28th year he went with S'aad Ullah K. Bahādur to raze Chitor and to punish the Rajah. In the 31st year when Sulaimān Shikoh under the guardianship of the Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to put down Shujā—who was doing futile things—he received the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse—two-horse and three-horse—and went off with Sulaimān Shikoh. After the accession of Aurangzeb he entered into service, and in the 1st year he was directed to accompany Muḥammad Sultan who had been appointed to the affair of Shujā. Meanwhile on account of some illness he stayed in Agra and went off while still ill. After leaving the capital he died in 1069, 1659.

#### ‘ĀQIL K. MĪR ‘ASKARĪ.

He was originally of Khawāf, and he was one of the Wālā Shāhīs (household troops) of Aurangzeb. In the time when the latter was prince, he was his second bakhshī. When the prince was proceeding from the Deccan to Upper India on the occasion of his father's illness, ‘Āqil K. was left in Aurangabad to protect the city. After Aurangzeb's accession, he came to court and received the title of ‘Āqil K. and was made faujdār of the Miyān Dūāb. In the 4th year he was removed, and on account of illnesses went into retirement and went to Lahore on an allowance of Rs. 10,000 a year. In the 6th year, at the time when the emperor returned to Lahore from Kashmir, he was treated with favour and came out of his retirement. He received a robe of honour and a *manṣab* of 2000 with 700 horse. Afterwards, he was made superintendent of the *ghusalkhāna*. In the 9th year he

had an increase of 500 personality, and in the 12th year again went into retirement and received an annual allowance of Rs. 12,000. He again became an object of favour, and in the 22nd year was made *bakhshī-i-tan* (superintendent of grants) in succession to Ṣafī K. In the 24th year he was exalted by being made governor of the metropolitan province (Delhi), and was for a long time in that appointment. He died (lit. went into the retirement of non-existence) in the 40th year, 1107,<sup>1</sup> 1695-96. He had a disposition disposed to poverty and independence, and was of a steady mind. He did service in a stately manner, and was haughty with his equals.

When Mahābat<sup>2</sup> K. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was appointed to the government of Lahore, he asked for an order for viewing the fort and the royal buildings (of Delhi). His request was complied with and an order was issued to 'Āqil K. in accordance therewith. He wrote in reply that for certain reasons he could not send (*nakhwāham ṭalbid*) for Mahābat: Firstly, a Haidarabad man was not a fitting person to see the royal buildings. Secondly, the entrances to the houses were, out of precaution, kept closed, and the rooms were uncarpeted. Nor was it right that they should be cleaned and carpeted for his inspection. Thirdly, the behaviour which was expected from him ('Āqil) at an interview would not be displayed. For every reason it was preferable not to give him admission. After Mahābat came to the capital and sent a message, he absolutely declined (to admit him). The king too had regard to his long service and to his fidelity and loyalty, and overlooked his presumption and obstinacy, and entrusted the highest offices to him. He was not without external perfections. As he was devoted to the service of Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn Rāz Ilāhī—may the mercy of God be upon him!—he adopted the pen-name of Rāzī.<sup>3</sup> His *diwān* and *masnavī*

<sup>1</sup> 1108, according to Rieu Cat. II. 699a. It is also 1108 in Maasir A. 883, from which the account in text of his manners is taken.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir, III. 628. See the story in Maasir A. 383. M. Ibrāhīm was a renegade.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu II. 699a and Ethé I.O. Cat., pp. 896-95. His *muraqqa* is an imitation of Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*. Ethé, p. 895, Sprenger Cat. 543 and 123. Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn belonged to Burhānpūr and died in 1083, 1672-73.



are well known. He regarded himself as unique for his capacity of explaining the niceties of the maṣnavī of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalālu-d-dīn). He was of a liberal disposition and compassionate. This verse is his,<sup>1</sup> and he repeated it when Prince Aurangzeb went a-riding on the day of the death of Zainābādī.

*Verse.*

How easy love appeared, how hard it was,  
How hard parting seemed, what ease the beloved at  
tained!

The prince bade him repeat the lines once or twice, and then asked him whom they were by. 'Āqil replied, "They are by one who does not wish while in the service of his benefactor to call himself a poet."

‘ARAB BAHĀDUR.

In Akbar's time he was one of the officers appointed to the eastern districts, and he earned a good name by his bravery and useful service. The pargana of Sasseram in Bihar was held by him in fief. When the officers of that quarter stirred up rebellion, he too threw the dust of disloyalty on his head and showed signs of sedition. In the 25th year, when Moẓaffar K., the governor of Bengal, sent the goods of Khān Jahīm Husain Qulī to court, and many solding and traders accompanied them, Muḥibb ‘Alī K.—after the convoy had reached Bihar—appointed<sup>2</sup> one Ḥabsh K. to go with it with a body of troops. ‘Arab hastened after the caravan, and when it had crossed at the Causā ferry, he laid hands on some elephants which had fallen behind. After that he attacked Purokhotam, the diwān of the province,—who was collecting the soldiers in Baksar (Buxar),—on a day when he was performing his devotions on the bank of the Ganges. He defended himself, but was wounded and fell on the field, and died<sup>3</sup> on the second day. When Muḥibb ‘Alī heard of this, he came and fought with ‘Arab and made him take

<sup>1</sup> See the story in *Maasir* I. 792 in notice of the Khān Zamān Mir Khalīl.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 286.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 287.

to flight. Afterwards, when Shahbāz K. was sent off to that quarter from court, and came to the estates of Dalpat Ujjainiya, and after chastising him, placed Sa'adat 'Alī K. in the fort of Kānt,<sup>1</sup> a dependency of Rhotas, 'Arab, in conjunction with Dalpat, attacked the fort. A great fight took place, and Sa'adat 'Alī was killed while doing his duty, and 'Arab wickedly drank<sup>2</sup> his blood and smeared some on his forehead! Afterwards, he joined M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and took part with him in two battles with Shahbāz K. After he was defeated, he separated, and raised the dust of dissension in Sambal. As the fief-holders there acted with concord and fought, he was defeated. He then went to Bihār and had an encounter with a force sent by the Khān 'Azīm Koka and fled. He hastened to Jaunpūr. When Govardhan, the son of Rajah Todar Mal, was by Akbar's orders sent to punish him, he retreated into the hills. Afterwards he made his home in the hill-country of Bahraich and built a fort. He made this his refuge when he returned from plundering. One day he had gone off on an expedition. Kharak<sup>3</sup> Rai the land-holder sent his son Dūlah Rai against the fort. 'Arab's gate-keepers thought he was 'Arab and did not resist him. The zamindar's people seized the accumulated property. As they were returning, 'Arab lay in wait for them, and when they came up he scattered them. Dulah Rai, who had remained behind, came up and defeated him. 'Arab and two men with him fell into a place;<sup>4</sup> the landholder followed them and put an end to 'Arab. This affair occurred in the 31st year corresponding to 994, 1586. S. Abū-l-faẓl records<sup>5</sup> in the Akbar-nāma that three days before this the Mīr Shikār,

<sup>1</sup> كَنت in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157. See also Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, who identifies it with Bijyagarh, the fort in the Mirzapūr district so well known in connection with Chait Singh. There is a Kāntit in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161. Possibly some of the authorities have made a confusion between 'Arab Bahādur and 'Arab, which was another name for Niyābat K.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 324.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 492.

<sup>4</sup> *Jānibe*. A.N. III. has *jaī* "place," and there is the variant *cāhī* "a well."

<sup>5</sup> A.N. III. 493: it is not mentioned there that Akbar was then at Chinhaṭ. Nor does it appear that there is a Chinhaṭ or Chanhat in the Dūāb. There was a Chaniwat in the Rechnan Dūāb, Jarrett II. 320. The Ṭabaqāt A. says 'Arab Bahādur was killed in pargana Sherkot. Elliot V. 453. Sherkot was in Sarkār Sambhal, Jarrett II. 290.

Arab, by name, fell into the river Bihat (the Jhilam) and that the king who was then in Chihat(?) in the Dūāb said, "I have a presentiment that the days of 'Arab have come to an end."

### 'ARAB KHĀN.

His name was Nūr Muḥammad. In the reign of Shah Jahan he obtained a *manṣab*, and in the third year, when the city of Burhanpur was the royal residence, and three armies were sent, under the command of three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodi and to devastate the lands of Nizāmu-l-mulk Deccanī, as he had taken Khān Jahān under his protection, he was appointed to accompany the 'Azim K. After that he was appointed to the Deccan contingent, and in the 7th year, when Prince Shujā' came to the Deccan to take Parendā, and the Khān Zamān was sent in advance, he was left in Zafarnagar with 500 troopers to guard the routes. In the end of that year he had the title of 'Arab K. and his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 9th year, when the Deccan was the royal abode for the second time, and an army marched to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla, and to ravage 'Ādil Shah's country, he was sent with Khān Daurān, and did good service in chastising 'Ādil K.'s men. In the 10th year his rank became 2000 with 1500 horse *dūāspa* and *sihāspa*, and he was made governor of the fort of Faṭḥābād Dhārwar. Afterwards he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 24th year he was given drums. Afterwards, when he had for seventeen years spent his days with honour in guarding Faṭḥābad Dhārwar, he in the 27th year, corresponding to 1063, 1653, went to Paradise. His son was Qil'adār K., and of him a separate account has been given.

### ARSLĀN KHĀN.<sup>1</sup>

Son of Ilahwardī K. the 1st. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb he was made *faujdār* of Benares in the place of Khwāja Ṣādiq Badakhshī. In the 7th year he became *faujdār* of Siwistān in Sind in place of Ziyāu-d-dīn K. and got the rank of 1000 with 900 horse, of whom 700 were two-horse and three-horse, and the title

<sup>1</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgīrī, 82.

of Arslān K. (the Lion-khān). In the 10th year he was appointed faujdār of Sultanpur Bilehri<sup>1</sup> and had the rank of 2000 with 800 horse which were two- and three-horse. In the 40th year he had an increase of 500. No more details of him have been received.

### ASAD KHAN MĀMŪRĪ.<sup>2</sup>

Son of 'Abdu-l-Wahāb K. who had the poetical name of Ināyati, and was the younger brother of Mozaffar K. Māmūrī. He (Mozaffar) held a good position as an eloquent writer, and wrote a *divan*. In Jahangir's time Asad was first the governor of Qandahar. Afterwards, when Sultan Dāwar Bakhsh s. Khusrāu became governor of Gujarat under the guardianship of Khān 'Azim Koka, he was made bakhshī thereof, and died there. Asad Khān loved soldiering. When he went with his uncle Mozaffar to Tatta he took into his service young men of the Arghūniā clan and distinguished himself by his courage. He was also noticed by the sovereign, and when Sultan Parvez went, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., in pursuit of the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), he was one of the auxiliaries. Mahābat K., after coming to Burhanpur, put him in charge of Ilīcpūr. When the other officers and the *manṣabdars* of the Dēccan were appointed to help Mullā Muḥammad (Lārī) 'Ādil Shāhī, he went with them. Suddenly 'Ādil Shāh (of Bijapur) received a great defeat in the battle of Bhātūrī,<sup>3</sup> which was between Mullā Muḥammad and Malik 'Ambar, and some of the imperial officers were made prisoners. Asad K. by his activity got away from the battlefield and arrived at Burhanpur. When Shah Jahan returned from Bengal and proceeded to besiege that city, Asad in conjunction with Rāo Ratan defended it well. The prince had to raise the siege, and Asad was promoted by being made Bakhshī of the Deccan.

They say that Khān Jahān Lodī, who became governor of the

<sup>1</sup> Variant Malhari. Perhaps Bilehri in Oudh. Jarrett II. 174.

<sup>2</sup> 'Māmūra is near Kabul. Elliot V. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Battle fought 5 kos from Ahmad-

nagar in 1033, 1624. Iqbāl-nāma 236, Elliot VI. 415 Mullā Muḥammad was killed.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot VI. 394, 395.

Deccan after the death of Sultan Parvez, used to rise up in honour of Fāzil K. Āqā Afzal, who was diwan of the Deccan, but did not rise for Asad. The latter was much displeased and would say, "He rises for a Mogul, and does not rise for me who am a Saiyid." In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign he was removed from office and came to court, bringing<sup>1</sup> with him 14 elephants as *peshkash*. As at the time of the siege of Burhanpur his men had used foul language in the presence of Shah Jahan's men, he was much frightened, but as Shah Jahan was an ocean of kindness he received him well and comforted him. In the second year he was made<sup>2</sup> faujdār of Lakḥī Jangal (in Sind), and with a personal allowance of 500 was made manṣabdār of 2500 with 2500 horse. In the 4th year, 1041, 1632, he died<sup>3</sup> in Lahore.

#### ASAD KHĀN ĀSAFU-DAULA JAMLA-AL-MULK.

His name was Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and he was the son of Zūl-fiḳār K. Qaramānlū. He was the grandson of Ṣādiq K. Mir Bakhshī, and son-in-law of Yemenī-d-daula Āṣaf K. From his early years he was, on account of his personal beauty and external accomplishments, a favourite with Shah Jahan, and was conspicuous among his contemporaries. In the 27th year he received the title of Asad K. and was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards 2nd Bakhshī.

When the throne of the Caliphate was adorned by the accession of Ālamgīr, he was encompassed by favours, and after having for a long time zealously served as 2nd Bakhshī, he was in the fifth year raised to the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the 13th year, after the death of the prime minister J'aafar K., he was made Deputy Vizier and received an ornamented dagger and two quids\* of pān from the king's own hands. An order was given that he should be styled the risāla<sup>4</sup> (dār) of Prince Muḥammad

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 397.

<sup>4</sup> M.A. 103.

\* This is an obscure passage. It is taken from the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī

103-4, but the word for astrologer (*munajjim*) is wanting there. However the text is probably right, for at p. 124 of the same work Dīānat K. is described as an unrivalled astrologer. I am not sure of the meaning

'Muazzam and that Diānat K., the astrologer, should be made his sealer. In the same year he was removed from the office of 2nd Bakhshī and in the 14th year made Mir Bakhshī on the death of Lashkar K. In the beginning of Zī-l-ḥajja of the 16th year Asad K. resigned<sup>1</sup> the deputyship (of the diwānī) and an order was issued that Amānat K., diwān of the Khālṣa, and Kifayat K., *diwān-i-tan*, should put their seals below that of the chief diwān, and carry on the affairs of the diwānī. On 10 Shabān of the 19th year the Khān again received the ornamental ink-stand and obtained the great name of Grand Vizier. In the end of the 20th year, when Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh was censured and dismissed from the Deccan, the charge of the affairs there was bestowed on Diler K., until a subāhdār should be appointed. Jumla-al-mulk, with a large army and suitable equipment, was sent to the Deccan, and arrived at Aurangabad when the occurrence of much tumult was reported to the king. Shāh 'Alam was sent off to the Deccan as Nazim, and Asad K. returned. In the beginning of the 22nd year he waited on the king at Kishngarha<sup>2</sup> in the province of Ajmere. When in the 25th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the Deccan to chastise Sumbhā Bhonsla (the son of Sivaji), who had given shelter to Prince Muhammad Akbar, Jumla-ul-mulk was left in Ajmere with Prince 'Azīmu-d-din<sup>3</sup> in order that the Rajputs might not make a disturbance. After that in the 27th year he paid his respects at Ahmadnagar and, after the victory of Bijapur, he was made Vizier. The chronogram is *Zibā shuda masnad wazārat*. 1097, 1686. "The divan of the Viziership was

of the word *risāla*, but think it is used for *risāladār* as at p. 259 of Blochmann's *Āin*. The fact that *muh*r is almost certainly used in the text and in the Maasir 'Ālamgirī for *muh*rdār favours this view. See Blochmann's note 21. The verb *nawīstan* is used here to signify "styled, or called." See a similar use in M. Ālamgirī 460, l. 9 from foot, where we are told that the hall of justice was now styled (*minawīsand*) the *diwān-i-maẓālīm*, and also Khāfi K. II, 602, line 8. It is noticeable that

in the M.A., pp. 103—04, the verbs are in the plural, viz., *nawīsand* and *bā-hand*, instead of *nawīsad* and *bāhad* as in text. *Risāla* or *Risāladār* probably means either Secretary, or keeper of diary. I.O. M.S. Ethé 628 has *nawīsand* and *bāhad*.

<sup>1</sup> M.A. 125-6.

<sup>2</sup> M.A. 172. "Kishngarh is in Rajputanah, north east of Ajmer." Irvine, "Later Mughals," A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 152, note.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Prince Muhammad 'Azīm. See Maasir 'Ālamgirī 212.

adorned." After Golconda was taken he had an addition of 1000 horse and arrived at the lofty rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the 34th year he was appointed to chastise the enemy on the other side of the Kistna (i.e., the south side) and to take the fort of Nandiāl<sup>1</sup> otherwise Ghāzīpur, and to arrange for the government of the Bālāghāt of the Haidarabad Carnatic. After taking Nandiāl, he encamped in Cuddapah, which is on the borders of the Carnatic. An order was given to Prince Kām Bakhsh to take the fort of Wākinkera. As Rūh Ullah had been ordered to undertake that work he proceeded towards Wākinkera to assist Jumla-ul-mulk. After the imperial army had arrived at Cuddapah, an order came in the 37th year that both forces should proceed to help Zūlfiqār K., who was besieging Ginjee. After coming there a disagreement arose between the prince and Jumla-ul-mulk on account of certain matters. By the exertions of evil-disposed persons, this became vehement. Jumla-ul-mulk, on the strength of the documentary evidence of some secret letters, which the prince had sent to Rāmāi<sup>2</sup> the governor of the fort by the instrumentality of some men who did not think of their latter end, wrote to the king and was authorized to keep Rāo Dalpat Bundila night and day in attendance on the prince and to put a stop to equipages and councils (*diwān*) and to the coming and going of strangers. At this time it was ascertained by spies visiting the fort that Kām Bakhsh, on account of his dislike of Jumla-ul-mulk, had decided upon going off to the fort on a dark night. Accordingly Asad K., after consulting with Zūlfiqār K. (his son) and other leaders of the siege-force, presumptuously entered the prince's quarters and put him under arrest. He removed from Gingee, and in accordance with orders sent the prince to court. He himself stayed for a time

<sup>1</sup> Nandbal in text: it is Nandiyaal or Nandial in M.A. 354 and in I.G. It is south of Kurnool.

<sup>2</sup> Text has Rai only. There is the variant Rāmāi, and this is supported by Maasir A. 356 which has Rāmāi Jahannami "the hellish Rāmāi." He is the Rajah Ram of Grant-Duff I. 301. He was a son of

Sivaji and succeeded to the throne after Sumbhaji, *id.* 371. It was from him that the English obtained the site of Fort St. David. For account of Kām Bakhsh's intrigues, etc., Maasir A. 356, Khāfi K. II. 420 Elliot VII. 348, and Grant-Duff I. 381.

in Sankar.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards,<sup>2</sup> when summoned to the presence, many apprehensions about the painful case of the prince occurred to him. On the day of his attendance when he came to the place of saluting, Multafat K. (Amir K. Sindhi), the superintendent of the pages, was standing near the throne and whispered, "There's a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge." The king said, "You have quoted aptly." He permitted him to do homage and treated him with favour.

When Aurangzeb, in the 43rd year of his reign, after staying four years in Islampuri commonly known as Bramapura,<sup>3</sup> placed his world-conquering foot in the stirrup of a world-traversing steed with the laudable design of waging a holy war and of taking the forts and devastating the territories of Siva Bhonsla, in 1110, 1698—99, he left the holy Nawab Zinatu-n-nisa Begam (his daughter) there with the servants of the harem and appointed Asad K. to guard them. In the 45th year, at the beginning of the affair of Khelna,<sup>4</sup> he was summoned to court and received the title of Amiru-l-Umarā. Fath Ullah K., Hamidu-d-din K. and Rajah Jai Singh were appointed to act under him in taking the fortress lofty as heaven (Khelna). After it was taken, as the Amiru-l-Umarā was feeble, a gracious order<sup>5</sup> was issued that he should come out by a passage (rāhrā, a corridor) from the inside of the Hall of Justice—which had received by command the name of Diwan-i-Mazālim ("The hall of grievances")—and sit

<sup>1</sup> Text منكر Sankar. The passage is taken from the Maasir A. 364, third last line, where we have the statement that the Jumla-ul-mulk stayed, according to orders, in Nagratābād-Sakkar. For an account of this mint-town see Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 264. It is Sagar of the maps and is in the Nizām's territory, and is W.S.W. Haiderabad.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 364—65. The line quoted by Multafat occurs in Bada-yūni I. 447.

<sup>3</sup> The Brimhapooree of Grant-Duff I. 378, 391. It was on the Beema (Bhima) below Punderpur and N.N.W.

Bijapur. The text wrongly has 1010 instead or 1110. Siva had been dead for 18 years when Aurangzeb made this expedition.

<sup>4</sup> Now Vishalgurh, Grant-Duff, I. 62 note and 377 Maasir A. 445. It is in the Syahadri range or Western Ghats and is S. Sattara and W. Panala, i.e. Banī Shahdrug. The taking of Khelna is also described in Khāfi K. II, 491.

<sup>5</sup> This is taken from the Maasir A. 460, though the staff is not mentioned there. The chamber was probably Aurangzeb's private room.



within a railing (*kaṭhara*) at the distance of one cubit from the steps of the chamber (*hujra*). For three days he was to sit there, and after that he was to get a staff.

After the death of Aurangzeb, Prince Muḥammad Aẓim Shah also treated Asad K. with honour and made him Vizier. When the prince left Gwaliyar in order to fight with Bahādur Shah he left him there with the baggage, and he also left there his full sister Zinatu-n-nisā Begam whom Bahādur Shah (afterwards) styled Begam Ṣāhib. When the breeze of victory blew, by the favour of God, on the standards of Bahādur Shah, that mild sovereign had regard to Asad K.'s long service and his confidential position and summoned him to court. Some courtiers said that he had been the leading partner in 'Aẓim Shah's affairs. The king replied,<sup>1</sup> "If at that disturbed time our own sons had been in the Deccan, they would have felt themselves obliged to support their uncle." After he had presented himself, he received the title of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āsafu-d-daula and was made Vakil—who in former times was master of all affairs, political and financial—and was allowed to have his music played in the king's presence. As the king considered it a matter of the first importance to conciliate Mun'im K. the Khān Khānān—who had many claims to consideration and was Grand Vizier—and as it was proper<sup>2</sup> that the Vizier should stand at the head of the divan and present the papers to the prime minister (*vakīl-i-matlaq*) for signature, as other leading officers of departments did, and as this was felt by the Khān Khānān to be disagreeable, it was arranged that as Āsafu-d-daula was old and wanted comfort and repose he should go to Shah-jahanabad (Delhi) and spend his days in peace, and that Zūlfiqār should carry on the duties of the Vakālat as deputy. But on account of preserving the dignity of Khān-Khānān no other vakālat duty was attached (to Zūlfiqār) except that of using the *vakālat* seal which was to be put on grants and orders subsequent to the seal of the viziership. Asafu-d-daulah five<sup>3</sup> times

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II. 601. See also *Siyarū Mutakharin* I. 15 and *Irādāt K.*'s Memoirs, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this refers to the fact that Bahādur Shah reigned for five years. Or perhaps it means that his orchestra played five times a day.

beat the music of success in the capital and possessed the materials of a prosperous life.

When the sovereignty came to Jahāndār Shah, and Zūlfīqār became supreme in the affairs of the empire, Asad K. gave up the insignia of office. On the two or three occasions that he went to court, his palanquin was put down at the diwan-i-'āmm and he sat near the throne. The King in conversation used to call him uncle. After Jahāndār<sup>1</sup> Shah had been defeated and had fled from Agra he came to Āsafu-d-daulah's house (in Delhi) and wished to collect a force and to make another attempt. Zūlfīqār too came<sup>2</sup> and was vehement about doing this. Asad K., who was an old and experienced man, of a good disposition and fond of repose, did not agree and said to his son: "M'uīzu-d-dīn is a drunkard and addicted to frivolity and low company, and is unappreciative; he is unfit to rule. How can it be right to support a man like this, and to stir up slumbering strife again, and to cause evil to the country and ruin to the world. God knows what the end will be! It is right that you and I should support whatever scion of the Timurids is fit for the throne." On the same day he arrested Jahāndār and sent him to the fort. He did not know that fate was laughing at his plans. This thought for the end and prudence for self-interest were the cause of the destruction of his son's life and the ruin of the honour and prosperity of his house! But as inquiries about Fate and perspicacity about the secrets thereof are not within human power, why should helpless man incur reproach and blame for such a purpose? The right<sup>3</sup> thing for the time and the best for the final

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 725. Elliot VII, 440.

<sup>2</sup> He arrived after the emperor. This passage may be compared with the Siyar Mutakharin. Apparently both writers are following the same original. Irādat K., Memoirs, p. 95, says that the populace compelled Asad K. to imprison Jāhandar Shah.

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure of the meaning of this or the preceding sentence. I understand the passage as meaning

that, seeing that the decrees of Fate cannot be known, man should not try to be too clever and incur blame by doing wrong in order that good may come. But perhaps the meaning is that as the decrees of Fate cannot be known one should not be blamed for being mistaken about them. The Blochmann MS. has a different reading just before the passage "But they say, etc." It has *goinid* instead of *bid*. "They say what he did was ex-

result may be one and the same thing. But people say that honour and a regard to reputation, or rather justice and humanity, did not require that, when the king of India, with all his rights, and after granting so many favours, had come to his house in reliance upon him at such a time of misfortune, and consulted him about his plans, he should seize and make him over to his enemies to be evil-entreated. If he himself, from old age, was incapable of exertion, he might have let him go off with his followers. He would then have gone to whatever waste or wild his ruined fortunes led him. Nor would Asad K. have pushed him further on the road he was going.

Be this as it may, when Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar perceived that the distracted king and vizier had gone off to the capital he was afraid lest they should turn again and there be a new disturbance. So he sent through Mīr Jumla Samarkandī comforting letters to father and son and soothed their troubled minds by flatteries and cajoleries. They say that the Saiyids of Bārha did not share the king's counsels in this matter and did not know about this. On the contrary, they felt certain that they (Asad and his son) would come to the battle-field. Why would not they act in accordance with their own interests? They sent<sup>1</sup> them messages that they should enter into service through them, so that no harm might come to them. As the managers of fate had a different intention, father and son were deceived by the false promises of the king, and did not trouble themselves about the Saiyids, but regarded the applying to them as a cause of loss to themselves. When Mīr Jumla heard of the Saiyid's message he hastily sent Taqarrab K. Shirāzī to Asafu-d-dāula (Asad K.), with the announcement that if they wanted to recommend themselves to the king they should be on their guard against joining Qutbu-l-mulk and the Amīru-l-Umarā. They say that he even swore this on the Koran. At any rate, when the king arrived at Bāra Pula,<sup>2</sup> Delhi, Aṣafu-d-daula and Zūlfikār K. went and with perfect

pedient for the time and in agreement with the (probable) final result."

For a full account of Jahāndār's fight to Delhi, and his capture by

Asad K., see Irvine's *Later Moghuls*, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 204, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II, 732.

<sup>2</sup> *بارة پولا* *bāra pula*. This must be

serenity waited upon him. The king comforted them by presenting them with jewels and robes of honour, and by gracious words, and then dismissed them. He ordered that Zūlfiqār K. should remain in attendance on account of certain business. Aṣafu-d-daula perceived that something evil was going to happen and went to his house with a sad heart and inflamed eyes. On the same day they killed Zūlfiqār in the manner that has been described in his biography. Next day Asad K. was imprisoned and his house confiscated. Nothing was left to him, but a hundred rupis a day were allowed him from the treasury for his subsistence. At the feast of the Accession they wished to send him jewels and a robe of honour. Husain Ali K. Amīru-l-umarā desired that he might personally convey them. They say that the Amīru-l-umarā paid his respects according to the old formula, and that Asad K. also, according to old custom, when he was coming and going (*majī-u-zahāb*), laid<sup>1</sup> his hand upon his (own) breast—and gave the *pān* with his own hands and dismissed him. In the 5th year, 1129. 1717, when he was 94 years old, he departed from this world full of sorrow. Another Amīr of such a good disposition, so little injurious, and so patient, possessed of external beauty and of goodness, who treated his inferiors with kindness and gentleness, and was firm and dignified with his rivals, could not be found among his contemporaries. From the beginning of his career he was successful and always threw double sixes into the cup of his desires. Heaven—that deceitful dicer—played unfairly the last hand with him, and the doubling Cossack (*qazāq-i-inqilāb*)

the Bāra Pool of Harcourt's Delhi, and Mr. Keene's map, and which is described by the former as "a large native bridge with eleven arches, paved with stone slabs. It is just beyond Humāyūn's tomb, on the high road to Bullubghur." It is therefore to the south of Delhi (about four miles away). Bāra Pul might mean the twelve arches. Pul is a common name for a bridge. The bridge was built in Jahangir's time and is described and figured in Syed Aḥmad's *Aṣār Ṣanādīd*, p. 27. It has

only eleven arches. For an account of Asad K. and his son's presentation to Farrukh Siyar and of the murder of Zūlfiqār, see Irvine's *Later Moguls*, A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 145, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This passage seems to be illustrated by the note to *Siyaru-l-Mutakhirin* i, 246. The old way of making obeisance was to place the hands over the navel, which, according to the translator, is higher up in natives, and Asad Ullah probably did obeisance in this way to the robes sent him.

made a two-horse<sup>1</sup> attack upon the home of his peace when he was close to his goal. A morning of joy ne'er shone from a pitiless heaven that evening did not darken: Nor a sweet morsel ever tickled the palate which was not blended with a hundred poisons. Whom did the faithless one ever unite with that it did not cast away? Wherever it sate, it soon rose up.

*Verse.*

Heaven soon repents of its bounties;

The sun bestows a cake<sup>2</sup> in the morning and takes it back  
at eve.

Among the goodnesses of Jumla-ul-mulk they relate that when Aurangzeb in the 47th year, after the taking of the fort of Kandana known as *Bakhshanda* *Bakhsh* (the gift of the Giver), came to Mahābād-Pūna to spend the rainy season, by chance the quarters of the Amīru-l-umarā were in low ground, and the tents of 'Inayat Ullah K. *diwān-i-khālṣa-u-tan* were on high ground. After some days had elapsed, when the said Khān had put an enclosure round his female apartments, Amīru-l-umarā's eunuch Basant,<sup>3</sup> who controlled his household, sent a message to 'Inayat K. to clear out as the Nawāb's tents would be placed there. The Khān said, "Good, but give time in order that I may find another place." The eunuch, a haughty Turk, replied by bidding him leave at once. As 'Inayat was helpless he moved to another place. The king came to know of this, and sent a message to Jumla-ul-mulk through Hamidu-d-dīn K. Bahādur directing him to give the place to 'Inayat K., and to move and take another place. Asad K. delayed a little, and an order was given that he should go to the quarters of 'Inayat Ullah and apologize. At that time it chanced that 'Inayat Ullah was in his bath. Jumla-ul-mulk came and sate in the *diwānkhāna*, and 'Inayat quickly

<sup>1</sup> *Dūṣpa tākht*. General Briggs, in a note to *Ferishta*, says that the *dūṣpa* or two-horse mode of attack is described by Malcolm in his history. The Turkoman robbers often took two horses into the field.

<sup>2</sup> The sun's disk is often compared to a round cake of bread.

<sup>3</sup> *Nisbat* in text, but see *Maasir A.*, 475.

came out. Amīru-l-Umarā took his hand and brought him to his house (tent) and presented him with nine pieces of cloth and humbled<sup>1</sup> himself before him. He showed him kindness and friendship to the end of the interview and afterwards never showed any dislike or displeasure, but was more and more gracious. Such men have existed under the heavens! They say that the expenses of his harem and for the purveyors of music and song were so great that his revenues did not meet them. On account of chronic haemorrhoids he never sate on the ground if he could help it. Always in his house he lay on a couch. Besides Zūlfīqār K. he had a son named 'Inayat K. by Newal Bāi, who was called Rānī. He ('Inayat) wrote a good hand, and became superintendent of the jewel-room and had a suitable *manṣab*: By order of the king he married<sup>2</sup> the daughter of Abū-Ḥasan of Hyderabad, but he fell into evil ways and became insane. He got permission to go to the capital and there conducted himself improperly. Continually there came complaints about him from Delhi. There he died in the same condition. His son Ṣālīḥ K. obtained in the time of Jahandār Shāh the title of 'Itiqād K. and a high rank. His brother Mirzā Kāẓim, by associating with dancers and convivialists, ruined his reputation, and by his evil ways opened the doors of disgrace on his career.

#### ĀṢAFU-D-DAULA AMĪRU-L-MAMĀLIK.

He was the third son of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Saiyid Muḥammad. In the life-time of his father he received the title of Khān and the name Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur, and was appointed to the government of Haidarabad. After his father's death when Nāsir Jang, the martyr, went to Pondicherry to suppress the rebellion of Moẓaffar Jang, Ṣalābat went with him. After Nāsir Jang's martyrdom, he returned with

<sup>1</sup> *iqāmat goyān*—words expressive, apparently, of earnest entreaty. More probably the meaning is "gave him then, saying they were in honour of his visiting him," i.e. as his *footing*. The story is told at

length in the *Maasir A.*, 475, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II, 407, Abū-Ḥasan was the unfortunate king of Haidarabad and Golconda. The marriage was in 1103, 1692.

Mozaffar Jang. When, on the march, Mozaffar Jang was killed by the Afghans, Ṣalābat J. sate upon the *masnad*, as he was older than the other brothers. He received from the emperor Aḥmad Shah an increase of rank and the title of Āsafu-d-daula Zaffar Jang. Afterwards<sup>1</sup> he received the title of Amīru-l-mamālik. Rajah Roghanāth Dās, who was his minister, conciliated and took into service a body of hat-wearing Frenchmen who had come with Mozaffar Jang. Ṣalābat K. came to Aurangabad in 1164, 1751, and attacked the country of the Mahrattas. Afterwards peace was made and he came to Haidarabad. On the march Roghanāth Dās was killed<sup>2</sup> by his soldiers, and Raknu-d-daulah Saiyid Lashkar K. became his prime minister. In the second following year (1165) when Ghāziu-d-dīn Firūz Jang, his elder brother, was appointed to the government of the Deccan and came to Aurangabad along with the Mahrattas, though he shortly afterwards died, the Mahrattas on the strength of his grants took most of Khandes and some parts of the province of Aurangabad. His household affairs throughout his rule were dependent on the opinions of his officers. When the grant of the government of the Deccan was given from the emperor to his brother Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jah—who had formerly been declared to be heir-apparent, and been invested with the duties of government—he was necessarily put into retirement. He died in prison in 1177, 1763, and a report spread that his guards had killed<sup>3</sup> him.

ĀṢAF<sup>4</sup> KHĀN KHWĀJA GHĪYĀSU-D-DĪN 'ALĪ  
QAZWĪNĪ.

He was the son of Āqā Mullā dawāt dār (inkstand-holder), who, it is notorious, was in the time of Shah Tahmāsp Ṣafavī

<sup>1</sup> In the time of Ālamgīr the 2nd (Gholām 'Alī Azāl).

<sup>2</sup> At Balkee on 7 April 1752. Grant-Duff II, 54. Siyaru-l-M. III., 324 and note. On 13. Jumāda-al-akhīrī 1165 (Gholam Ali).

<sup>3</sup> He was imprisoned in July 1762 and was murdered on 8 Rabi-al-awwal

1177, 16 September 1763. Grant-Duff II, 167. The same date is given in the Khazāna 'Amrā, Lücknow lith., p. 71. He was imprisoned in the fort of Bidar. This biography may be compared with that in the Khazāna 'Amrā.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 433 and 360. He is

one of the privileged courtiers. His other sons M. Badī'u-zamān and M. Aḥmad Beg became Viziers of Persia. They say that he was descended from the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihābu-d-dīn<sup>1</sup> Suhrawardī, whose perfections it is unnecessary to describe, and whose lineage ascended to Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr-ṣ-ṣādiq. In Ṣūfism he (Suhrawardī) was allied to his uncle S. Najību-d-dīn Suhrawardī. He was a congeries of exoteric and esoteric sciences and was the Shaikh of Shaikhs of Bagdad. He was the author of elegant treatises such as the 'Awārifu-l-m'uarif (*Scientiæ scientiarum*). In the year 633, 1235-36, or 632, he died. Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī was distinguished for his eloquence and industry, and was not without vigour and courage. When he came to India he had the good fortune to be the recipient of favours from Akbar and to be made Bakhshī. In the year 981, 1573, he took part in the nine days' rapid march to Gujarat and did good service in the battle with the rebels there who had besieged M. Koka in Ahmadabad, and received the title of Āṣaf K. At the time of the victorious return to the capital he was made Bakhshī of the province in order that he might co-operate with M. Koka in improving the army. In the 21st year he was appointed with a number of other officers to the province of Īdar, which is a dependency of Ahmadabad. He was to clear it of rebels. The zamindar Narain Dās Rāhtor presumptuously came out from the defiles to give battle, and there were great hand-to-hand combats. The imperial vanguard gave way and M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, who was in command, was killed, and a disaster was imminent. Āṣaf K. and the leaders of the right and left wings redoubled their efforts, and the enemy was defeated. In the close of the 23rd year Akbar sent him to Malwa and Gujarat in order that, having with the co-operation of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., the Nāẓim of that place, brought the army of Malwa to submit to the branding regulation, he might hasten to Gujarat. He was, with the co-operation<sup>2</sup>

the Āṣaf K. II of Blochmann. His daughter married Ghiās Beg and became the mother of Nūr Jahān.

<sup>1</sup> Beale, p. 360, col. 2. He was born

in 1145 A.D., and died in 1234 according to Beale. See also Blochmann's note, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 264.



of Qulij K. the governor, there to improve the condition of the troops, and to ascertain their condition. Āsaf K. performed the duty in accordance with the royal orders and acted with honesty and truth. In 989, 1581, he died in Gujarat. One of his sons was Mirzā Nūru-d-dīn. When Sultan Khusrau was captured and was placed by Jahangir for some days in the charge of Āsaf K., M. J'aafar; Nūru-d-dīn, who was Āsaf K.'s cousin, went by himself to Khusrau and kept him company and arranged that whenever an opportunity offered he would have him released and made prosperous. Afterwards, when Khusrau was made over to I'tibār K. the eunuch, Nūru-d-dīn took into his confidence a Hindu who used to visit Khusrau and gave a list to him of all the devoted followers of Khusrau. In the course of five or six months nearly 400 persons had become bound by oaths that they would attack Jahangir on the road. By chance one of the party got offended (with his comrades) and gave information to Khwāja Waisī Diwān of Prince Sultan Kharrām. The Khwāja immediately reported to the Prince, and he conveyed the news to Jahangir. Immediately those doomed men were produced, and an order was given that Nūru-d-dīn, Muḥammad Sharif, the son of I'timādu-d-daula, and some others should be executed. The list of the names which had been obtained from the Hindu servant of I'tibār K. was at the petition of Khān Jahān Lodī thrown by Jahangir into the fire unread. Otherwise many would have been capitally punished.<sup>1</sup>

#### ĀSAF KHĀN MĪRZĀ QIWĀMU-D-DĪN, J'AAFAR BEG.

Son of Mirzā Badi'ū-z-zamān, who was son of Aqā Mullāi Dawātdār (inkstand-holder) of Qazwin. Badi'z-zamān was vizier of Kāshān in the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, and M. J'aafar Beg along with his father and grandfather was one of the Shāh's courtiers. In the 22nd year, 985, 1577, he in the prime of his youth came to India and waited upon Akbar in company<sup>2</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 258 and Tūzūk J. 58. The conspiracy was in the 2nd year and was discovered when J. was in Afghanistan and returning from  
The ac

ly taken from the Iqbāl-nāma, p. 28. It appears that the plot had been going on for five or six months.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III, 228.

his paternal uncle M. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Āsaf K. Bakhshī, who had come to court after he had finished the affairs of Idar. Akbar appointed him to the rank of 200 in the contingent (*dakhil*)<sup>1</sup> of Āsaf Khān. He was not pleased with the smallness of this appointment, gave up service and ceased to attend court. The emperor was displeased, and sent him to Bengal, which was an unhealthy climate then, and where criminals who were sent there did not survive.

They say Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī<sup>2</sup> of Transoxiana, who was one of the old poets and lived in a perfectly free manner, met in with J'aafar in Agra and enquired about his circumstances. When he heard his story he said: "My dainty youth, don't go to Bengal." The Mīrzā replied: "What can I do, I am going in reliance upon God." The jovial fellow said, "Don't go in reliance on Him. He is the same God who sent such a person as Imām Husain to the Karbala to be martyred." It chanced that when the Mīrzā arrived in Bengal, Khān Jahān, the governor, was ill, and afterwards died. Moẓaffar K. Turbatī then succeeded him. No long time had elapsed when the rebellion of the Qāqshāls and the turbulence of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī raised the dust of disaffection in that country. Things went so far that Moẓaffar K. came to the fort of Tānda and shut himself up there. The Mīrzā was with him. When he was seized, many of his companions were held to ransom, but he by cleverness and plausibility escaped such demands, and came away and did homage at Fathpūr Sikrī. As he had gone away in contempt and failure and had again, owing to the guidance of good fortune, attached himself to the saddle-straps of fortune, Akbar approved of him and shortly afterwards gave him the rank of 2000 and the title of Āsaf Khān. He was also made<sup>3</sup> Mīr Bakhshī in the room of Qāzī 'Alī, and was sent against the Rānā of Udaipur. He did not fail to attack and plunder and to kill and to distinguish himself. In the 32nd year

<sup>1</sup> B. 231 and Irvine, Moghul Army, 160. B. 411 following M'utamid, Iqbāl-nāma 4 makes the appointment one of *bisti*, i.e. 20. And evidently the 200 of the Maasir is a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī III. 172 and B. 566.

The story comes from the Iqbāl-nāma, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was made Mīr Bakhshī in 989 when Akbar was on the way to Kabul. See Tūzuk, J. 50.

when Ism'ail Qulī K. Turkoman was censured for leaving the passes open so that Jalālu-d-dīn Raushānī got out, Āṣaf K. was appointed to succeed him and made thānadār of Sawad (Swat). In the 38th year, 1000, 1592, when Jalāla Raushānī, who had gone to 'Abdullah K., the king of Tūrān, had come back unsuccessful and begun a disturbance in Tīrah, and had been joined by the Afridīs and the Orakzai, Āṣaf K. was sent from court to extirpate him. In 1001, 1592-93, he, in conjunction with Zain K. Koka, chastised<sup>1</sup> Jalāla and made his family prisoners together with Waḥadat 'Alī, who was said to be his brother, and other relatives and connexions to the number of nearly 400 persons, and produced them before Akbar. In the 39th year when Kashmīr was taken from M. Yūsuf K. and given in fief (*tankhwāh*) to Aḥmad Beg K.,<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Qulāī Afshār, Ḥasan Arab and Aimāq Badakhshī,<sup>3</sup> Āṣaf K. was sent off in order to divide the country properly among the fief-holders. He reserved the saffron and the game for the exchequer and fixed the revenue at 31 lacs of *karwārs* in accordance with the settlement<sup>4</sup> of Qāzī 'Alī, each *karwār* being estimated at 24 *dāms*. After dividing the fiefs properly he in three days made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when the territory of Kashmīr became disorganized on account of the disputes among the fief-holders, Āṣaf K. was appointed governor. In the 44th year, beginning of 1098, he, in place of Rai Patr Dās, was appointed to the *Diwānī-kul* (the whole diwānī) and carried on the duties for two years in a consummate manner. When in 1013,<sup>5</sup> 1604-05, Sultan Selīm (Jahangir) cast away the thoughts of rebellion, and on the occasion of condolences for the death of Miriam Makānī waited upon his father and was for twelve days shut up in the *ghusal-khāna*<sup>6</sup> and then was treated graciously, and it was agreed that he should get

<sup>1</sup> Elliot V. 467, Badayūnī II. 388, A.N. III. 640, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann's MS. has Kabuli.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Aimāqs of Badakhshan. The original passage is A.N. III. 654, line 33. There the passage reads "Muḥammadi Beg Aimāq of Badakhshan."

<sup>4</sup> A.N. III. 661.

<sup>5</sup> A.N. III. 832.

<sup>6</sup> Private audience chamber, lit. bathroom. See Bernier. The *ghusal-khāna* was another name for the diwān *khāna khāṣa*. See Gladwin's Persian Munshi, "Rules observed during the reign of Shah Jahan," p. 51.

the province of Gujarat in fief and give up Allahabad and Bihar which he had taken possession of without orders, the *ṣubahdārī* of Bihar was given to Āṣaf K. and he was raised to the rank of 3000 and sent off to govern that province. When the crown came to Jahangir, Asaf K. was sent for and made guardian of Prince Sultan Parviz. He was sent to chastise the Rānā,—a business which arose at that time—but on account of the rebellion of Sultan *Khusrau* he was recalled. In the 2nd year, 1015, 1606-7, when Jahangir proceeded to Kabul, he was made Vakil in place of Sharif K., the Amīru-l-umarā, who remained in Lahore on account of severe illness, and raised to the rank of 5000 and received a jewelled writing-case. The leading men (*ḍanyādārān*, see B. 412, n. 2.) of the Deccan, especially Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian, after the death of Akbar put forth the foot of audacity and wrested many of the estates in the Bālāghāt from the imperial servants. The *Khān-Khānān* from insouciance and factiousness did not strive in the beginning to extinguish the flames, and allowed them to rise high. Afterwards, when he did attend to the matter, and asked for help, Jahangir appointed Sultan Parviz under the guardianship of Āṣaf *Khān*, and also sent, one after the other, great officers such as Rajah Mān Singh, *Khān* Jahān Lodī, the Amīru-l-Umarā, the *Khān* A'ẓim and 'Abdullah K.—each of whom was able singly to conquer a kingdom—but from want of guidance on the part of the prince, excessive wine-drinking, and plundering enterprises, the work did not go forward. On the contrary, on account of the treachery of the officers, every time that they led an army into the Bālāghāt it had to turn back with failure and disgrace. In consequence of these oppositions Āṣaf K.'s plans did not succeed. At last, in the 7th year, 1021, 1612, he died there<sup>1</sup> "from natural causes." "A hundred regrets for Āṣaf *Khān*" gives the date<sup>2</sup> (*ṣad haif z Aṣaf Khān*, 1021. "One hundred regrets for Asaf K."). He was one of the unique of the age. He was supreme in every science, and complete in all knowledge. His swift intelligence and lofty capacity were

<sup>1</sup> He died at Burhānpūr at the age of 63. *Tūzūk* J. 108. 222 of translation.

<sup>2</sup> M'utamid K. in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 67, claims to have extemporized this chronogram.

famous. He himself used to say, "Whatever I do not comprehend off-hand will turn out to be without meaning." They say he could read a whole series of lines at a glance. In eloquence, skill and the disposal of financial and political matters he was pre-eminent. He was adorned outwardly and inwardly. He had great power in poetry and in polite literature. In the belief of a number of persons no one has treated better than he the subject<sup>1</sup> of *Khusrau* and *Shirīn* since the days of *S. Nizāmī* of *Ganj*.

(Verses.<sup>2</sup>)

They say he took much pleasure in flowers, and rosbeds, and gardens and parterres, and planted seeds and seedlings with his own hands. He frequently worked, spade in hand. He had also gathered<sup>3</sup> together many women. In his last illness he sent away one hundred beauties.<sup>4</sup> He left many children, male and female, but none of his sons distinguished himself. *Mirzā Zain-l-'ābidīn* attained the rank of 1500 with 1500 horse and died in the second year of *Shah Jahan*. His son *M. J'aafar*, who had the same name and *takhallaṣ* as his grandfather, wrote good poetry. He had a passion for collecting animals in every season. There was great friendship between him, *Zahid Khān Koka* and *Mirzā Sāqī*,<sup>5</sup> the son of *Saif Koka*, and *Shah Jahan* called them the "Three friends." At last he left his office and settled in *Agra*. *Shah Jahan* made him an annual allowance, and in the time of *Aurangzeb* it was increased. He died in 1094, 1683. These verses are his.

(Verses.)

Another of *Āṣaf K.*'s sons was *Suhrāb K.* In *Shah Jahan*'s time he obtained an office of 1500 and 1000 horse, and then died. Another was *M. 'Alī Asghar*. He was the one of the brothers who was the greatest voluptuary and least restrained. He did

<sup>1</sup> His poem was called the *Nūr-nāma* and was dedicated to *Jahangir*. *Tūzūk*, p. 108. *Rieu*, Supp. Cat. 200.

<sup>2</sup> See B. 572 for other specimens.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Iqbāl-nāma*, 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Suhailī*, the star *Canopus*, and perhaps a name for a beautiful

woman. *J'aafar* is frequently mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*. See III, 304, etc. *Āṣaf K.* was one of the continuators of the *T. Alfī*, *Rieu*, I, 118, and *Badayūnī*, *Lowe*, 329.

<sup>5</sup> Variant *Shafī* and in B.

not keep his tongue in order, and often spoke without regard to time or place. In the Parendah<sup>1</sup> expedition he created dissensions<sup>2</sup> between Shah Shujā' and Mahābat K., the Commander-in-Chief. After that he received an appointment in the affair of Jujhār<sup>3</sup> Bandila. When the governor of the fort of Dhamūnī<sup>4</sup> came out in the darkness of the night, the soldiers entered it and commenced to plunder. The Khān Daurān<sup>5</sup> was compelled to enter the fort in order to stop them. A man called out from the south side that in one of the bastions a number of the enemy were to be seen. 'Ali Asghar said, "I'll go and seize them." Though Khān Daurān dissuaded him, saying it was night and that it was not advisable in this kind of general confusion, when friend could not be distinguished from foe, to go out, he did not listen but went off. When he got to the top of the wall of the fort, suddenly the ashes of a torch which the plunderers had lighted in order to look for goods, fell upon a store of gunpowder which was at the bottom of the tower. The whole bastion with eighty yards of wall on each side, which wall was ten yards thick, was blown into the air. 'Ali Asghar<sup>6</sup> and some of his companions and the whole of the plunderers who were on the wall were annihilated. The daughter of M'utamid K. was in his house, but as the marriage had not been consummated, she was by the King's orders afterwards married to Khān Daurān.

#### ĀṢAF K. known as ĀṢAF JĀHĪ.

He was M. Abū-l-ḥasan by name and was the son of I'timād-ud-daulah and elder brother of Nūr Jahān Begam. After the Begam was married to Jahangir he received the title of I'timād

<sup>1</sup> "Near the Sina river on the route from Ahmadnagar to Sholapur." Elliot VII, 22. See also *id.* 43.

<sup>2</sup> The words are miyān Shah Shujā u Mahābat *sangandāzihā namūd*, and Blochmann 413 translates: "he created dissensions between Shah Shuja and Mahabat Khan." But though this may be the meaning, *sangandāzī* also means to be continually drinking, and

possibly what is meant is that 'Ali Asghar was continually drinking in the company of Shah Shujā and Mahābat. But we are not told anywhere that Mahābat was a drunkard.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot VII, 47 and 49, and Pādshāhnāma II, 109.

<sup>5</sup> Khan Daurān No. 2 of Beale.

<sup>6</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 109, *et seq.*

K., and became the Khānsāmān (steward). In the 7th year of Jahangir, 1020, 1611, his daughter Arjmand Bānū Begam, who is known as Mamtāz Mahal and was the daughter's daughter of M. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Āsaf K.,<sup>1</sup> was married to Prince Sultan Kharrām who was called Shah Jahan. In the 9th year he received the title of Āsaf K. and had increases, one after the other, until he obtained the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. At the time when there was the dust of trouble between Jahangir and Prince Shah Jahan, intriguers and evil-thinking persons suspected Āsaf K. of favouring the prince, and alienated the mind of the Begam from a brother who was the pillar of the empire.

*Verse.*

When self-interest appears, wit goes into hiding.  
A hundred veils spread from the heart to the eyes.

As she considered him to be an obstacle to her designs, she had him removed from the court on the pretext that he should bring away the treasures from Agra. But as the prince (Shah Jahan) had arrived at Fathpūr, Āsaf K. did not think it advisable<sup>2</sup> to remove the treasure from the blessed fort of Agra and turned back to go to court. He had not reached Mathura when the counsellors of the prince urged that at such a time it was not advisable to allow a leader like Āsaf K. to depart and that the neglect of such an opportunity was contrary to prudence. The prince—whose sole desire was to win his father's favour—behaved with the utmost moderation. Afterwards, when the prince turned back from confronting his father and turned his rein to Malwa, Āsaf K., in the 18th year, was appointed Governor of Bengal. But when it became known that the prince had gone to Bengal, the Begam became apprehensive about the departure of her

<sup>1</sup> Nūr Jahān's marriage took place in the sixth year, not in the seventh, and on New Year's Day of 1020, corresponding to 10 or 11 March O.S. of 1611. See the *Iqbāl-nāma* 56 and Blochmann 509. Arjmand Bānū, the wife of Shah Jahan, was her niece,

her father being Nūr Jahān's elder brother. Arjmand Bānū's mother was the daughter of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Qazwīnī, the Āsaf K. II of Badayūnī and Blochmann 433. He was a. Agha or Āqā Mullā Dawātdār.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot VI, 384—85.

brother<sup>1</sup> and had him turned back. When in the 21st year, 1035, 1626, Mahābat K. prevailed on the bank of the Jhīlam, owing to Āsaf's negligence and perfunctoriness, and got possession of Jahangir, Āsaf K.—who was the cause of all this disturbance—saw after this ill-omened movement had taken place that his efforts had failed, and that it was hopeless to attain release from so powerful an enemy. He was compelled to go to the fort of Atak, which was in his fief, and to take shelter there. Mahābat K. sent a body of troops under the command of his son M. Bahrawar<sup>2</sup> to prosecute the siege with activity. Afterwards he went himself and brought him out by promises and agreements and guarded him near himself along with his son Abū Ṭalīb and son-in-law Khalil Ullah. After he (Mahābat) became a fugitive from court he delayed to release Āsaf, but after the king became urgent he remembered his oaths and promises and sent him to court. At this time Āsaf was made governor of the Panjab and also had the high office of Vakil conferred upon him. After that he obtained the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. In the year 1037, 1627, and 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, the king left the station of Rajaur on his way back from Kashmīr. On the road he asked for his accustomed cup, but when he put it to his lips, he could not swallow.<sup>3</sup> Till he reached the next station he was in this state. Next day, 27 Ṣafr,<sup>4</sup> he took the last journey (ṣafr). There was a great commotion in the camp. Āsaf K. released Dāwar Bakhsh, Khusrau's son, from prison and made him an imaginary king. He did not believe in this, but they comforted him by strong oaths and he set out for the next station. The Begam who wished Shahriyār to attain the sovereignty, wanted to imprison Āsaf K. and Ā'zim K., the Mīr Bakhshī, both of whom were pillars of the empire and obstacles to her plans. But though she sent people to summon her brother he made excuses and did not

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has *barādarzāda*. Blochmann's own MS. has only *barādar*, and this agrees with the source, viz. Iqbāl-nāma 213. The meaning is, that Nūr Jahān was apprehensive lest her brother should collude with Shah Jahan, who was his son-in-law.

His appointment to Bengal is noted at p. 205 of Iqbāl-nāma, and it seems that he actually left to take it up.

<sup>2</sup> At vol. iii, p. 409, he is called M. Bīhrūz.

<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl-nāma 293.

<sup>4</sup> Should be 28=28 October 1637.



go to her. The Begam also followed with the body. Āṣaf K. sent off from the station of Chingiz Hatī a Hindu named Banarasi, who was the accountant of the elephant-stables and was famous for his activity and swiftness, to wait upon Shah Jahan. And as there was not time for writing he gave him a verbal message and his own signet-ring as a guarantee.<sup>1</sup> That night was spent in Naushahra, and next day they came down from the hills and encamped at Bhimbar. They made arrangements for conveying and shrouding the body and sent it on in order that it might be committed to earth in a garden on the other (i.e. other than Lahore) side of the river of Lahore (the Rāvi) which the Begam had made. As every one, high and low, was convinced that all these proceedings were but a smoothing of the way for the sovereignty of Shah Jahan, and that Dāwar Bakhsh was nothing but a sheep<sup>2</sup> for the feast, they universally followed the orders of Āṣaf Khān. He, who was not sure about the Begam, did not drop from his hand the thread of caution and prevented people from visiting her. Indeed, they say<sup>3</sup> that he brought her away from the royal quarters and assigned her a place in his own. When they were within three *kos* of Lahore, Shahriyār, who had lost his hair from the fox's disease (fox-mange, *dāu-ṣ-ṣālab*, "alopecia") and was blighted by syphilis, and had previously<sup>4</sup> hurried off to Lahore, gave himself the name of Sultan, and in the course of seven days, by expending seventy lacs of rupees, gathered together an army and sent it across the river under the command of M. Baisanghar, the son of Sultan Daniel. He himself remained in Lahore with 2 or 3000 horse and awaited the doings of destiny.

*Verse.*

"Expectant of what the heavens would reveal"

At the first<sup>5</sup> encounter his army dispersed, and went off.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot VI. 437 and Iqbāl-nāma, 298. Banarasi accomplished the journey to Junair in the Deccan in twenty days.

<sup>2</sup> *gos* and *qarḍānī*. See Vullers s.v. and Khāfi K. I. 389.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. I. 390 and Iqbāl-nāma

395 and Pādshāh-nāma I. 71. Elliot VII. 6.

<sup>4</sup> He went on to Lahore, in hopes of being cured, before Jahangir's death, Khāfi K. I. 390.

<sup>5</sup> With Āṣaf and Dāwar Bakhsh's troops. Iqbāl-nāma 296.

Shahriyār, when he heard of this dismal news, did not understand what was for his own welfare and entered the fort. With his own feet he threw himself into the net. The officers entered the citadel and put Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne. Fīrūz K., the eunuch, brought out Shahriyār, who had crept into a corner in the female apartments of Jahangir, and made him over to Ilahvardī Khān. He took off the string of his (Shahriyār's) waist and bound his hands with it and produced him before Dāwar Bakhsh, and after he had performed the kornish (obeisance) he was imprisoned and two days afterwards he was blinded.<sup>1</sup>

When these events became known to Shah Jahan from the letters of bankers<sup>2</sup> (of Gujarat) he sent<sup>3</sup> off Khidmatpurust Khān Rezā Bahādur from Ahmadabad to 'Āsaf K. and wrote with his own hands that it would be well at this time, when the heavens were troubled and the earth was seditious, if Dāwar Bakhsh and other princes were made wanderers in the plains of non-existence. Āsaf K. on Sunday 22 Rabi-al-akhir, 21 December 1627 of that year, bound Dāwar Bakhsh and had the proclamation made in the name of Shah Jahan. On 26 Jamada-al-awwal, 23 January, 1628, he brought him out<sup>4</sup> from the prison of life

<sup>1</sup> *Makhūl*, lit. was anointed with antimony. Elliot VI. 437 translates "blinded."

<sup>2</sup> *Iqbāl-nāma* 301. *Sāhūkārān*, Sources. See Wilson's Glossary.

<sup>3</sup> *Iqbāl-nāma* 303.

*Iqbāl-nāma* 303 has 22 Jamada-al-awal, 19 January 1628, as the day of the proclamation.

<sup>4</sup> The *Iqbāl-nāma* and Khāfi K. describe Dāwar Bakhsh as having been put to death, and it is difficult to see how he could escape from Lahore, unless, indeed, Āsaf K. connived at this. But, as Elphinstone points out, Olearius in his travels speaks of having seen at Qazwin a Prince Polagi. Polagi may be the same as Bolāqi which, according to Blochmann, was another name of Dāwar Bakhsh. But I rather think that there has been some mistakes

and that the Polagi whom Olearius saw was some other prince and perhaps a son of Shahriyār. Olearius's account is at pp. 253, 256, and 257. His narrative is not quite satisfactory, for it disagrees with the native historians, but is to the effect that Jahangir left two sons. The elder, he says, succeeded the father but soon after died, and then Shah Jahan usurped the throne. The expression "elder" would make the reference be to Khusrāu, but then it would be incorrect to say that he survived his father, for he died some five years before him. Possibly Shahriyār is meant. He did succeed his father, or at least claimed to do so, and then was put to death. He may have left a son. Olearius speaks of Polagi's being very young when his father died, but this does not fit Dāwar

together with his brothers Garshāsp, and Sultan Shahriyār, and Ṭahmūraṣ and Hūshang, the two sons of Sultan Daniel. When Shah Jahan arrived at Agra and became sovereign of India, Āṣaf K., together with the princes Dārā Shikoh, Muhammad Shujā, and Aurangzeb—who were his grandchildren (daughter's children)—and the officers, came from Lahore and on 2 Rajab, 27 February, 1628, did homage. Āṣaf received the title of Yemenu-d-daulah (right hand of the State) and was designated in correspondence by the name of uncle (*'ammū*, paternal uncle). He was made Vakil and had charge of the *Aṣṣuk*<sup>1</sup> seal and had the rank of 8000 with 8000 horse of the two-horse and three-horse rank, a rank which no officer had hitherto received. After this, when Yemenu-d-daulah had paraded before Shah Jahan 5000 well-equipped cavalry, he received the rank of 9000 with 9000<sup>2</sup> horse and a jagir yielding 50 lacs of rupis. In the beginning of the fifth year he was sent off with a powerful army to chastise Muhammad 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur. When he was encamped at Bijapur he stretched forth his arm to bind and to beat, and Muṣṭafa K. Muḥammad A. Aḥmin, the son-in-law of Mullā Muhammad Lārī Khairit K., the uncle of Randaulah Khān, the Abyssinian, came out from the fort and made peace by tendering forty lacs of rupis and then returned to the fort. Khawāṣ Khān, the centre of affairs in Bijapur, on perceiving the desolation of the country and the want of supplies in the imperial army, exerted himself to remedy this. They say that the scarcity was such that a pair of

Bakhsh, who had a daughter married to Daniel's son Hūshang who was put to death in 1628. It was in 1637 that Olearius saw Polagi. He never calls him Dāwar Bakhsh, and Polagi after all is not very like the name Bulāqī nor is it likely that Olearius, who was a Persian scholar, would write Polagi instead of Bulāqī. Either Polagi was another prince of the blood than Dāwar Bakhsh or he was an impostor. The last suggestion is by no means an improbable one. The author of the Iqbāl-nāma could hardly be mistaken about

Dāwar Bakhsh's fate for he was probably in Lahore at the time. At least he was with Āṣaf on the march there. See Iqbāl-nāma 296, seven lines from foot.

Tavernier also speaks of having met Sultan Bulāqī in Persia and of having eaten and drunk with him. He adds that the prince had long wandered in India as a *jaquir* and eventually had escaped to Persia. II, 215 of ed. 1676.

<sup>1</sup> A small round seal. B. 52.

<sup>2</sup> 2 horse and 3 horse, Padshah-nama II. 258.

slippers fetched forty rupis and the shoeing of a horse ten rupis. Yemenu-d-daulah was obliged to leave Bijapur and to proceed to Rai Bāgh and Mirach,<sup>1</sup> which were cultivated countries, and to plunder everything. When the rains arrived, he returned.

They say that at this time Āsaf K. had a private meeting and Ā'zim K. said, "The king now does not need you or me." Āsaf said, "The work of the State would not go on without you and me." This speech reached the king, and he disliked it. He remarked: "His good deeds are remembered by us, but in future we must not trouble him with the affairs of the kingdom." After those discourses, though the position was "Hold (the cup) awry, but don't spill,"<sup>2</sup> there was not a hairbreadth's difference in the respect with which he was treated. On the contrary, after the death of Mahābat K., he was in the 8th year made Khān Khānān and commander-in-chief. In the 15th year, 1051, he died in Lahore of chronic dropsy. They say he had a great liking for good eating. His daily food came to a Shahjahānī *man* (maund). When his illness had lasted long a cup of vetch-water was enough for him. "Oh the grief for Āsaf Khān!" *Zihe āfsōs Āsaf Khān* gives the date 1051, 1641. He was buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Jahangir. In accordance with orders a building and garden were prepared. On the day that Shah Jahan visited him during his illness he, besides his residence in Lahore, which was valued at twenty lacs of rupis, and other houses and gardens in Delhi, Agra and Kashmir, wrote down 2 khrs 50,000 rupis in jewels and coin and in gold and silver, etc., and showed them to Shah Jahan in order that they might be confiscated. The king granted twenty lacs to his three sons and five daughters and gave the Lahore residence to Dārā Shikoh. The rest was resumed.

Āsaf Khān possessed something of every science. He was especially proficient in excogitated matters, and so in the titles which were applied to him in the royal books it was written

<sup>1</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* I. 416, where it is written Maraj.

<sup>2</sup> A proverb meaning to do what is impossible. It is quoted by Bada-yūnī.

<sup>3</sup> "The tomb of Asaf K. stands in

line with the emperor's, but separated from it by an immense serai."

Keene's Agra, 37, note. He died on 17 Sh'abān 1051 = 12 November, 1641. *Pādshāhnāma* II. 257.

"Light of the genius of the Illuminati (the Platonists), learned in the science of the Peripatetics." He was also an elegant writer and had a correct idiom. He was a good accountant and versed in business. He personally examined the accounts of the officers of the exchequer and of the other officers. He had no need of any guide in this. The expenses and disbursements of his establishment were beyond comprehension, especially those which he incurred for the frequent visits to him of the king, the princes and the begams. Besides the *peshekashes* and the presents, which came to a large sum, what splendour there was in eating and drinking! And what ornamentation and decoration there were inside and outside! His servants too were of the best, and he looked after them. Like his father he was very gentle and affable. The sons and other relatives of this great officer who attained to high office in the State have been described in these pages, each in his own place, but Mamtāz Mahal, his daughter, was married to Shah Jahan in her twentieth year, and became pregnant fourteen times. Among them, four sons and three daughters survived their grandfather. In the 4th<sup>1</sup> year of the reign, 1040, 1631, in the city of Burhampur, that chaste lady, whose age exceeded 39 years, immediately after giving birth to a daughter named Goharārā<sup>2</sup> Begam, experienced a change in her condition and signed that the king should be sent for. He came, in an agitated state and had a final interview in which he gathered the treasure of the period of separation. On the 17th Ziq'ada, 7 July 1631, the Begam was buried temporarily in the garden Zainābād on the other side of the Taptī. "May the place of Mamtāz Mahal be paradise." *Jai*<sup>3</sup> *Mamtāz Mahal jinnat bād* gives the date 1040, 1631.

They say that there was an exceeding love between the two noble spouses, so that Shah Jahan, after her death, for a long time abandoned coloured raiment and the hearing of music and the

<sup>1</sup> See *Pāshāhnāma* I. 384, and *Khāfi* K. I. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Called by some *Daharārā*, but *Goharārā* is the name in *Pāshāhnāma*, p. 293. She is the *Genorara Begam* of *Mannei*, I, 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Pāshāhnāma* I. 389. The chronogram was made by *Bebadal Khān*. The tomb in which the body was temporarily placed was in the middle of a *tānk*, *id.*, 386.

use of perfumes, and put a stop to feasts, etc. For two years he shunned every kind of delicacy. Half of the property left by her, and which amounted to more than a kror of rupees, was given to the Begām Šāhiba (the eldest daughter known as Jahānārā), and the other half was divided among the other children. Six months after the death, Prince<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Shujā, Wazīr K., and Satī Khānim the Šadru-n-nisā (mistress of the women), conveyed the body to Agra and buried it in a place<sup>2</sup> south of, and close to, the river, which had belonged to Rajah Mān Singh and was now the inheritance of Rajah Jai Singh. In the course of twelve years, a tomb, such as has no parallel in India, was erected at a cost of fifty lacs of rupees. Thirty villages belonging to the Sarkār of Agra and pargana of Nagarcand,<sup>3</sup> yielding annually one lac of rupees, and the collections from the shops and serais attached to the tomb, and which amounted to two lacs of rupees, were bestowed in mortmain (*wagf*).

#### AŠĀLAT K. MĪR ‘ĀBDU-L-HĀDĪ.

Mīr Mīrān<sup>4</sup> Yezdī who, along with his father Mīr Khālil Ullah, left Persia on account of oppression in the second year of Jahangir and came to India, the abode of security. Shah Abbās Šafavī became alienated from the Mīr (Khālil Ullah) and was very wrathful with him, so that the morning of the Mīr's prosperity ended in a gloomy night. As he was helpless he fled to a foreign land. When he took himself off, only half-alive, from the place of danger, he could not take his grandchildren ‘Abdu-l-Hādī and Khālil Ullah with him, on account of their tender age and the want of time. They were, therefore, left in Persia. When the Khān ‘Ālam went on an embassy to Persia, Jahangir, out of his great kindness and affection for the Mīr Mīrān, mentioned the children in his

<sup>1</sup> *id.*, 493.

<sup>2</sup> "It was laid in a spot in the garden, still pointed out, close by the mosque, until the mausoleum was ready for her reception." Keene's Agra, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this should be Nogarchin, the well-known pleasure resort

of Akber. But it is Nagarcand in the Pādshāhnama II, 330. There is a full account of the building at this place, and the names of the thirty villages are given, with the contribution fixed upon each of them.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnama II, 528, 529.

letter and spoke to the Khān 'Ālam about bringing them. The Shah sent the two suffering ones to India, and after they had kissed the threshold their griefs were washed away.

In the third year of Shah Jahan, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Hādī was the subject of favour and received the title of Aṣālat Khān. By his good qualities, his loyalty and his zeal he became trusted, and in the 5th year was sent off along with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise 'Ādil Shah, and to devastate the country of Bijapur. When they came to Bhālkī and besieged it, the garrison, after firing with guns and muskets during the day, evacuated the place during the darkness of night by going out at a place where there were no batteries. Aṣālat K., who was prominent in this campaign, mounted on the top of the fort on a wooden platform under which pyrotechnic weapons had been left. Suddenly, fire caught them, and Aṣālat K. was blown up into the air along with the platform, and carried into a magazine. A part of his arm as well as of his face were burnt, but by God's protection he was not killed.<sup>1</sup> In the 6th year he received the rank of 1,500 with 500<sup>2</sup> horse and was made bakhshī of the army which was setting out with Shah Shujā for the conquest of Parenda. In that affair he so distinguished himself by his activity that Mahābat K., the commander-in-chief, in spite of all the crookedness of his nature, had his attention drawn to him and made over to him the signing of receipts and orders, and made him his deputy. When he came to court from that campaign in the 8th year he was appointed governor of Delhi in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm-gānī with an increase<sup>3</sup> of 1,500 and 1,700 horse, an increase necessary for the management of the province, and made a *manṣabdār* of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a flag, an elephant and a special robe of honour. When Jagtā<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnama I, 412.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnama I, Part 2, p. 67, says 800. It also says he was made bakhshī of the aḥadīs.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnama I, Part II, p. 87. The fact that he now had 2,500 horse shows that 800, and not 500, was the right amount above.

<sup>4</sup> This seems an abridgment of the name Jagat Singh. See Pādshāhnama II, 261. The Mau here mentioned is a hill state, and Nūrpūr was one of its towns. The expedition belongs to the 15th year.

the zamindar of Mau became ungrateful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Aṣālat K. The Khān set about besieging Nūrpūr, and every day the besieged were more and more hard pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagtā's chief reliance, was taken, the garrison of Nūrpūr fled at midnight, and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards, Aṣālat K. went with other chiefs to take Tāragarha. This too was accomplished. In the 18th year he was appointed, on the death of Ṣalābat K., to the high office of Mīr<sup>1</sup> Bakhshī.

When<sup>2</sup> the king determined on the conquest of Balkh, an order was given to the Amīru-l-Umarā, who was governor of Kabul, that during the interval before the arrival of the army he should get possession of as much as possible of Badakhshān. In 1055 (the beginning of February 1645), Aṣālat K. and several *manṣabdārs* and *aḥadīs* were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from among the Caghata and other tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshān). The Amīru-l-Umarā was to examine them and to assign *manṣabs* to some, and to enroll the others among the *aḥadīs*. They were also to acquaint themselves with the routes to Turan and to choose the easiest and to improve it. After Aṣālat had done these things he, in the 19th year, went from Ghorband in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā and wished to make an attempt on Badakhshān. When they came to Gulbihār<sup>3</sup> it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amīru-l-Umarā, Aṣālat K. went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days' provisions in order to attack Khinjan<sup>4</sup> and Andarāb. He crossed the Hindu<sup>5</sup> Koh and arrived at Andarāb and captured

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 385.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 416, 416.

<sup>3</sup> Text Kulhar, but it really is Gulbihār, a well-known place north of Kabul. See Pādshāhnāma II, 462, eight lines from foot.

<sup>4</sup> Khinjan and Andarāb are in the north of Afghanistan towards Badakhshān.

<sup>5</sup> The text has only az Hind.

guzashta, "crossed from India," but of course Aṣālat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is Hindu Koh as appears from the Pādshāhnāma II, 462, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have az kotā Hindu Koh guzashta, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh." See also Khafī K. I, 614.



numerous quadrupeds and other goods of the inhabitants. He then took with him the retainers<sup>1</sup> of 'Alī Dānishmandī and of the summer-quarters of Karmakī, together with the Khwājazādas of Ism'ail Atāi and Maudūdī, and Qāsim Beg, Mir of the Hazaris of Andarāb, and returned with equal rapidity.

When in this year Prince Murād Bakhsh was sent off to Balkh with a victorious army, Aṣālat was appointed to the centre (tarah)<sup>2</sup> of the right wing. He went on rapidly in advance from Kabul and worked with zeal and energy in widening the difficult parts of the road.<sup>3</sup> After the royal army had reached Balkh he, together with Bahādur K. Rohilla, pursued Naẓr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Tūrān, and put to flight the vagabonds of the desert. He received an increase of 1000 and was made a *panj hazārī* (5000). When the prince did not approve<sup>4</sup> of staying in the country, he turned back, and the government of the locality was made<sup>5</sup> over to Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. To the former was entrusted the duty of extirpating the rebellious, while the business of the army and of the treasury and looking after the peasantry was committed to the latter. In the end of the same 20th year 1057, 1647, Khūshī Labcāq, with 5000 *almānān*<sup>6</sup> (freebooters) horse, at the orders of Ābdul-l-'Azīz K., the ruler of Bokhara, crossed (the Oxus) at the ferry of Kilif with the intention of making a raid on Daragaz (tamarisk vale) and Shādmān which were the pasturage-ground of the quadrupeds of the imperial army. Aṣālat K. considered it his business to chastise those raiders, and so he went off swiftly and came up with them when they

<sup>1</sup> The word in text is *ahshām*, for which see Irvine A. of M. 180. 'Alī Dānishmandī is, I suppose, the name of a place or tribe. The text has *يلاق كرمكي* *yalāq karmakī*. I have taken the first word to be *ailāq* "summer-quarters." Karmaki may be *kōmakī*, "militia." The Pādshāhnāma has *لا بچن و کومکي*. Perhaps they are all names of places. Apparently one object of Aṣālat K.'s raid was to bring back some leaders of the tribes. See Khāfi K. I, 614.

<sup>2</sup> Irvine 227.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 509. Aṣālat exerted himself to clear away the snow, *id.* 513.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 558. Elliot VII, 70.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 580.

<sup>6</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 654, 656. See Pavet de Courteille Dict. s. v. and his translation of Bābur's Mem. II, 363 n., and A. N. Trans. I, 269 note. Khāfi K. II, 658, has *Almanīān*; Elliot VII. 77 and 78 has *Almans*.

were driving off some of the cattle. He attacked them like a Rustam and killed many and rescued the animals, and then pursued the remainder who had escaped the sword. When night threw her dark pall he halted in Daragaz, and for the purpose of renewing his ablutions threw off his doublet (*chilla*, lit. forty-folds). The wind caught him and he got fever, and returned to the city (Balkh). From this blow he lay powerless on his bed, and in the course of two weeks he folded up the carpet of his life. Since as yet forty stages on the road of his life had not been passed, and he had performed noble deeds, the king lamented<sup>1</sup> his death and said if death had given him time he would have done still greater things, and have risen to high office. Aṣālat K. was famed for his good qualities and good life, and was the unique of the age for gentleness and modesty. Harsh language never issued from his lips, and he never tried to injure anybody. Courage in him went hand in hand with counsel.<sup>2</sup> His sons were Sultan Ḥusain Iftikhār K., Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Multafat K., and Bahāu-d-dīn. They have been mentioned in their own place. The last of them did not so much distinguish himself.

### AṢĀLAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD.

Son of Mīrẓā Badīa' of Mashhad, who was one of the great Saiyids of that holy place. His ancestors had been the guardians of the shrine of the holy eighth Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā—Peace be upon him and on his ancestors! The Mīrẓā came to India in the 19th year and entered the service of Shah Jahan. He received a suitable office, and the daughter of Shah Newāz Ṣafavī was given to him in marriage. When in the 22nd year Prince Murād Bakhsh was made governor of the Deccan and went off there, Shah Newāz Ṣafavī, who had been appointed to protect the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II, 660.

<sup>2</sup> Aṣālat Khan died in Balkh on 22 Rabi'-al-awal 1057, 17th April, 1647. He had attained the rank of 3000 with 4000 horse. Pādshāhnāma, II, 720. Khāfi K. II. 566 mentions a son

of Aṣālat named Muḥammad S'ā'id. Khālil Ullah, the brother of Aṣālat went into retirement after his death. Khāfi K. II. 660, but afterwards returned to service.

try after the death of Islām K., was made vakīl and guardian of the prince. The Mirzā on account of his marriage went with Shah Newāz, and at the prince's request, obtained the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. Shah Newāz made him general of the army of the Deccan and sent him against the ruler of Deogarha (afterwards Daulatabad). The Mirzā at first was a great stickler for the etiquette of the Persian kings, and the imperial servants, who regarded themselves as his equals and as his fellow-servants, were much offended. Afterwards he adopted Indian manners, and laboured to amend this dislike. As he had good sense, he soon conquered the country and brought things into order. Afterwards Shah Newāz arrived and arranged Deogarha in accordance with the Mirzā's recommendations. When he returned to Burhānpūr, he had a great gathering on account of the birth of a son, and brought Prince Murād Bakhsh and all the officers to his quarters and lavished gold. When in the 23rd year the *ṣubāhdārī* of Malwa was given to Shah Newāz K., the Mirzā was appointed to that province and received the *faujdārī* and fiefdom of Mandasor. In the 25th year he was made faujdār of Māndū. When in the 30th year Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to devastate the territory of 'Adīl Shah, the Mirzā was appointed to go with him. The work had not been finished when the times assumed another aspect and there was change and confusion in all the imperial territories. The Mirzā remained in the Deccan. When Aurangzeb went off from Burhānpūr to Agra he conferred on the Mirzā the title of Aṣālat K. and the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse and a *togh* (standard) and drums. After the beginning of the reign he had an increase of 500 horse and was sent to the Deccan. He conveyed Prince Muḥammad Akbar, who was then a baby at the breast, and the ladies to the capital. At this time he went into retirement, but in the 3rd year he again became an object of favour and received the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse and was made *faujdār* of Moradabad in succession to Qāsim K. In the 7th year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After that he had a severe illness and was for a long time indisposed. In the 9th year and end of 1079, 1669, he died. His brother Mīr Muḥammad arrived at court from Persia in the 14th year of 'Ālamgīr and received the rank of 1000

with 4000 horse and the title of 'Aqādat Khān. Kābul Begam, the daughter of Rūḥ Ullah K. the 1st, was given to him in marriage, and he soon afterwards died.

### ASHRAF KHĀN-MĪR MUNSHĪ.

His name is Muḥammad Asghar, and he belonged to the Ḥusainī Saiyids of Mashhad. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī* reckons him among the 'Arabshahi Saiyids, and probably there is not much difference between these two statements. Abul Fazl's statement, however, that he was of Sabzawār is undoubtedly a writer's error. He was skilful in letter-writing and in the niceties of words, and did not deviate a hair's breadth from correctness. As a calligrapher he was one who could write in seven styles. He was specially skilful in the Ta'aliq and Naskh ta'aliq styles, in which he was unique of the age. He reduced the science of *j'afar* (magic) into practice. He was in the service of Humāyūn and obtained the style of Mīr Munshī. After the conquest of India he was made Mīr 'Arz and Mīr Māl. (Master of petitions, etc., B. 257, and Master of the Privy Purse, B. VI. note). In the battle which Tardī Beg Khān had with Hemū Baqqāl (grocer), he as well as others took to flight. He was imprisoned by Bairām K. along with Sultan 'Alī Afzal Khān, and afterwards went off towards Mecca. In the 5th year, 968 (1560) he presented himself before Akbar when he was proceeding from Macīwāra to the Siwaliks to make an end of the affairs of Bairām K. After that he was always treated with kindness and promoted. In the 6th year he received the title of Ashraf K. on Akbar's return from Malwa. He was sent off to Bengal along with Mun'im K. the Khān-Khānān. He died in Gaur in 983<sup>1</sup> (1575-76) at the time of the pestilence there. He attained to an office of 2000. He had a poetical turn and occasionally wrote verse. The following are his :—

#### *Verse.*

O God, burn me not with the fire of wrath,  
Light the lamp of peace in my soul's house,

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has 973, having copied the *Mirāt 'Ālam*. See Blochmann, 389 n.

Graciously knit with the thread of pardon  
This robe of service<sup>1</sup> which has been torn by trespasses.

He made the following chronogram on the reservoir which Maulānā<sup>2</sup> Mir constructed in Agra :—

*Verse.*

Mullā Mir made on God's highway  
A well to succour the poor and needy,  
Should a thirsty lip ask the year of building  
Say, "Take some water from the boon reservoir."

His son Mir Mozaffar also obtained fitting rank during Akbar's reign and in the 48th year was appointed to the government of Oudh. Husainī and Barhānī the grand-children of Ashraf K. held small appointments in the time of Shah Jahan.

#### ASHRAF K. KHWĀJA BARKHŪRDĀR.

Son-in-law of Mahābat K. and one of the Khwājazādas of the Naqshbandī order. They say that when Mahābat K. married his daughter to the Khwāja, without informing Jahangir, the latter became angry and summoned the Khwāja to his presence, and had him whipped with a thorny<sup>3</sup> scourge. When

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quoted by Badayūni, III. 182, and he has *zindagī* "life" instead of *bandagī* as in the text here. *Bandagī*, however, seems more poetical.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the Mullā Mir of Blochmann, 542, No. 73. He was a physician. He may also be the Mullā Mir Ṭabīb of the Ṭabaqāt, or he may be the Mullā Mir Kalān of the same book. The chronogram is very ingenious. By saying "Take some water" *ābī*, it means that 13, the *abjad* value of *ābī*, should be taken from the words *baqū-i-khair* "The boon reservoir," the *abjad* value of which words is 987. If we deduct 13 from 987 we get 974, or 1587, which is the date of the making of the well.

This biography seems to be one of those which was added to by 'Abdul Hayy for the poetry does not appear in the first edition. Ashraf's takhalluṣ was Ḥaif "Alas." He is mentioned as a calligrapher in the Āin, Blochmann, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. I. 360. Elphinstone says he was beaten with thorns, but perhaps *khurdār* is merely a rhetorical epithet. It even seems doubtful from Khāfi K. if there was any whipping, and perhaps what was done was that Barkhurdār had a belt of thorns put round him and was sent with naked feet to prison. Apparently, however this is only Khāfi K.'s rhetoric. Both the Tūzuk 40) and the Iqbāl-nāma 253 say the young man was

Mahābat K. joined Shah Jahan the Khawājah came with him, and entered his service. In the first year of Shah Jahan he obtained a commission of 1000 with 500 horse. In the 8th year he got a commission of 1500 with 800 horse; in the 23rd year by the increase of 700 horse his staffs (*tābinān*) was made equal to his personal (*zāt*) allowance. In the 28th year of Shah Jahan he was appointed to the government of fort Ūsā (Owsa) in the Deccan and obtained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb he received the title of Ashraf K. In the second year he was removed from the government of the fort above mentioned and came to court. The year of his death is not known.

#### ASHRAF K. MĪR MUHAMMAD ASHRAF.

Eldest son of Islām K. Mashhadī. He possessed all spiritual qualities, and was noted for his comprising all the excellences of humanity. When his father was Nāẓim of the Deccan he was appointed by him to take charge of Burhānpūr. When his father died he got an increase of 500 with 200 horse and obtained the rank of 1500 with 500 horse. In the 26th year he was made superintendent of the branding. When in the 27th year Prince Dārā Shikoh went with a large army on the Qandahar expedition, Ashraf had an increase of 500 and was made diwān of the force with the title of I'timād K. After that he was made superintendent of the royal library. In the end of the 31st year, when the reign of Shah Jahan was nearly at an end, he was made diwān and bakhshī of the army of Sulaimān Shikoh when that Mirzā was appointed under the guardianship of Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh, to act against Shuja'. After the battle of Samugarh and the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, when the standards of 'Ālamgīr were raised for world-conquest, Ashraf separated from Sulaimān Shikoh's companionship and went from Islāmābād-Mathura to do homage, and obtained an increase of rank. At the same time when the royal army crossed the Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, Ashraf was

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flogged, though neither speaks of thorns. He was the son of Khawāja 'Umar Naqshbandī, and the whipping was in the 21st year of the reign of Jahangir.

made governor of Kashmīr in the place of Lashkar K. In the 10th year he received a robe of honour and was made *diwān* of the estate of Begam Ṣāḥiba (Jahānārā, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan) in the room of Rezavī K. of Bokhara. In the 13th year he obtained the rank of 3000 and was made *Khānsāmān*. He served in this employment for a long time and in the 21st year was *Waq'akhwān* (historiographer). When in the 24th year Himmāt K. Mīr Bakhshī died, Ashraf became 1st Bakhshī and did good service. On 9 *Zilq'ada* of the 30th year, 1097, 17 September 1686, the lamp of the life of that noble nature was extinguished. He was adorned with peacefulness, piety and purity. Inasmuch as he had a taste for Sufism, he made a selection from the *Maṣnavī* of the Maulānā (Jalālu-d-dīn) and had much pleasure in studying the poem. He also wrote <sup>1</sup> perfectly *Naskh*, *Shikasta*, *T'aliq* and *Nast'aliq*. High <sup>2</sup> and low made his *shikast*-writing their exemplar of good penmanship. He had no son.

#### 'ASKAR KHĀN NAJM ṢĀNĪ.

His name was 'Abdullah Beg. In Shah Jahan's reign in the 12th year he received a suitable rank and was made governor of the fort of Kālīnjar. Afterwards he joined Prince Dārā Shikoh and was made his Mīr Bakhshī. In the 30th year he had the title of 'Askar K., and when, after the defeat of Maharajah Jeswant Singh, Aurangzeb marched towards Agra, he, on the part of Dārā Shikoh had in company with Khalil Ullah the charge of guarding the Dhohpūr ferry, and on the day of battle he was in the vanguard. At the second <sup>3</sup> engagement (the one at Ajmere) he was in the battery near Garha <sup>4</sup> Pathlī. When Dārā Shikoh went off in confusion, and without announcement, to Gujarat, 'Abdullah heard of this at the end of the night and obtained quarter from Ṣaf-shikn K. and joined him. He was admitted into service and

<sup>1</sup> There is in the British Museum an album presented by him. See Rieu's Catalogue II. 778. There is also a reference to Ashraf in *Khāfi* K. II. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "Young and old."

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi* K. II. 73, 74.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 313, where the battery, or entrenchment (*siḥā*), is called Garha Bethālī. See also for name of entrenchment, *id.* 326.

received a robe of honour. Afterwards he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Khān-Khānān Mu'azzam K. and went to Bengal.<sup>1</sup> In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he went with Buzurg Umed K. to take Chittagong. Nothing more is known of him.

### ĀTISH K. HĀBSHĪ.

One of the officers of the rulers of the Deccan. In the time of Jahangir he came to court and was promoted to a suitable *mansab*. After that, when Shah Jahan succeeded, he in the first year received the rank of 2000 horse, and in the third year, when the imperial army came to the Deccan, he received a reward of 25,000 rupees, and was chosen to accompany Shaista K. in his expedition to punish Khān Jahān Lodi and the Nizām Shah. After that he was entered among the Deccan auxiliary forces and in the siege of Daulatabad in company with the Khān-Khānān Mahābat K., and afterwards with Khān Zamān performed zealous service. Afterwards he came to the Presence and in the 13th year received a robe of honour and a horse and 10,000<sup>2</sup> rupees, and was made faujdār of Bhagalpur in Bihar. In the 15th year when Shaista Khān, the governor of that province, proceeded against the zamindar of Palamau, he had charge of the right wing. In the 17th year he came to court and presented an elephant as *peshkash*. It appears that he was again appointed to the Deccan, and that he came back in the 24th year and presented another elephant. In the 25th year, 1061, 1651, he died.

### ĀTISH KHĀN JĀN BEG.

Son of Bakhtān<sup>3</sup> Beg Rūzbihānī, who in the first year of Aurangzeb's reign was killed in the battle with Muhammad Shujā. Jān Beg became known to the king in his father's lifetime, and in the 21st year obtained the title of Ātish Khān. In the 25th year he

<sup>1</sup> 'Askar was at one time faujdār of Benares, 'Ālamgīrnāma 625. He was also in the Assam expedition, Khāfi K. II. 171, and went to Koch Behar, 'Ālamgīrnāma 948.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 180 has 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. II. 57 where it is suggested that the name should be Bākhtiyār, and 'Ālamgīrnāma 262, last line. He was in charge of the artillery. Rūzbihānī was the title of two Muhammadan saints.



became Mīr Tūzuk in the place of Salāḥ K. One of his brothers was Maṣṣūr K., and for some time was Mīr Ātish (chief of the artillery) of the Deccan, and afterwards became governor of (the fort of) Aurangabad. The second was Yūsuf K., who in the time of Aurangzeb was *faujdār* of Qamarnagar, i.e. Karnūl. In the time of Bahādur Shah he was made Nāẓim of Haidarabad. It was he who put to death the sedition-monger Pāprā. Their descendants are still in the Deccan.

The brief account of Pāprā is as follows; he was one of the low tradesmen <sup>1</sup> of Telingāna. In the time of Aurangzeb, when Rustum Dil K., son of Mukhtar, was the *ṣubāḥdār* of Haidarabad, Pāprā killed his own sister, who was rich, and thereby collected footmen (*piadas*), and having made himself a refuge on a mountain, he stretched out the hand of robbery and oppression over the travellers and the peasantry. The *faujdārs* and landholders tried to seize him, and he hearing this went to Wankat (Venkat Rao), the zamindar of pargana Būlās, <sup>2</sup> in the sarkār of Īlkandal, and became his servant. After some time he began there to practise robbery, and the zamindar having proof of this put him in prison. As the zamindar's son fell <sup>3</sup> ill, he was released along with the other prisoners, and having gone to the village of Shāhpūr in the pargana of Tārikanda (Narganda), sarkār of Bhunger (Bhonaghir), which was a rugged place, he associated himself with a turbulent person named Sarwā. There he built a fort and openly practised attacking and plundering. Rustum Dil K. commissioned Qāsim K. jama'dār, who was *faujdār* of pargana Kulpāk, which was in the neighbourhood of Shāhpūr, and strictly charged him to seize Pāprā. In the battle Qāsim K. was killed,

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. says he belonged to the caste of the toddy-sellers, II. 631. See Elliot VII. 410 where he is called Pāp Rājī.

<sup>2</sup> Būlās is Kūlās or Kaulās in Khāfi I. II. 631. It is marked on the maps as Kowlass and Kaulas, and is in the Haidarabad State, N.N.W. Haidarabad and N. Bidar. Īlkandal is the Eilgundal of the map and lies

east of Kaulās. Kaulās is interesting as being the place where 'Abdu-l-Hayy the son of Shah Newāz, and part author of the Maasir, died. See Rieu, Cat. I. 342.

<sup>3</sup> The boy's mother released all the prisoners in hopes that thereby her son would get better. Khāfi K. II. 631.

and Sarwā having engaged in a foolish dispute with Pur Dil K., the jama'dār of his own piadas, about military matters, they fought a duel in which Sarwā was killed.<sup>1</sup> Pāprā was now supreme and set about building the fort of Tārikanda. He raided as far as Wārangol and Bhunger, and set open the gates of calamity for the inhabitants of that country.

Bahādur Shah after his victory over Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh made Yūsuf K. Rūzbihānī ṣubāḥdār of Haidarabad and issued strict orders for the seizure of Pāprā. The said Khān appointed Dilāwar K. jama'dār with a suitable force, and the latter attacked Pāprā at a time when he was pressing the siege of Kulpāk. After a fight he defeated him and established a military station (thāna) in Kulpāk. Meanwhile Pāprā's father-in-law's son had for a long time been imprisoned in Shāhpūr along with others, and was subjected to severe treatment. Except his wife, who every day brought him his food, no one was allowed to visit him. By means of his wife, he procured several files, and with them he cut his leg-irons and also those of some other prisoners, and on a day when Pāprā had gone out of Shāhpūr to fish, he came out of prison along with others, and killed the piadas who were guarding him, and also those at the gate, and took possession of the fort. On hearing of this Pāprā became agitated and came near the fort, and a gun was fired from the top of the fort. As his brothers<sup>2</sup> had informed the zamindars of Kulpāk that this (the firing of the cannon) would occur, so as soon as the report was heard, Dilāwar K. set off with a force. When he came near Shāhpūr there was a great disturbance and fighting. At last Pāprā was defeated and fled to Tārikanda.<sup>3</sup> When Yūsuf K. heard this he first appointed<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 633 says they were both killed. Perhaps the meaning is not that they quarrelled about military matters, but that like soldiers they challenged one another. Ferishta refers to the frequency of duels in the Deccan. The text has *jang ilang*, Khāfi K. has *jang ilangi*, and this is right, *yakang* being a Deccani word—one body. Instead of Pur Dil Khān, which seems an unlikely title here,

I.O. MS. 628 has *Tabal* "drummer." It also has *ba jang yakang* "in a duel."

<sup>2</sup> *Barādarānash*, but from Khāfi K. it appears that the brother-in-law told his wife to inform the zamindars. Probably we should read *barādar ba zan*.

<sup>3</sup> Here spelt with a long ā.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. II. 641.

M. Alī his manager, and then went himself with a suitable force, and besieged Tārikanda for nine months. Then he set up a flag<sup>1</sup> of truce (*ghanda-i-qaul*) to the effect that whoever came out of the fort would get a present. Pāprā changed<sup>2</sup> his appearance and came out of the fort, but fell into the hands of the same brother-in-law and was arrested. When they brought him before Yūsuf K. he divided him, limb by limb, and sent his head to court.

Verse.<sup>3</sup>

How well did the old farmer say to his son,  
 "Light of my eyes, you'll reap naught but what you've  
 sown."

‘AZDU-D-DAULA ĪWAZ K. BAHADUR QASWARA JANG  
 (LION OF BATTLE).

His name was Khwāja Kamāl and he was daughter's son of the sister of Mir Bahāu-d-dīn of Samarkand. His father, Mir ‘Īwaz by name, was one of the Haidarī Saiyids, and ‘Azdu-d-daulah was married to Khadija Begam, the daughter of Qulij<sup>4</sup> K. Saiyid Niyāz K., his mother's brother, held in the 47th year of Aurangzeb the rank of 1500 with 500 horse and the deputy-governorship of Bijapur. After that monarch's death, when Sultan Kām Bakhsh went against Bijapur, he, on the ground of making some inquiries, delayed a while (saying that he would) join Kām Bakhsh later. But without giving him notice he suddenly went off and joined A’zim Shah. Saiyid Niyāz K. the second, who was his son and was married to the daughter of I’timādu-d-daulah Qamaru-d-dīn, was ripped open in the time of Nādir Shah on account of his exhibiting some insolence. ‘Azdu-d-daula came

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Khāfi K. II. 642.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*

<sup>3</sup> This biography is marked Q, it being an addition by the author's son ‘Abdu-l-Hayy. It is abridged from Khāfi K. II. 630 *et seq.*, and even the concluding verse is taken from there.

The story of Pāprā is also told in the Hadiqau-l-‘Ālam of Abū-l-Qāsim

II. 15 (lithograph). The verse is from Hafiz.

<sup>4</sup> This is ‘Abid Khawāja, the grandfather of the famous Nizām-ul-mulk Asaf Jāh. See Maasir II. 872 and Khāfi K. II. 951, where it is said that ‘Azdu-d-daulah was married to Fath Jang's, i.e. Nizām-ul-mulk's, aunt.

from Tūrān to India in the time of Aurangzeb, and by the influence of Khān Fīrūz Jang was given the title of 'Iwāz K. and accompanied Fīrūz Jang, and in the province of Aḥmadabad looked after his household. After Fīrūz Jang's death he came to court, and at first through the instrumentality of Mīr Jamla ('Abdullah, Maasir II. 761) he was attached to the province of Berar in the time of Farrukh Siyar. Afterwards as deputy of the Amīru-l-Umarā Husain 'Alī K. (one of the Bārha Saiyids) he was made governor of the said province. He applied himself to the management of the province and displayed courage. In the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shah, when Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the south from Malwa, he gathered the real meaning of the letters, and collected a proper force, and joined Āṣaf Jāh in Burhanpur. In the battle with Dilāwar 'Alī K., who made a violent attack on him and killed many of his men, though his elephant<sup>1</sup> turned back a little, he did not lose courage and was not lacking in jeopardizing his life. In the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī K. he was on the right-wing, and after the victory—which took place near Aurangabad—he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and the title of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah Bahādur Qaswara Jang (Lion of Battle), and was made substantive governor of Berar. Gradually he attained to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse, and in the 2nd year when Āṣaf Jāh addressed himself to the task of settling the Bijapur province, 'Aẓdu-d-daulah was left behind in Aurangabad as deputy. Afterwards, when Āṣaf Jāh according to the summons of Muḥammad Shāh proceeded to the capital, he left the offices of the diwānī and the bakhshiship with 'Aẓdu-d-daulah and made him deputy with full powers. After going to court when he (Āṣaf Jāh) was ordered to chastise Ḥaidar Qulī K. Nāṣir Jang, who was making a disturbance in the province of Aḥmadabad (Gujarat), 'Aẓdū-d-daulah was sent for by him and came with a force and for some time accompanied him, but at the stage of Jhābwa, a dependency of Malwa, he left him and obtained leave to go to his own estates. In the battle with Mubārīz K. 'Imādu-l-mulk, he did good service

and afterwards, in the year 1143, 1730-31, he died of disease, and was buried at the shrine of S. Burhānu-d-dīn Gharīb (may God have mercy upon him!). He had a share of learning, and strove to put it into practice. He behaved with respect to learned men, and with courtesy to faquirs and pious persons. He used great exertions to put down the oppressors and to support the weak. He was swift in observing the rules of justice and in inflicting punishment. He built the mosque of Shāh Ganj in Aurangabad, of which the chronogram is Khujasta<sup>1</sup> Banyād. Though the tank in front of it was made by Ḥusain 'Alī K., yet he widened it. The Ḥaweli and Bārahdārī which he made in that city are famous. He kept a good and abundant table. Of his sons, the eldest was Saiyid Jamāl K., who in his father's lifetime attained to maturity and distinguished himself by courage in battles. After the battle with Mubārīz K. he attained the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse and was made his father's deputy in the government of Berar. When Āṣaf Jāh went to court and left Nizāmu-d-daulah in the Deccan, and the Mahratta disturbance increased more and more, he was appointed to the government of Berar and received the title of Qaswara Jang. After the return of Āṣaf Jāh he went and sate with Nāṣir Jang in the Rauza of Shāh Burhānu-d-dīn Gharīb, and he took part along with Nāṣir Jang in the battle with his father. Āṣaf Jāh pardoned his offences and sent for him and confirmed him in his jagir. He died in 1159, 1746. He left many sons. The second son (of Azdu-d-daulah) was Khawāja Mūmin K. who in Āṣaf Jāh's time was made Naib-governor of Haidarabad and Matṣadī there. He did good service in chastising 'Alī K. Qarāwal who was servant of Roghū Bhonsla. For a time he was governor of Burhanpur, and in the time of Ṣalābat Jang he obtained the title of 'Azdu-d-daulah and was appointed to be governor of Nandair. At last he was contented with the jagir of pargana Pātwar<sup>2</sup> Shaiḫ Bābū in Berar. He died some years ago. He left a large family. The third son was Khawāja 'Abdu-l-Hādī K. who for a long time was governor of the

<sup>1</sup> The suspicious foundation."  
The chronogram yields 1135, 1722-23.

<sup>2</sup> Pātār Shaiḫ Bābū in Sarkār

Narnālah, J. II. 234, the Pātūr of  
I.G. XX, 76. It is in the Berars.

fort of Māhwar.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of Ṣalābat Jang's rule he was removed and afterwards restored and given the title of *Zāhīru-d-daulah* Qaswara Jang. He died some years ago. He too left sons. He was a princely-minded man and of an awakened heart, and had much affection for the writer. The fourth was *Khawāja* 'Abdu-r-Rashīd K. Bahādur Himmāt Jang. The fifth was *Khawāja* 'Abdu-sh-Shahīd K. Bahādur Haibat Jang. Both are servants of *Nizāmu-d-daulah*<sup>2</sup> Āṣaf Jāh.

#### A'ẒIM K. KOKA.

Known as Fedāi K. Koka, his name was Mozaffar Ḥusain and he was the elder brother of *Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh*. In the time of Shah Jahan he distinguished himself during his long service of H.M. by his rectitude and trustworthiness. At first he was *darogha* of the court of justice, and afterwards he was sent as ambassador to Bijapur to convey some presents to 'Ādil Shah. In the 22nd year he had an appointment in the *Tūzuk* department. In the 23rd year he was made *bakhshī* of the *Aḥādīs*, and in the 24th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made *bakhshī* of the *manṣabdārs* of Kabul, and *darogha* of the artillery there. In the 26th year he came to court and was made *Mir Tūzuk*. After that he was made superintendent of the special elephants, and eventually of all the elephants. In the 29th year he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers, and on the removal of Tarbiyat K. the post of *Mir Tūzuk* was added to his duties. He had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the beginning of the 30th year he had the title of Fedāi *Khān* conferred upon him. After that when Aurangzeb became the ruler, he was, on account of his fosterage relation, the recipient of royal favours, and when the king, in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh, halted at the garden of Agharābād<sup>3</sup> near Delhi, he was given a drum and sent<sup>4</sup> off

<sup>1</sup> The Mahur of Haig's Hist. Landmarks, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> The son of the original *Nizāmu-l-mulk* Āṣaf Jāh.

<sup>3</sup> N. of Delhi and the same as Shālī-

mār, Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1904, 307. Text has A'zābād, and so has the *Alamgīrnāma* 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Alamgīrnāma* 148.

with the Amīru-l-umarā Shaista K. to dispose of the affair of Sulaimān Shikoh who had hastened from Lucknow and was seeking to join his father. The Khān (Fedai) went ahead of the Amīru-l-umarā to Būriya<sup>1</sup> (?) and learnt that Sulaimān Shikoh wished to go with the assistance of Prithī Singh, the ruler of Srīnagar, by the crossing at Hardwār to Lahore. Fedāi travelled eighty *kos* in twenty-four hours and arrived at Hardwār. On account of his arrival, Sulaimān Shikoh was unable to cross and had to go to the hill-country, to Srīnagar.<sup>2</sup> Fedāi returned to court and obtained leave to go with Khalil Ullah K. who had been appointed to pursue Dara Shikoh. At the time when Aurangzeb came to Qasūr with the intention of proceeding to Multan, he was summoned to the presence, and on the death of Irādat K., the *ṣubāḥdar* of Oudh, he was made *faujdar* thereof and of Gorakhpur. After the battle with Shujā and his flight, he was appointed to assist 'Muazzam K. Mīr Jumla and attached to Sultan Muḥammad and directed to pursue the fugitive Shujā'. When Sultan Muḥammad in the very crisis of the struggle with his uncle became vexed by the supremacy of M'uazzam K. and joined Shujā', and afterwards repented and became an object of ridicule by returning to the imperial army, M'uazzam K., in accordance with orders, sent<sup>3</sup> Fedāi with a body of troops to take charge of the prince and to conduct him to court. In the fourth year he became Mīr Ātish (superintendent of artillery) in succession to Ṣafshikan K., and received a robe of honour.

In the beginning of the sixth year the delightful country of Kashmīr was visited by Aurangzeb. There was the Sambal<sup>4</sup> tribe, which was a branch of the Afghan Niyāzī tribe, and it dwelt on the other side of the Indus. In former times some of them dwelt in the village of Dhankot,<sup>5</sup> which is known as M'uazzam-nagar<sup>6</sup> and is situated on this side of the river, and as they were

<sup>1</sup> The 'Ālamgīrnāma speaks of Būriya and Sahāranpur. The *Mīrāt-ul-Ālam* has Biharpūr Būriya.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 166. It is in the *Siwālīks*.

<sup>3</sup> *Maasir* A. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the Samal of Bellw. See 'Ālamgīrnāma 827 and Elliot IV. 428—32 and 496, where they are called Sambhals.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett II. 401.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Aurangzeb gave this

sources of wickedness and sedition, the *faujdārs* and governors had caused them to move from this side to the other. At this time this tribe, on account of their ignorance, trod the path of disaffection and crossed the Indus and took possession of the royal thāna. Fedāi, who was on the bank of the Chīnāb with the artillery, was directed to uproot them, and he cleansed the country of the thorn of their existence. He made a settlement of the land, and after making over the administration to *Khanjar K.*, who had been appointed to the *faujdārī* thereof, he returned. In the same year the king, when he was returning from Lahore to the capital, halted at the hunting-place of Kānwādahan<sup>1</sup> and sent Fedāi to chastise the seditious people of Patna-Jālandhar who had raised up the head of disaffection. In the seventh year he was made a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 2500 horse. In the tenth year he was made *faujdār* of Gorakhpūr with an increase of 1500 horse, becoming a *manṣabdār* of 4000 with 4000 horse. Afterwards the ṣubāḥ of Oudh was added. In the thirteenth year he came to court and was made ṣubāḥdar of Lahore. When a strange (*gharīb*) defeat happened at the station of *Gharibkhāna*<sup>2</sup> to Muḥammad Amīn K. the subāḥdār of Kabul, Fedāi hastened from Lahore to Peshawar and arranged for the subjugation of the tract. Afterwards he took part in the Jamū campaign. When in the 17th year the king encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl, Fedāi was appointed to the government of Kabul in succession to Mahābat K. and went off there with a suitable force and equipment. With Aghar<sup>3</sup> (Aghuz) K. in the van he endeavoured to chastise the evil-minded Afghans and fought his way by Bāzārak and Sehcoba from Peshawar to Jalālābād, and from thence to Kabul. At the time of returning, the Afghans gathered together more numerous than ants or locusts and blocked the road. There

name to the village. 'Ālamgīrnāma 828. Dhankot or Dhinkot, the Dinkot of Erskine, Babar's Mem., p. 140, note 4, appears to have been on the east side of the Indus, as here stated, though the 'Ālamgīrnāma has *anrūtī* instead of *inrūtī* as in the Maasir.

<sup>1</sup> كيانو دھان variant Kānū wa Ḥān,

but in Ain, Persian text I, it is Kānū-wāhan. Jarrett II. 319 has Kaon Wāhan. It was in the Bārī Dūāb.

<sup>2</sup> "Between Peshawar and Kabul." Khāfi K. II. 232. Amīn K. was son of Mir Jamla. It is mentioned in A.N. III. 519 as a thāna.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. II. 240.



was a severe engagement. The vanguard became<sup>1</sup> disorganized and the bulk of the artillery and the baggage was plundered. It was near being a great defeat. Fedāi kept the centre firm and he recalled Aghar K. from the thāna of Gandamak, and re-arranged the vanguard. Again there was a severe engagement at the difficult pass of Jalak.<sup>2</sup> Besides arrows and bullets they rolled down from the tops of the hills stones big enough to carry away elephants, so that the position of the imperial army became critical. Only by God's aid was there such brave fighting that at last the Afghans turned and dispersed. Fedāi reached Jalālābād and set about building forts and establishing thānas. He made admirable exertions for the destruction of that turbulent tribe and for destroying their villages. He was lauded for his endeavours and received the title of A'zim K. Koka. In the 20th year he came to court and was appointed to the high office of the government of Bengal in succession to the Amīru-l-umarā (Shaista K.). In the 21st year, when the government of that province was assigned to Prince Muḥammad A'zim Shah, he was nominated to the government of Bihar in succession to the Prince's agents. The Khān was arranging to go there when on 9 Rabi'ul-akhir 1089, 21st May 1678, he went to the final stage<sup>3</sup> (died) (at Dacca). His house is in Lahore, and one of the finest mansions there. It was long the residence of the ṣubahdārs of that province. His eldest son Ṣāliḥ K., who obtained the title of Fedāi Khān, has been separately noticed. His second son Ṣafdar K.<sup>4</sup> was the son-in-law (and nephew) of Khān Jahān Bahādur. In the 33rd year of Aurangzeb when he was faujdār of Gwalīyar he died of a gunshot wound while attacking a fort.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 241. Aghar K. was not then with the vanguard, but came hurriedly from Gandamak on being sent for.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* Chalak. Perhaps it is the famous Jagdalak Pass.

<sup>3</sup> See for the English estimate of Fedāi K., Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, 302, where it is said that Aurangzeb ordered him to leave Dacca and re-

side at Kidderpore (Kihzrpūr), but that he died on 25th May 1678 before he had left Dacca. The date of his death given in the Maasir A. 168 is 12 Rabi'ul-lakhir and not 9 as in the Maasir U.; 12 corresponds with 24th May 1678 and so nearly agrees with the date given in the English records. Fedāi is also mentioned by Manucci, II. 197. <sup>4</sup> Maasir A. 335.

A'ZIM KHĀN MĪR MUHAMMAD BĀQIR, OTHERWISE  
IRĀDAT KHĀN.

He belongs to the noble Saiyids of Sāvā which is one of the old towns of 'Irāq. The drying up of its lake<sup>1</sup> (buḥaira) at the birth of the seal of the prophets—the peace of God upon him—is well known. When the Mīr first came to India he was appointed on the part of Aṣaf K. Mīrẓā J'aafar to be faujdār of Siālkot, Gujarat and the Panjab, and afterwards became his son-in-law, and so became known to Jahangir. After that he got promotion through Yemenu-d-daulah Aṣaf K. and became khānsāmān (steward). As in this service he showed loyalty and much economy he received much favour and in the 15th year was made governor of Kashmir. From there he went to court and became Mīr Bakhshī. After the death of Jahangir he was associated with Yemenu-d-daulah in the affair of Shahriyār, and did good service. He waited upon Shah Jahan at Agra before Yemenu-d-daulah came there from Lahore. He had an increase<sup>2</sup> of 500 and 1000 horse and he obtained the rank of 5000 both zāt and cavalry, and a drum and flag, and was confirmed in the appointment of Mīr Bakhshī. After that, at the request of Yemenu-d-daulah, he on 5th<sup>3</sup> Rajab, 2nd March 1628, at the beginning of the reign was made Vizier. In the second year he was appointed to the Deccan.

When in the beginning of the third year, Burhanpur was visited by Shah Jahan, Irādat K. had the honour of paying his respects and was exalted by having the title of A'ẓim K. conferred on him. He was sent<sup>4</sup> off at the head of three bodies of troops, composing 50,000 horse, to defeat Khān Jahān Lodī

<sup>1</sup> The Burhān Qāṣī' says that Sāvā had a small lake or stream (*daryāca*) which every year drowned a man, and that it dried up on the night of Muḥammad's birth. See also Yāqūt in Barbier de Meynard. Sāvā lies between Rai and Hamadān, being 30 *farsakhs* from each. It is S.S.W. Tehran. It is from this town that Yūsuf 'Adil Shah of Bijapur took his name, which the Portuguese changed

into Cabaio. There is an account of Sāvā in the Nuzhat-al-qalūb which C. Scheffer has extracted in the Supplement to his translation of the *Sīāsat-nāma*. See p. 185. It seems that the lake did not dry up, but flowed away underground.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 186, where the date given is 8 Rajab.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. I. 424.

and to conquer the territories of the Nizām Shah. He had spent the rains in Dewalgāon and then encamped in Rāmpūr<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the Godavery, and when it appeared that Khān Jahān had not come out of Bīr, he left his camp in Majligāon,<sup>2</sup> made a night-march and suddenly came upon Khān Jahān. When the latter saw that the road of flight was closed, and that he could not escape, he of necessity had to fight. But as many men of the imperial army had turned to plundering his baggage, the troops were out of order. By this opportunity Khān Jahān came out on to the hill and fought stubbornly. At last he took to flight. Though it was difficult for him to escape from the clutch of so powerful an army when also Bahādur K. Rohilla and some Rajputs did their duty in exposing their lives, yet as the imperial army had marched more than thirty *kos* it had been exhausted and could not follow. After that Khān Jahan crept into Daulatabad, and A'zim K. set himself to punish Nizām Shah. When he arrived within three *kos* of Dhārwar<sup>3</sup> he wished to attack the town and to leave the taking of the fort which was famous in the Deccan for its difficulty and for its abundance of munitions, and was on the top of a ridge and had on two sides streams which were not easily crossed, to another opportunity. The garrison employed themselves in discharging muskets and arrows, and the townspeople, who had brought their goods to the moat, took to arms in order to protect them. In consequence a number of men got up to the moat and carried off much plunder. A'zim K. with consummate courage came on foot to the moat at night and ascertained that in one place (in the wall)<sup>4</sup> there was a window (or door) which had been filled with stones and mortar. If that were opened out by pick-axes and mattocks and filled with gunpowder it would be possible to get into the fort. He also found that there were no *sangandāz*,<sup>5</sup> and that the methods of defending a fort were not observed. He set his heart upon taking

<sup>1</sup> Rāmbhūri in Pādshāhnāma I. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. 430. It is Majligāon in Pādshāhnāma I. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 331, 339 Grant-Duff III. 148 and I. G.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 341.

<sup>5</sup> Embrasures or loop holes through which stones were discharged. See Irvine, *Army of the Moguls*, 266.

the fort. When the garrison saw the skill and valour of the besiegers they withdrew from fighting and on 23 Jumāda-al-akhiri of the 4th year, 1040, 17th January 1631, Khān A'zim and the other officers entered by the little door. Sidi Salm, the governor, and the family of I'tibār Rāo, and the household of Shams,<sup>1</sup> the uncle of Malik Badan, and the maternal grandmother of Nizām Shah, with all the establishments, were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The fort received the name of Fathābād and the charge of it was made over to Mir 'Abdullah Reṣavī. A'zim K. was raised to the rank of 6000 with 6000 horse. As the affairs of the Nizām Shah ceased to be prosperous, and Muqarrib Khān, his general, submitted to A'zim K. and entered the imperial service in that year, the Khān A'zim came to the river Mānjarā in accordance with a message from Randaulah Khān of Bijapur to the effect that "if by your instrumentality a pardon is obtained for the faults of 'Ādil Shah I shall guarantee that he will never be disobedient again." By chance, one day, a party of the enemy made an attack and wounded and captured Bahādur K. Rohilla and Yūsuf K. of Tāshkend. Many others of the royal troops were killed or captured. A'zim K. proceeded to Cītkūba,<sup>2</sup> Bhālki and Bīdar, thinking that he might amend matters. On account of want of food and barley he had to return and cross the Godavery. When it appeared that the Nizām Shah had come to the Bālaghāt with the intention of reconciling himself with the Bijapuris, and had gone towards the fort of Parenda, A'zim K. hastened off in that direction, and invested the fort. As no grass was to be found within twenty kos of the place, he turned back after failure and came to Dhārwar. In the same year he came to the Presence in obedience to orders. Shah Jahan said<sup>3</sup> that in this campaign he had done two excellent things, viz. the driving away Khān Jahān and the taking of the fort of Dhārwar, and that he had also committed two faults, for after Muqarrib K. had submitted he should not have gone to Bīdar, and when Parenda could not be taken, why did he delay

<sup>1</sup> Shāman in Pādshāhnāma, I. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 356. Jitkopa.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 394. At p. 395 we have Nandar instead of Bīdar.

there? The Khān acknowledged his mistakes, and as the affairs of the Deccan had not been properly managed by him he was in the 5th year sent to the government of Bengal on the death of Qāsim Khān Javīnī. There he<sup>1</sup> collected a good set of men, and there were many Persians among them. In the 8th year he was made governor of Allahabad, and in the 9th year he was appointed to Gujarat. As the wife<sup>2</sup> of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', who was the daughter of M. Rustum Ṣafavī, had died, A'ẓim K.'s daughter was married to the prince in the 12th year, 1049, 1639-40. Sultan Zainu-l-'ābidīn was the fruit of this marriage.

A'ẓim K. long governed the extensive territory of Gujarat, and in the 14th year marched against the zamindar of Jām who did not, like the other landholders, submit to authority. He arrived at Nawānagar, the zemindar's seat. The Jām came to his senses and presented 100 Cutch horses and three lacs of maḥmūdīs and destroyed his mint where maḥmūdīs used to be coined, and waited upon him. He returned from there to Ahmadabad. After that he was made fief-holder of Islāmābād-Mathura and built a serai and quarter (*pūra*) there. After that he was made governor of Bihar, and in the 21st year he was summoned to take charge of Kashmīr. He represented that he could not stand the cold of that region, and he was appointed to Jaunpūr in succession to M. Ḥasan Ṣafavī. In the 22nd year, 1059, 1649, he died after attaining the age of 76. The chronogram of his death is Ā'ẓim Auliya "greatest of officers," 1059, 1649. He was buried in a garden which he had made before the end of his government on the bank of the Jaunpūr river (the Gumti). The date of making it is *Bihisht naham bar lab āb jūi* "I made<sup>3</sup> a paradise on the bank of a river," 1058, 1648.

His sons attained high office, and they have been separately noticed. They say that Ā'ẓim K. had excellent qualities, but that

<sup>1</sup> According to the Riyāzu-s-salātīn and Stewart he managed very badly in Bengal. The appointment is mentioned in Pādshāhnāma I. 444.

<sup>2</sup> She died in the 7th year of the reign, Pādshāhnāma II. 137. The

sentence about the collecting a good set of men is abrupt and obscure, but it seems to be in all the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Or is *naham* here ninth. There are eight paradises, and perhaps the meaning is that this was the ninth.

he was harsh in financial matters. During the sovereignty of the Timurid princes he did good service and from first to last lived with dignity and honour. Certainly he could not be without purity of disposition seeing that up to the present day—a period of nearly one hundred years—his descendants have always been distinguished. This work has a record of each of them.

### ‘AZĪZ KOKA M. KHĀN A‘ẒAM.

Younger son of Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad K. Atga. Of the same age as Akbar, and also his playmate. He was always his intimate and always an object of his grace and favour. His mother Jijī Anaga also held a close relationship with Akbar, who used<sup>1</sup> to show more affection to her than to his own mother. Hence it was that the king always passed over the insolences of the Khān A‘ẓam. He used to<sup>2</sup> say “between me and Aziz there is the link of a river of milk which cannot pass away.” When the Panjab was taken from the Atga clan because they had been long established there, the Mirzā was excepted and maintained in Dīpālpūr and other estates which he had long held. When in the 16th<sup>3</sup> year, in the end of 978, 1571, after Akbar had visited the shrine of Farīd Shakrganj—may his grave be holy!—which is in the Panjab Pattan, commonly known as Ajūdhan—and had made Dīpālpūr his camp—he, at the request of M. Koka, visited his residence. The Mirzā prepared a great feast and tendered abundant presents of Arab and Persian horses with golden and silver saddles, as well as strong elephants with harness,<sup>4</sup> and chains, golden vessels, seats, precious jewels, choice stuffs of every<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a similar remark about Hājī Begam, see A.N. III. 77, line 12. The Maasir copies the Iqbāl-nāma, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> For ‘Aziz Koka see B. 325, Badayūnī III. 280, Khāfi K. I. 201, Darbārī Akbarī 759, and Jahangir’s Memoirs. Blochmann has “between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross.” But this is not intelligible and the Persian in the Maasir is *natuwān guzashī* and not *natuwānam*. I think, therefore, the

meaning must be that the connection cannot die out. The Iqbāl-nāma, however, 231, has *namitawānam*.

<sup>3</sup> The T. A. has the 15th year, Ell. V. 336, but A.F. has 16th, II. 363. The description of the entertainment is fullest in the T.A., and the Maasir has copied it.

<sup>4</sup> The T.A. has “gold and silver chains.”

<sup>5</sup> The T.A. has stuffs of Europe, Rūm and China.

country, and was encompassed with unexampled favours. He also presented valuable gifts to the princes and the ladies. The other officers, and the learned men, and indeed the whole of the camp, participated in his bounty. Shaikh Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> Ghaznavī found the date of this banquet.

*Mihmānān-i-‘Azīz* ‘nd<sup>2</sup> *Shāh u Shahzāda* (978).

“The Shah and Shahzāda are ‘Azīz’s guests.”

The author of the *Ṭabaqāt* sāys there seldom has been such a splendid feast. In the 17th year when Aḥmadabad-Gujarat came into Akbar’s possession, the government thereof up to the Mahindri was given to the Mīrzā, and Akbar himself went off to take the fort of Surat. The rebels, that is to say, Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh M., in conjunction with Sher K. Fulādī, finding the field left open to them, surrounded Pattan. M. Koka with Quṭbu-d-dīn K: and other officers—who had lately come from Malwa—hastened there and drew up in battle-array. Though at first there was an appearance of defeat, yet at last the breeze of victory blew from the quarter of Divine power. They say that when the right wing, the vanguard and the vanguard reserve (*altamsh*) could not resist and lost courage, the Mīrzā came forward with the centre and wished to make an attack in person. The veterans turned his rein *saying* that for the leader to make an attack was to cause dispersion among the troops, especially at such a time. The Mīrzā stood firm, and at last the enemy, many of whom had gone off in pursuit and had turned to plunder, became disorganized and broke. The Mīrzā returned victorious to Ahmadabad.

When the king returned from the Gujarat expedition and came to Fathpūr on 2 Ṣafr 981, 3 June 1573, Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk—who had taken refuge in Īdar—came to the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad and made a disturbance. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. returned from the Deccan and devastated the country about Cambay. After that they joined forces and wished to take possession of Ahmadabad. Though the Khān A‘zam had a large

<sup>1</sup> A.F. calls the author of the chronogram Moḥaffar Ḥusain and says he was a servant of the Mīrzā, II. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Unless the alif of *and* be elided the chronogram is 979. See also A.N. II. 363. The date corresponds to 1571.

force, yet he did not see in it loyalty and singleness of mind. He therefore did not hasten to engage, but remained on the alert in the city, and busied himself in strengthening the fortifications. The enemy came in great force and besieged it, and began the battle of the batteries. The Mirzā sent off expresses to the king, and begged for his coming.

*Verse.*

Sedition has raised its head and fortune is adverse.

*Verse.*

Save for the swift deeds of the Shah

Nothing can remove this dust out of the road.

Akbar sent some officers ahead, and proceeded rapidly himself on 4 Rabī-'al-awal of that year, 4 July 1573, with a few of his immediate attendants mounted on camels.

*Verse.*

The heroes were on camels, their quivers in their waist.

The camels (*shutur*) flew like ostriches (*shutur murgh*).

In Jālaūr the officers of the advance joined, and in the town of Balsāna, five *kos* from Pattan, Mir Muhammad K. joined with the troops of that place. Akbar divided the forces (among the leaders), which were in all 3000 horse, and himself remained in reserve with 100 horse. He advanced without delay and arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad, and sounded his drums and trumpets. Muhammad Husain M. came to the bank of the river to get information, and asked Subhān Qulī Turk who was in advance what army was it. He said it was the royal standards. The Mirzā said, "It is fourteen days to-day that trustworthy scouts left him (Akbar) in the capital: if the king has come in person, where are the war-elephants?" Subhān Qulī said, "They have spoken the truth. It is nine days since the king marched. It is clear that the elephants could not come so quickly."

Muhammad Husain M. became alarmed and left Ikhtiyārū-l-mulk with 5000 horse to guard the gates so that the besieged might be debarred from exit, and himself engaged with 15,000



horse in drawing up the battle-array. At this time the imperial army crossed the river and encountered him. The imperial vanguard was nearly being defeated on account of the large numbers of the foe when Akbar himself fell on with one hundred horse and routed the enemy. Muḥammad Husain M. and then Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk became the harvest of the sword. This has been described in the account of the Mirzās.

Such rapid marches as this have been told of former princes in books, as, for example, the rush of Sultan Jalalu-d-dīn Mankbarnī from India to Kirmān, and from there to Garjistan (Georgia), the conquest of Qarshī by Amīr Taimur Gūrgān, the taking of Herat by Sultan Husain M., the taking of Samarkand by Bābur Pādshāh. But it is not hidden from investigators that all these princes attacked under necessity or because they saw that there was negligence or scant opposition. Theirs was not the case of a king who could command two lacs of cavalry, and who voluntarily, in spite of his knowing the numbers of enemies and the leadership of a brave bahādur like Muḥammad Husain M.,—who had already wrought deeds in battle exceeding the power of contemporaries,—and this after a march of more than 400 current *kos* from Agra to Gujarat. No such other story has been told since the creation.<sup>1</sup>

In fine, after this victory, the Mirzā got fresh life and came out of the city. He caught the dust of the royal army as if it was a salve for his waiting eyes. Next year, when Akbar went to Ajmere, the Mirzā came into the presence with delight. Akbar advanced some steps to meet him, and embraced him.

When the sons of Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk Gujaratī had raised the head of sedition, he took leave from Agra. In the 20th year when Akbar had firmly determined upon introducing the branding of soldiers' horses, many officers refused to act. The Mirzā was summoned to court in order that he might make the branding

<sup>1</sup> This is an eloquent passage, but it seems to me to contain an anacoluthon, and I do not understand the statement about M. Husain's surpassing the deeds of contemporaries, and think it must be intended to refer

to Akbar. Akbar's rapid march was long remembered as a great feat. Captain Hawkins heard of it when he was at Agra and mentions it in his narrative.

popular. But he objected more than anybody else. The king, who loved the *Mirzā* more than his own children, was displeased at this and for a while degraded him from the position of an *Amīr*, and confined him to the garden which he had made in Agra and was called the *Jahānārā* Garden. In the 23rd year the *Mirzā* was again an object of favour and was restored to his former rank. But at the same period, the *Mirzā* became a recluse on account of some unfounded suspicion that the king was unfavourably disposed towards him. When in the 25th year, 988, 1580, there occurred the rebellion in the eastern provinces and the killing of *Mozaffar K.* the governor of Bengal, the *Mirzā*, who had been made a *Panjhazārī*, received the title of *Khān A'zam* and was sent off with a large force. On account of the disturbances in Bihar, the *Mirzā* did not go to Bengal, but took proper measures for administering the country and for extirpating the rebels, and took up his quarters in *Ḥājipūr*. When in the end of the 26th year Akbar returned from the expedition to Kabul and came to *Fathpūr*, *Mirza Koka* waited upon him and was exalted by various favours. When in the 27th year *Jabārī*, *Khabīṭa* and *Tarkhān Diwāna* came from Bengal to Bihar and took *Ḥājipūr* from the *Mirzā's* men and stirred up strife, the *Mirzā* took leave in order to punish the Bihar rebels and then to address himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though<sup>1</sup> before the arrival of the *Mirzā* these rebels had got their deserts from the victorious army, and the rains began and the *Mirza* did not advance, yet when the rains had ended, he, in the beginning of the 28th year, marched to Bengal along with the fief-holders of Allahabad, Oudh and Bihar and easily took<sup>2</sup> *Garhī*, which is the gate of the country. *M'aṣūm Kabulī*—who was the head of the disaffected ingrates—came and encamped on the bank of the *Kāṭī*<sup>3</sup> Gang. Though every day engagements took place, yet

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is rather obscurely worded, but the meaning is that *Tarkhān Diwāna* and others had been punished before the *Mirzā* arrived. It was his absence that had encouraged their attack on *Ḥājipūr*. See

Elliot V. 427 and A.N. III. 384, 387.

<sup>2</sup> *Garhī* was taken before *Mirzā Koka* arrived. See A.N. III. 399.

<sup>3</sup> Text *Ghātī* Gang. See A.N. III. 399 and variant; also Elliot VI. 66.

the imperialists were alarmed at the rebels and did not venture to have a pitched battle. Meanwhile a disagreement (hitherto they were united in rebellion) arose between M'aṣūm and the Qāqshāls, and the Khān A'zam arranged a reconciliation with the latter and took from them promises of good service. It was agreed that they should keep aloof from fighting (the imperialists), and should go to their homes, and from there join the imperial army. M'aṣūm K. grew bewildered and fled. The Khān A'zam sent<sup>1</sup> a force against Qatlū Lohānī, who in the confusion had prevailed over Orissa and part of Bengal. He himself wrote to Akbar representing the unhealthiness of the climate, and an order was given that the country should again be left to Shahbāz K. Kambū who was approaching about this time, and that the Khān A'zam should return to his fief in Bihar. In the same year, when Akbar came to Allahabad, the Mirzā arrived from Hājipūr and did homage and obtained Garha and Raisin. In the 31st year, 994, 1586, he was appointed to conquer the Deccan. When the army had been collected he set out, but the two-facedness and the ten-tonguedness of his companions created confusion, and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., who was the auxiliary, behaved treacherously on account of an ancient grudge. The Mirzā fell into an evil way of thinking (became suspicious) and on account of ill-timed delays, and motives for dispersion, few soldiers were obtained. The enemy, who had been alarmed, were emboldened and set off to fight. The Mirzā did not find himself strong enough to encounter them and retired and hastened to Berar. On the day of the New Year he found Elichpūr undefended and sacked it and then marched to Gujarat with much plunder. The enemy were astonished at his retreat and hastily pursued him. The Mirzā from alarm proceeded rapidly and did not turn his rein till he got to Nazrbār. Though the enemy did not catch him, yet territory which had been taken was lost. The Mirzā went on rapidly from Nazrbār towards Gujarat in order to collect troops. The Khān-Khānān who was in command there showed great zeal and in a short time brought together a choice army.

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<sup>1</sup> Akbarnāmā III. 401.

But owing to men's foolish ideas the enterprise miscarried. In the 32nd year the Mīrzā's daughter was married to Prince Sultan Murād, and there was a splendid feast. In the end of the 34th year the government of Gujarat was given to him as successor of the Khān-Khānān. The Mīrzā preferred Malwa and delayed to go to Gujarat. At last in the 35th year he went to Aḥmadabad. When Sultan Moẓaffar with the help of the Jām, the zamindar of Kach, and the ruler of Jūnāgarh, stirred up strife, the Mīrzā in the 36th year came to that country, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the enemy. In the 37th year the Jām and the other zamindars submitted, and Somnāth etc.—sixteen ports in all—came into possession, and the siege of Jūnāgarh—which is the capital of the territory of Sorath—was undertaken. Miyān K. and Tāj K. the sons of Daulat K., the successor of Amīn K. Ghori, surrendered, and made over the fort. The Mīrzā gave each of them a cultivated jagir as an allowance, and devoted his energies to the seizing of Sultan Moẓaffar—who was the thorn-brake of the rebellion. He sent an army to Dwārka, whither Moẓaffar had crept by the protection of the landowner thereof. That landowner tried a fight and was worsted. Moẓaffar fled to Kach (Cutch). The Mīrzā went there in person and proposed to give his (the ruler of Kach's) home to the Jām. He submitted, and made over Moẓaffar. They were bringing him to the Mīrzā when he withdrew to a retired spot on pretext of easing himself, and cut his throat with a razor which he had with him, and so died.

When Akbar sent for the Mīrzā in the 39th<sup>1</sup> year, 1001, 1592-93, he became suspicious of some evil intention and went off to the Hījāz. They say that as he could in no way accept the prostration to the king (*sijda*), the shaving off the beard and the other innovations which had become established at court, but in opposition to them kept on a long beard, he perceived that going to the Presence would be disagreeable and so wrote excuses. At last the king wrote in reply, "You are making all these delays in coming; evidently the wool of your beard weighs heavily on you." They say that the Mīrzā also wrote sharp and sarcastic

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<sup>1</sup> Should be the 38th year. The Mīrzā sailed for Mecca in March, 1594, in the beginning of the 39th year. A.N. III. 638.

things about the matter of religion such<sup>1</sup> as that "Your Majesty has put Faizī and Abu-l-Faẓl in the place of 'Oṣmān and 'Alī. Well, whom have you appointed in the room of the two Shaikhs?"

In fine the Mirzā set<sup>2</sup> out on the pretext that he was going to attack the port of Diu, and then he made peace with the Franks, and, at the port of Balāwal—which is near Somnāth—embarked on the ship "*Ilāhī*" with his six sons Kharṛam, Anwar, 'Abdullah, 'Abdul-Laṭīf, Murtaẓa and 'Abdul-ghafūr, and his six daughters and their mothers and one hundred servants. Akbar was much grieved, but favoured the Mirzā's two elder sons, Shamsī and Shādmān, by giving them rank and good jagirs. Shaikh<sup>3</sup> 'Abdu-Qādir Badayūnī found the chronogram.

*Verse.*

The Khān Āzam took the position of the righteous  
Though in the king's idea he went astray.  
When I asked my heart the date of the year,  
It said Mirzā Koka went on pilgrimage (1002).

They say that he spent much money in the holy places, and showed much respect to the Sharifs and leaders, and made over to the Sharif fifty years' cost of keeping up the blessed tomb of

<sup>1</sup> See Khāfi K., who says it is better not to give all the Khān A'zim's remarks *in extenso*, and then proceeds to give the worst of them. Mirzā Koka's original letter is given in the Darbār Akbarī, p. 759. The author does not say where it is to be found, and his transcript is not always intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 638 and Badayūnī, Lowe 400-04. The ship "*Ilāhī*" is apparently the "Divine" ship which went yearly to Mecca. Akbar's letter to 'Aziz Koka when he went to Mecca is in A.F.'s letters, Book I.

<sup>3</sup> The chronogram is given in Badayūnī II. 387, but he does not say that he composed it, and the fact that he says (incorrectly) it makes the date one too many seems to show that he did not write it. Badayūnī

admired the Mirzā's going, but was disgusted by his return (see his vol. III, p. 282) and subsequent conformity to Akbar's innovations. 'Aziz landed at Balāwal on his return in November 1594 and presented himself before Akbar 24 days afterwards. A.N. III. 655, so that he was only away about eight months. The statement in text that he returned in the beginning of 1003 is apparently not quite correct. It was in the third month of that year. The *Iqbāl-nama* 231 says that 'Aziz had to spend so much money at Mecca that at last he fell into contempt. Badayūnī also says, Lowe 412, that A'zim Koka suffered much harm (*āzār biyār*, "much annoyance") at the hands of the Sharifs.

the Prophet—Peace be upon him and his family. He also bought cells (*hajarhā*) and dedicated them to the holy buildings. And when he got fresh news of the kindnesses of Akbar he traversed the ocean and landed at the same port (Balāwal), and re-entered into service in the beginning of 1003. He was restored to his rank and his fief in Bihar, and in the 40th year was highly exalted by receiving the great post of Vakīl and the charge of the royal seal which Maulānā<sup>1</sup> ‘Alī Ahmad had engraved with the names of the sacred ancestors up to Timur. In the 41st year the province of Multan was made his jagir. In the 45th year, when he was in attendance on Akbar at the siege of the fortress of Asir, his mother Bica Jīū (Jī Jī) died. Akbar took her bier on his shoulder and in his grief shaved his head and his moustache. Though an endeavour was made to prevent others besides her sons from shaving they could not be forbidden. A whole tribe of people did the same thing. At the end of this year Bahādur K., the ruler of Khandes, submitted through the intervention of the Mīrzā and surrendered the fort. As the Mīrzā’s daughter was married to Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Prince Selīm, and who was sister’s son of Rajah Mān Singh, these two pillars of the empire used great endeavours to promote the cause of Sultan Khusrau. Especially the Mīrzā—who loved him—used to say, “I am willing that they (the fates) should convey the good news of his sovereignty to my right ear and should seize my soul at the left ear.” During Akbar’s deathbed illness springs were set in motion for the heir-apparency; but they were not successful. A breath of Akbar’s life still remained when Shaikh Farīd Bakhshī and others joined Prince Selīm, who at an indication from the king and from apprehensions of the plots of his ill-wishers, shut himself up in his house outside the fort. Rajah Mān Singh came out of the fort with Khusrau with the understanding that he should take him with him to the province of Bengal. The Khān A’zam got alarmed and sent his family to the Rajah’s house with the instruction that he was coming too, but that it was necessary to carry funds, and that he had no porters. The Rajah too made

the same excuse. The Mirzā was helpless and remained alone in the fort and looked after the interment and the funeral ceremonies. After that, Khusrau rebelled against his father in the first year of Jahangir, and the Mirzā fell into disgrace as being his instigator.

They say that the Khān A'zam used to go to court dressed in his shroud and that he expected that they would kill him, but still he could not control his tongue. One night he had hot words with the Amīru-l-Umarā. The king broke off the meeting and took counsel in private. The Amīru-l-Umarā<sup>1</sup> said that they should not delay the putting him to death. Mahābat K. said, "I don't understand discussions. I'm a soldier. I have a strong sword, and I'll strike his waist. If it does not divide him into two pieces, you can cut off my hand." When the Khān Jahān Lodi's turn to speak came he said, "I am confounded by his good fortune, for wherever H. M.'s (Akbar's) name has gone, his too has been bruited abroad. I do not perceive any manifest indication of wrong-doing on his part which would make him worthy of death. If you kill him, all the world will regard him as a victim." The king's anger was somewhat appeased by this remark, and at this moment Selīma Begam, the king's stepmother, called out from behind the *purda*, "Your Majesty, all the Begams are assembled in the Zenana for the purpose of interceding for M. Koka. It will be better if you come there. Otherwise they will come to you." Jahangir was constrained to go to the female apartments, and at their expostulation to pardon his offences. He also gave him his accustomed opium—which he had not taken—from his own special pellets, and dismissed him. But one day at about the same time Khawāja<sup>2</sup> Abū-l-Ḥasan of Turbat produced a letter which M. Koka had written to Rajah 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khandes, about Akbar in language which was not fit to be used

<sup>1</sup> Sharif K. B. 517.

<sup>2</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 256 says the letter was produced by the librarian, i.e. Khawāja Abū-l-Ḥasan Turbatī known as Ruknu-s-sultanat: see *Maasir* I. 737. He is different from Āḡā K. the brother of Nūr Jahān who was

also called Khawājah Abul Ḥasan. The incident of the letter is described by Kāmgar Ḥusainī, B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 37 b. See also *Tuzuk Jahāngiri*, p. 38, where it is said that Khawāja Abū-l-Ḥasan found it in Burhanpur among Rajah 'Alī Khān's effects.

about any individual. This had fallen into the hands of the Khwaja after the taking of Āsīr, and he had kept it to himself for some years. At last, he could keep it back no longer and produced it before Jahangir. Jahangir put it into the hands of the Khān 'A'zam, and he without hesitation began to read it aloud. Those present on every side abused and cursed him, and the king said, "Even now the intimacy which 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar) had with you restrains me, otherwise I'd lighten your shoulders of the burden of your head." He deprived him of his rank and jagir and kept him under surveillance. In the 3rd year, the government of Gujarat was entered in his name, and his eldest son Jahāngir Qulī K. was appointed to guard the country as his deputy.

When the affairs of the Deccan were not being brought to a conclusion owing to the discord among the officers, the Khān A'zam was sent there in the 5th year with 10,000 horse. Afterwards he petitioned from Burhanpur to have the affair of the Rānā committed to him. He used to say that if in this war he were killed, he would become a martyr.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with his request he received the necessary equipment for the expedition. When he began the work, he represented that the difficult knot would not be untied without the coming of the royal standards. Accordingly, in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Jahangir came to Ajmere, and at M. Koka's request Prince Shah Jahan was appointed, though the centre of the work rested on the Mirzā. But on account of his partiality for Khusrāu, he behaved improperly<sup>2</sup> to Prince Shah Jahan, and so Mahābat K. was sent to bring him from Udaipur to court. In the 9th year he was made<sup>3</sup> over to Āsaf K. in order that he might be confined in the fort of Gwaliyar. They have reported a saying of the Mirza to the

<sup>1</sup> Tūzuk J. 126, where the whole saying is given.

<sup>2</sup> The text has omitted the preposition *ba* before *pādishāhsāda* and so made it appear as if it was Shah Jahan who behaved improperly. See Tūzuk J. 126 for Jahangir's lengthy expostulation with the K. A'zim, and also Elliot VI. 338.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzuk 127-28, and Elliot VI. 338. The Āsaf here mentioned is B's No. VI and Shah Jahan's father-in-law. Khāfi K. I. 280. He used to be called I'tiqād Khan and got the title of Āsaf K. in the beginning of Jahangir's 9th year, Tūzuk 127.



effect "I never thought of using incantations." Āṣaf K. represented (to Jahangir) that "a certain person is practising incantations in order to destroy me." As solitude and the abandonment of animal food and sexual intercourse are conditions of success, and they are all present in a prison, an order was given that at meal-times exquisite dishes of fowl and partridge should be served up to the Mīrzā.

*Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

When God wills, an enemy may be productive of good.

After a year when he was released from prison they in the first place took a writing from him to the effect that he would not speak in the Presence unless he was asked a question, for he had no control over his tongue. One night Jahangir said to Jahāngīr Qulī K., "Will you become security for your father?" Jahāngīr Qulī replied, "I am his surety for everything of him, but I cannot be surety for his tongue." When it was desired to notify to him his being confirmed in his appointment of Panjha-zārī, Jahangir said to Shah Jahan, "When 'Arsh Āshiyānī (Akbar) wished to give the Khān A'zam an increase of 2000, Shāikh Farīd Bakhshī and Rajah<sup>2</sup> Rām Dās were sent to his house to congratulate him. He was in the bath, and they waited at the gate for a watch of the day (*pās*, perhaps here an hour). Afterwards, when he came to the audience-hall, he sent for them and heard their felicitations. He sat down and put<sup>3</sup> his hand upon his head. He then said that he must arrange another meeting for their business, and dismissed them without any politeness or

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is that Āṣaf's fears led to the Mīrzā's getting better treatment. For an instance of the belief in a prisoner's power of practising incantations see Iqbāl-nāma 267-68, where there is an account of an unfortunate Ḥāṣī Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta who was killed because he was supposed to be muttering incantations. See also the account of this Mullā's death in Maasir III. 372. Apparently 'Aḡīz Koka's remark about his never having thought of

using incantations was understood to mean that he had the power to use them, and that he had neglected to exercise the power.

<sup>2</sup> Rajah Karan B. 483.

<sup>3</sup> *daste bar sir guzāshī*. Perhaps as a salutation, or perhaps as an indication that the audience was at an end. Possibly it merely means that he fell into a reverie. In Maasir III. 855, l. 6 from foot, the phrase *dast ba sir guzāshī* is used to express a salutation.

ceremony. I remember this story, and it would be a shame if you, "Bābā," should have to pay your respects as his deputy and should have to stand and salute him for the purpose of confirming the Mīrzā Koka in his appointment."

In the 18th year M. Koka was sent off as guardian and companion to Dāwar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau, who had been appointed governor of Gujarat. He died<sup>1</sup> a natural death in Aḥmadabad in the 19th year, 1033, 1624. He was unique for sharpness of intellect and fluency of speech. He was also exceptional for historical knowledge. He sometimes wrote poetry. This verse is his.

*Verse.*<sup>2</sup>

As I've not got happiness from name and fame,  
After this I'll throw a stone at fame's mirror.

He wrote Nast'aliq exceedingly well. He was a pupil of M. Bāqir,<sup>3</sup> the son of Mullā Mīr 'Alī, and in the opinion of judicious critics he was in no way inferior for elegance of writing to the famous masters. In drawing up statements<sup>4</sup> of claim (*mudd'aa navīsi*) he was deeply skilled. Though he was not an Arabic scholar, yet he used to say that in Arabic he was an Arab's slave-girl.<sup>5</sup> They say that in conversation he was unrivalled, and had a command of striking expressions. One of them was, "A man said something, and I thought it was true. He was vehement about it, and I began to doubt. When he swore to it, I knew it was a lie." One of his jesting remarks was, "A man who is well-off needs four wives—an 'Irāqī (West Persian) for companionship, a Khurasāni for housekeeping, an Indian for sexual intercourse, and a Transoxiana one for whipping so that the others may take

<sup>1</sup> Tūzūk J. 395. If he was born in the same year as Akbar he must have been about 82 when he died.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī III. 281. *sang bar shī-sha zadan* is a phrase for renouncing wine.

<sup>3</sup> The Maulānā Bāqir of B. 103.

<sup>4</sup> I am not sure of the meaning. The expression occurs in Iqbāl-nāma 230.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently meaning that he had a colloquial knowledge of the language. *Dāh-i Arab* is a proverbial expression for a person in wretched circumstances. See Vullers s.v. *dah*, I. 307a. The Iqbāl-nāma 230 has a different reading. It is in Arabic "I am a poor maid-servant (*dāh ghāri-bam*)."

warning.”<sup>1</sup> But he was at the head of all his contemporaries for sensuality, treachery and harsh language, and was exceedingly passionate. Whenever one of his collectors came before him, if he immediately paid up the money for which he was regarded as accountable, he was liberated, otherwise he was beaten till the links of life were loosened. If, after this, he survived, he was not further troubled, though lacs of rupees remained in his charge. And there was no year that he did not shave the heads of his Indian writers one or two times. They say that on one occasion many of them took leave to go and bathe in the Ganges. He said to his Dewān Rai Durgā Dās, “Why don’t you go?” He replied, “The Ganges-bathing of your slave is under your Highness’s foot.” On hearing this he stopped the practice of letting them go (to bathe). Though he was not regular in his prayers, he was a great bigot. On this account he in no way gave in to the apostacies and impieties which the reigning king had adopted, and without reserve he detested and abominated them. He was absolutely not a time-server. In the reign of Jahangir during the vogue of I’timādu-d-daula’s family he never went to any of their houses, not even to Nūr Jahān Begam’s door. This was the opposite of what the Khān-Khānān M. ‘Abdu-r-Rahmān did, for he hurried to the house of Rai Govardhan, the Dewān of I’timādu-d-daulah.

As the subject of Akbar’s apostacy has been mentioned, it is necessary to say something about it, though the matter is more notorious than the apostacy of Iblis (Satan). Though authors and news-writers of the time have, from fear of loss and injury to themselves, ignored the thing, yet some have made allusions to it, and Shaikh ‘Abdul-I-Qādir Badayūnī and his like have written openly about it. Accordingly Jahangir ordered that the book-sellers within the empire should not sell or buy the Shaikh’s history. On this account the work is rarely<sup>2</sup> met with. The expulsion of the ‘Ulamā, the introduction of the prostration and

<sup>1</sup> See Iqbāl-nāma 230-31, and B. 327, where the translation is veiled.

<sup>2</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 197 and Elliot V. 497. According to Khāfi K., i.e., the

history of Badayūnī was more common in the booksellers’ shops than any other!

other customs, are clear proofs of Akbar's views. What more evidence can there be than that 'Abdullah K. Uzbek, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar in language which would not be used to an ordinary individual—far less to a great king. In reply he wrote much that was sanctimonious and absolving and made excuses for himself by this verse.

*Verse.*

Of God they say he has a son,  
Of the Apostle, they say he was a charlatan,<sup>1</sup>  
Neither God nor the Apostle has escaped  
Men's tongues, much less I.

This is recorded<sup>2</sup> in the Akbarnāma and also in Shaikh Abū-l-Faẓl's letters.

But from consideration of the evidence it appears to the writer of these pages that Akbar did not lay claim to Divinity and prophecy—God forbid that he should! In fact, the king had not acquired the elements of learning, and was not in the least in touch with books. But he was very intelligent and his understanding was of a very high order. He wished that whatever was consonant with reason should prevail. Most of the 'Ulamā, with a view to worldly advantage, took the course of assentation, and of flattery. The advancement of Faiẓi and Abū-l-Faẓl was due to this. They indoctrinated the king with rationalistic and sophistical (*safastīyy*) principles and gave the appellation of Inquiry (*tahqīq*) to the severing of the cable of the observance of antiquity. They styled him the "Assayer of the Age and the *Mujtahid* of the Time." As the abilities and learning of the two brothers were of such a high order that none of their contemporaries could grapple with them, they, who in origin were no better than the sons of a mendicant (*darveshzāda*) and were in indigence, all at once attained to intimacy and influence with the sovereign. Envious people—of whom the world is ever full—and especially the rival *mullāhs* who were desk-ridden (*saqīqaband*), and gave to their dislike and envy the name of "Defence of Faith"—

<sup>1</sup> *Kahna*. B. 468 has "sorcerer."  
See Vullers II. 929.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 498 and Abū-l-Faẓl's  
Letters, Book I.

set no limit to the lies which they circulated. There were no commotions which they did not excite. From fanaticism and partizanship they sacrificed their lives and their fortunes. May God have mercy upon them!

The Khān A'zam had many children. The eldest was Jahāngir Qulī K. of whom an account has been given. Another was Mirzā Shādmān who in Jahangir's time received the title of Shād Khān. Another was M. Kharram who in Akbar's reign was governor of Jūnāgarh in Gujarat, which was his father's fief. In Jahangir's time he became known as Kāmal K. and was appointed to accompany Prince Sultan Kharram (Shah Jahan) in the expedition against the Rānā. Another was M. 'Abdullah who in Jahangir's time received the title of Sirdār K. The king had imprisoned him in the fort of Gwaliyar along with his father. After his father's release he too became an object of compassion. Another was M. Anwar<sup>1</sup> who married the daughter of Zain Khān Koka. Every one of them obtained the rank of 2000 or 3000.<sup>2</sup>

#### 'AZİZ ULLAH KHĀN.

S. Yūsuf K. S. Husain Tukriyah, of both of whom accounts have been given. 'Aziz Ullah was appointed to Kabul, and at the end of Jahangir's reign had the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse. After Shah Jahan's accession, he was confirmed in this rank, and in the 7th year had the title of 'Izzat K. and the gift of a flag. In the 11th year he held the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse, and in the same year as he accompanied S'aid K. Bahādur to the battle near Qandahar against the Persians in which the latter were defeated, he had an increase of 500 horse. From Qandahar he went with Pur Dil K. to take the fort of Bast. In the 12th year he received drums and was appointed to defend the forts of Bast and Girishk—which had been taken. In the 14th year his

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this is the M. Nūr of Jahangir's apocryphal Memoirs, Price, 42, who was put to death on a charge of homicide.

<sup>2</sup> There is a good account of M. Koka A'zam Khān in Blochmann 325. The Darbār A. has omitted him.

Nizām-n-d-dīn says very little about M. Koka in his notices of distinguished men. He states that at the time of writing he was in Mecca. He alludes briefly to his departure there. See Elliot V. 466.

rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he had the title of 'Aziz Ullah K. In the 17th year 1054, 1644, he died. (Q)

### 'AZIZ ULLAH KHĀN.

Third s. Khalil Ullah K. Yezdi. After his father's death he received a suitable rank and the title of Khān. In the 26th year Aurangzeb made<sup>1</sup> him Mir Tuzuk in succession to Muḥammad Yār K. In the 30th year when his brother Rūḥ Ullah K. was made governor of the province of Bijapur he was made governor<sup>2</sup> of the fort. In the 36th year after Rūḥ Ullah's death his rank became<sup>3</sup> 1500 with 600 horse. Afterwards, he was<sup>4</sup> qūrbegī, and in the 46th year he was made governor of the fort of Qandahar (in the Deccan) in succession to Sirdār K.<sup>5</sup> His rank became 1500 with 1000 horse. Nothing more is known<sup>6</sup> of him.

### BĀBĀ KHĀN QĀQSHĀL.

After Majnūn<sup>7</sup> K. Qāqshāl he was at the head of the Qāqshāl officers in Akbar's reign. He distinguished himself in the campaign against Khān Zamān. In the 17th year, 980, 1572, on the first expedition to Gujarat, Shahbāz K., the Mir Tuzuk, was arranging<sup>8</sup> the troops when the tactless Turk (Bābā K.) in his arrogance and presumption fell out with him and behaved rudely to him. The King, in order to punish him and to correct other transgressors, ordered him to be severely chastised (*siāsat 'aẓīm*). At the same period he, on account of his good service, became an object of favour. After the conquest of Bengal, when the province of Ghorāghāt (in northern Bengal) was assigned in fief to the Qāqshāls, though, after the death of Majnūn, the headship was nominally with his son Jabāri Beg, yet the control was with Bābā K. who was the greybeard (*āqsiqāl*) of the tribe. When there were disturbances on the introduction of the branding regulation the grasping clerks opened shops of

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Do. 461.

<sup>5</sup> The Maasir A. 461 has Sazāwār K.

<sup>6</sup> An uncle of Rūḥ Ullah, named 'Aziz Ullah, is mentioned at p. 493 of do.

<sup>7</sup> Blochmann 369.

<sup>8</sup> Akbarnāma II. 371.

avarice and covetousness and, owing to the neglect and connivance of the head officer, the subordinates taxed even the minutest things (lit. priced the head of an ant). Accordingly Bābā K. plainly said to Moẓaffar K.,<sup>1</sup> who was the governor of Bengal, that he had given Rs. 70,000 in presents to the officers and had not yet succeeded in having one hundred horsemen passed. In fact Moẓaffar paid no attention to rectify this. When, on account of similar grievances M'aṣūm K. Kābuli and others of the Behar fief-holders stirred up the dust of strife in the 24th year, Bābā K., who was seeking for his opportunity, with some jagirdars of Bengal entered upon rebellion. In the year 989,<sup>2</sup> 1581, they in concert with Khāldīn K. shaved their heads, put on their caps<sup>3</sup> and went to the city of Gaur which was formerly called Lakhnautī. They several times fought with the imperial troops, and were always defeated. At last they were reduced to become suppliants and to ask for quarter. Though Moẓaffar K. heard of the disturbances in Behar he would not accept their apologies. At last M'aṣūm K. and other rebels left Behar on the approach of the imperial forces and joined the rebels of Bengal. These two bodies recommenced disturbances and in the 25th year they seized Moẓaffar K. who had shut himself up in Tānda, and put him to death. When for some time they were successful and things went (lit. the wheel went round) according to their wish, they divided the territory and distributed titles and offices among themselves. Bābā K. took to himself the title of Khān-khānān, and gave himself the government of Bengal. In the same year and in the midst of his success he was attacked by cancer (*khūrah*).<sup>4</sup> Every day two *sirs* of flesh was put into the

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 291. It is not stated there that Bābā K. said this to Moẓaffar.

<sup>2</sup> It should be 987, for the rebellion broke out in the 24th year, and the 25th began in the first month of 988. See Elliot V. 410 and A.N. III. 291.

<sup>3</sup> The word for cap is *ṣāqiya*, and Elliot V. 415 renders this "high caps," but it rather appears that the *ṣāqiya* was a small cap, of the nature

of a skull cap, worn under the turban or helmet. See Vullers s.v. Apparently the putting on of this cap was a sign of mourning for the death of Roshan Beg, or an indication that they were no longer in uniform, or in the king's service.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 369, n. 3, calls it cancer in the face. See A.N. III. 321. Perhaps it was a form of lupus.

ulcer to feed the maggots. He used to say, "Faithlessness to my salt has brought me to this misery." In the same state he died.

### BAHĀDUR.

Son of S'aid Badakhshī who was for a time collector of the Sarkār of Tirhut. In the 25th year of Akbar's reign when the Bihar officers raised the dust of sedition S'aid left his son on the estates and joined the rebels. Bahādur spent the revenues of the crown-lands on the soldiers and hoisted the standard of disaffection, and struck coins and recited the *Khuṭba* in his own name. They say that this legend was put upon the coinage.

#### *Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

Bahādur ibn Sultan, bin S'aid, ibn Shah Sultan

Pisar Sultan, pidr Sultan, Zihī Sultan bin Sultan

Bahādur son of a Sultan, s. S'aid, S. Shah Sultan

The son of a Sultan, the father a Sultan, Bravo Sultan  
s. Sultan,

When S'aid at the request of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī went<sup>2</sup> off in order to bring his son—that sedition-monger—to united action, Bahādur had the effrontery to put his father into confinement, and the father in a short time obeyed him. When Shāham K. Jalāir attacked Patna and was victorious, S'aid fell<sup>3</sup> in that battle and Bahādur marched out of Tirhut and laid hold of many cultivated tracts. Sarkār Hājipūr was in his possession, and he stretched out his hands everywhere. At last Ṣādiq K. sent a force against him, and there was hand-to-hand fighting. He lost his life there<sup>4</sup> in the 25th year corresponding to 938.

<sup>1</sup> This couplet is quoted in Bada-yūnī, Lowe, 307, but the reading is different. Bahādur is also mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt A.* where he is styled Bahādur 'Alī. See Elliot V. 426. It is not clear why this biography, which was added by 'Abdu-l-Hayy, finds a place in the *Maasir* for it does not appear that Bahādur ever held office

under Akbar. His name does not occur in Blechmann.

<sup>2</sup> See *Akbarnāma* III. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot V. 417.

<sup>4</sup> There appears to be some mistake here. Bahādur did not die till the 26th year 939, 1531, and he did not fall in battle but was put to death by Akbar at court. He was



## BAHĀDUR K. BĀQĪ BEG.

He was servant of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and by his good service and skill obtained a place in the prince's heart. He was more trusted than his contemporaries and rivals. He obtained the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and was made governor of Allahabad on behalf of the prince. When he was engaged in settling that territory, he was summoned to court in the 22nd year, and appointed to the charge of Gujarat, and obtained the rank of 2000 with 500 horse and the title of Ghairat K. In the 23rd year he was raised from the position of being the prince's servant and placed among the king's servants and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and was given a flag. When the prince undertook the charge of the affair of Qandahar and his eldest son Sulaimān Shikoh was appointed governor of Kabul, the settlement of that province was assigned to Ghairat K. In the 28th year he by successive promotions obtained the rank of 4000 with 2500 horse and the title of Bahādur K. While governing Afghanistan he was appointed to Daur,<sup>1</sup> Bānū and Naghz and chastised the Afghans there who seditiously did not pay the proper revenue, and he fixed upon them as their tribute one lac of rupees. But the government of Kabul was not properly conducted by him. In the 30th year the government of Kabul was assigned to Rustum<sup>2</sup> K. Firūz Jang, and the charge of Lahore, which was in the prince's fief, was made over to Bahādur K. In the year 1068, 1658, near the end of Shah Jahan's reign, his rank was increased by 500 horse and he was appointed as deputy for the prince in the province of Bihar, and was sent off with Sulaimān Shikoh who had been appointed to oppose Shujā'.

caught not by Šādiq but by Mirzā Koka's servants, or rather he surrendered to one of them, Ghāzi K., who sent him to Hājipūr. See A.N. III. 374, Elliot V. 426, where his death is put into the 27th year, and Bada-yūnī, Lowe, 307. The text says that it was M'aṣūm K. Kābulī who sent the father S'aīd Badakhshi to admonish

the son. But A.N. III. 306 only says "M'aṣūm K.," and it looks as if M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī were meant, as he had not then become a rebel. A. F. adds that the father soon followed the son's lead.

<sup>1</sup> See Jarrett II. 393 and 398, note

<sup>2</sup> Text has Daurānū u Nagh.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. I. 755.

Though the guardianship and the management were nominally assigned to Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh, in reality Dārā Shikoh made Bahādur guardian and made him the person in power over the army. When Sulaimān Shikoh after defeating Shujā' pursued Amīr K. to Patna, and then on hearing of the march of Aurangzeb was returning in all haste, he on passing Allahabad heard at Karra of his father's defeat and became disheartened, and the Mirzā Rajah and Diler K., as is the way of old servants, left<sup>1</sup> him. Sulaimān Shikoh was helpless and wished to go to Delhi and to join his father by any possible means. Bahādur K. did not approve of this idea, and turned Sulaimān Shikoh's rein towards Allahabad. There too<sup>2</sup> he (Sulaimān) could not abide, and after leaving his superfluous baggage and some of the ladies in Allahabad Fort he crossed the river at Kutāl<sup>3</sup> and wandered about on the other side in failure. At every stage his forces diminished, till at last he passed Laknaur<sup>4</sup> and came to Nagīnah. As at every ferry that he came to and tried to cross the Ganges at, the boats had been removed to the other side of the river, and he could find no means of getting across he went on from Nagīnah<sup>5</sup> with the idea that opposite Hardwār he might with the help of the zamindar there and the help of the ruler of Srīnagar (in the Siwaliks) perhaps get across. He passed Moradabad and came to Cāndī<sup>6</sup> which is opposite to Hardwār and near the borders of Srīnagar, and sent people to the ruler of that country to obtain assistance. He waited in expectation of a reply. Meanwhile the troops of Aurangzeb came against him. He was obliged to fly and thought that the hill-country of Srīnagar would be an asylum. When he entered the hill-country and arrived within

<sup>1</sup> Manucci I. 284, 286.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 171.

<sup>3</sup> Qu? Kotlā or Kotilah in the Sarkār of Karra West, J. II. 168. It may, however, merely mean a pass or ferry.

<sup>4</sup> Lucknow in text, and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 171, but Laknaur in Sambhal must be meant. See Elliot IV. 384. note and supp. glos-

sary II. 138. Nagīnah is also mentioned there, 136. It is Nadīnah in text and in 'Ālamgīrnāma.

<sup>5</sup> Nadīnah in text. It was in Sarkār Sambhal and is now in Bijnaur. I. G. X. 159, and Jarrett II. 290.

<sup>6</sup> The hill opposite Hardwār. 'Ālamgīrnāma 173.

four stages of Srinagar he was met by the ruler.<sup>1</sup> The latter said that his country was small, and could not support all Sulaimān's men, and that there was no road for elephants and horses. If he desired to take up his quarters in the country he must dismiss his soldiers and come to Srinagar with his family and a few servants. At this time Bahādur K. who had fallen ill after leaving Allahabad had a dangerous attack of disease, and lost the use of one eye, and was in fact reckoned among the dead. But out of fidelity and honour he did not wish to remain behind. Of necessity he had to separate from Sulaimān Shikoh, and when he came out of the hill-country he died.<sup>2</sup>

### BAHĀDUR KHĀN ROHĪLA.

Son of Daryā K. Daudzai. In his father's lifetime he became known to Prince Shah Jahan for good service; and when his father became unfaithful and left the prince, he only attached himself more firmly to Shah Jahan and departed not from his stirrup. After the accession he was promoted to the rank of 4000<sup>3</sup> with 2000 horse and given<sup>4</sup> the fief of Kālpī and sent off to punish the recalcitrants there. When in the first year of the reign Jujhār became a rebel and fortified himself in Undcha (Orcha), and armies marched against him from every side, 'Abdullah K. Fīrūz Jang came with Bahādur K. from Kālpī, which is east of that country, to the fort of Īrij,<sup>5</sup> every bastion of which rose up high as heaven, and displayed alacrity and zeal. The enemy attacked the heroes, and there was a hot fight. Bahādur and his followers went on foot, and keeping a rank-breaking<sup>6</sup> elephant in front of

<sup>1</sup> Prithi Singh. He afterwards delivered up the prince. Khāfi K. II. 123. See also *id.* pp. 41, 42. Also 'Ālamgirnama 174.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* 42. 'Ālamgirnama 174.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshahnāma I. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Do. 191.

<sup>5</sup> Erich of the maps, Irich of the I.G. It is in the Jhansi district. The Pādshahnāma I. 247 says Bahādur came from the North, and so he

would if he came from Kālpī, which is N.N.E. of Erich.

<sup>6</sup> *file safshikan bar rū dāshṭa*. The phrase is taken from the Pādshahnāma I. 247, five lines from foot. There instead of *bar ru dāshṭa* we have *pesh dāshṭa*. The Tazkira of Kewal Rām. I.O.M.S. 2685 also relates the incident. It seems to say that it was a wild elephant that Bahādur drove before him.

them, they ran to the gate, swift as the wind, and by the help of that Ahriman-like animal broke down the gate and quickly entered the fort. With the lily-white sword they turned the swarthy Hindus into the colour of tulips and painted a rose-dyed victory on the face of bravery. As a reward for this exertion and victory he got the honour of a kettle-drum. After that he was appointed along with A'zim K., the governor of the Deccan, to extirpate Khān Jahān Lodī. When the A'zim K. made a rapid march and attacked Khān Jahān Lodī in Rajūrī-Bīr, the latter came out with a small body of 350 horse which was with him and marched off firmly and in good order, and whenever the imperial forces came near him he turned back, and drove them off by archery. When he came to the hill of Rajūrī, Bahādur Rohilla quickly arrived there and entered into conflict with Khān Jahān's brother's son Bahādur<sup>2</sup> K. who held the rank of 1000 and was distinguished for courage. Bahādur Rohilla displayed great valour so that it seemed like the story of Rustam<sup>3</sup> and Isfandi-yār. But at last owing to fewness of companions he was brought into difficulty, and dismounted (or was unhorsed) and went on like a moth, continually hurling himself against the fire of the sword.

They say that when he fell on the ground with two wounds from arrows on his face and side, his opponents wished to cut off his head, and that he cried out "I am the memorial and son of Daryā Khan and a house-born one of you." The Khān Jahān forbade his men to kill him. After that when the A'zim Khān in the 4th year after taking the fort of Qandhār<sup>4</sup> encamped on the bank of the Mānjarā with the design of attacking Bhālki and Chatkoba, he directed that at the time of encamping and till the tents of the troops were put up on the ground assigned to them, each corps and some officers should remain on guard by turns, for the distance of a *kos* from the camp, until the men had

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 321, where it is said to be 24 *kos* from Machligāon.

<sup>2</sup> See Pādshāhnāma I. 323, and Khāfi Khān I. 432. There were two Bahādurs and they were on opposite sides. The Bahādur K. who fought

with Bahādur Rohilla was Khān Jahān's brother's son.

<sup>3</sup> This rhetoric is taken from Khāfi K. id. id.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 377.

gathered firewood and straw. On the day of Bahādur's turn, (to collect forage) as there was no sign of the enemy, he had cast away the thread of caution and was seated with a few men at a greater distance from the camp. By chance there was a village near there, the men of which gave battle in order to protect their cattle and other property from the camp-followers. Bahādur K. heard of this and hastened with other officers<sup>1</sup> (and men?) who were not more than 1000 in all, to render assistance. Randaulah K. 'Ādilkhānī with all the rabble made an attack, and the officers opened the hand of courage and fought. When the contest became critical they dismounted, and their minds were bent upon sacrificing their lives. Shabbāz K., who was one of the officers of 3000, spent the coin of life, and Bahādur K. and Yūsuf Muḥammad K. of Tāshkend became senseless from wounds. The enemy carried them off and imprisoned them in Bijapur. When Yemīnu-d-daulah in the 5th year was appointed to devastate the 'Ādilshāhī territory and came to Bijapur, 'Ādil Shah released<sup>2</sup> both of them. Bahādur paid his respects at court and had his dignities increased and was the recipient of royal favours. He was appointed<sup>3</sup> again to Qanauj and its appurtenances. Bahādur proceeded to chastise the rebels of Malkūsah<sup>4</sup> who are conspicuous above the other recalcitrants in that country for violence and numbers. No one there, whether peasant or soldier, goes without weapons so that even the cultivator at the time of ploughing has his loaded gun fastened to the plough, and his match burning. On this account they do not fully apply themselves to agriculture. At this time they were gathered together in Bīrgāon, which was the strongest of their places, and had revolted and absolutely refused to pay their rents. Relying on God's aid, he at once fell upon those

<sup>1</sup> See *Pādshāhnāma* I. 380 and *Khāfi Khān* I. 458. There appears to have been some confusion in the MSS. The statement that the officers were not more than 1000 seems odd, and the words in brackets in the text are not in I.O. MS. 628. The *Pādshāhnāma*, p. 380, five lines from foot, says

there were not more than one thousand horse with Bahādur and his companions.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* 415.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* II. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Malkūsah of Supp. Gloss. II. 90. See also J. II. 185.

wicked men and a wonderful battle took place. Bahādur placed the shield of God's protection above his head and came to the gate. The rioters were not slow to meet him. At length there was a hand-to-hand fight, and after many were killed the rest of them took flight, and Bahādur after destroying the place returned to his residence. A victory was gained over the seditious such as never before had happened in that country. After this, he distinguished himself in the pursuit of Rajah Jujhār Singh Bandila. He was in the vanguard of 'Abdullah K. Firūz Jang and Khān Daurān Bahādur. When that wretch left Garha and Lānjī and came to the country of Chānda, Bahādur, who was following at his heels, sent on his uncle Nēknām with a few men, as he himself had had an illness (*chūn kofta*<sup>1</sup> *dāsht*) in order to check his flight. Jujhār on perceiving his boldness turned round and attacked him, and Nēknām fell fatally wounded<sup>2</sup> along with seven others. Meanwhile Bahādur K. came up along with Khān Daurān and attacked Jujhar's<sup>3</sup> main body, and the latter scattered like the "Daughters of the Bier" (the stars of the constellation of the Great Bear). As 'Abdullah K. Firūz Jang neglected<sup>4</sup> to extirpate Champat<sup>5</sup> Bandila, Bahādur K. was sent off in the 13th year to the fief of Islamabad<sup>6</sup> in order to put down that sedition-monger. But interested people did not permit this, and impressed the emperor with the idea that it was not advisable to convert Bandalkand into a Rohilkand. He was soon removed. After that he gave proof of courage in the affair of Jagta<sup>7</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> *Koft* means a blow. It may also mean an illness of some sort as *koftan-dā* is given in Vullers as meaning palpitation of the heart, and a kind of disease.

<sup>2</sup> *Zakhamhāi munkir*. Munkir is one of the angels who examine the spirits of the departed. The phrase, which occurs also in Pādshāhnāma II. 691, line 10, means mortal wounds. The account of Nēknām is in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 113. There is however a Nēknām K. mentioned in Khāfi Khān I. 649, as alive in 1056, and in association with Bāhādur.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the campaign against Jujhār is contained in Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 106 *et seq.*, and in Khāfi K. I. 509 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 193 *et seq.* and Khāfi Khān I. 578.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 136, 193, 221, etc. He was a connexion of Jujhār and a supporter of his son Prithirāj.

<sup>6</sup> This was a Sarkār in Bandalkand, and among the estates included in it were Irīj, Bhandar and Panwār. See Pādshāhnāma II. 307.

<sup>7</sup> The Jagat Singh of the Pādshāhnāma II. 247, etc.

taking of Mau. His companions under the superintendence of their leader made a ladder<sup>1</sup> of the slain and ran up to the batteries of the foe. On that day 700<sup>2</sup> Afghans among his followers were killed. In the 22nd year he was appointed to guard Multan, and as during the cold weather harvest (*faṣl rabi*) he was without a jagir, an order<sup>3</sup> was given to the diwānī clerks that they should allow his salary (*ṭalab-i-aorā*) to be set off against the demand. In the Balkh campaign he was in the vanguard of Murād Bakhsh's army and distinguished himself by his courage. When the prince came to the foot of the Tūl<sup>4</sup> pass—which was the boundary between the empire and the territory of Badakhshān—Aṣālat K. with the imperial pioneers (*bildār*) and some thousand labourers, whom the Amīru-l-umārā 'Alī Mardān K. had collected from the districts (*balūkāt*) of Kabul, was appointed to clear the road of snow as far as the Serai-Bāla (the upper serai) for the distance of one *kos* and the height of two royal yards, and for half a *kos* and in some places for about 2½ *kos* to the Serai Zer (the lower serai) which is towards Badakhshān, and to make the road passable for laden camels. In other places they were to beat down the snow so that horses and camels could pass. As this work was not completed by them (the pioneers), Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. set all their troopers and foot soldiers to remove the snow and open out the road. The soldiers used all their efforts and dug up the snow and scattered it on the side of the roads with their hands and aprons. By the energy of Bahādur Khān a road two yards wide was made for the distance of one *kos* where there was much snow. When the prince (Murād Bakhsh) cast the shadow of his arrival there, Naẓr Muḥammad

1 Pādshāhnāma II. 270

2 *id. id.*

3 Khāfi K. I. 683. The allowance which Bahādur should have got as a jagirdar but which he did not get as he was without one, were to be set off against the demand for the spring harvest of Multan.

4 Copied from the Pādshāhnāma

II. 513. See also Khāfi K. I. 623. This refers to the expedition against Badakhshān and is anterior to the Multan incident. The march and encounter with the snow occurred in 1055, 1645, and in the 19th year, while the grant of Multan was in the 22nd year 1057. The Tūl Pass is referred to in Jarrett II. 399, 400.

K., the ruler of Tūrān, pretended that he was going to Bāgh<sup>1</sup> Murād to arrange for a banquet and hastened off to Shaburghān.<sup>2</sup> At an indication from the prince, Bahādur K. and Aṣālat K. followed him. About<sup>3</sup> 10,000 Uzbek and Alamān horse who had gathered round Naẓr Muḥammad K. went off with their families and properties to Andakhūd on the approach of the imperial army, being afraid of being plundered and made prisoners. Naẓr Muḥammad K. with a small force prepared for battle and engaged at the distance of four *kos* from Shaburghān. As soon as the encounter began and when scarcely had the sound of conflict reached his men's ears, they gave up and took to flight. Naẓr Muḥammad became helpless and turned his rein and went to Andakhūd, and from there he went to Khurasan. Though Bahādur K. had received an increase of rank, yet at this time, which was that of pursuit and when it was certain that with a little exertion<sup>4</sup> Naẓr Muḥammad K. would have been made prisoner, this brave officer purposely robbed himself (of his opportunity). Either the sluggishness of his companions affected him or there was some other cause which prevented him from finishing the work. And this impression became fixed in the mind of the emperor. When Prince Murād Bakhsh was disinclined to stay in that country and left it without permission from Shah Jahan and proceeded to Kabul, the government of Balkh and the guarding of the country fell upon Bahādur along with Aṣālat. After Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur had cast his shadow over that country, Bahādur K. was in the vanguard and performed feats of valour in battle with the Uzbeks who were more numerous than ants and locusts. At the time of retreating from the country the rearguard was under his charge and he underwent much toil in bringing off the camp. When he reached the pass of Panjshīr<sup>5</sup> which is two stages from the Hindu Koh and is a

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 539.

<sup>2</sup> The Sapurgan of Marco Polo, 90 m. west Balkh.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* 550.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 553.

<sup>5</sup> Text Tankshīr تنگ. This is

the well-known Pass of Panjshīr in northern Afghanistan referred to in the Ain Akbari II. 399 and note 3. A note to text of the Maasir says that in some copies of the Akbarnāma (by which is meant the Ain) the word is



defile which is difficult to traverse, it began to snow, and this continued the whole night and till two *par* (midday) of the next day. With a hundred difficulties the remainder of the camp and of the soldiers were taken through the Pass. At this time on account of the excessive snow a halt of twenty four hours was made. The narrow-eyed Hazāras (referring to their Mongolian origin) opened out their eyes from the lust of robbing and the baggage and attacked the people of the camp. But Bahādur K. with the help of fortune repulsed them every time. When the army got into the Hindu Koh Pass he halted for one day in order that all those who had fallen behind might join, and after that he himself crossed. Owing to the difficulties of the road, the sharpness of the air, and the abundant snow, there were lost on the march from first to last 10,000 men, or nearly half of the force and all the quadrupeds. Much property too remained under the snow. When Bahādur<sup>1</sup> K. came to the head of the Pass, Zū-al-qadr K. who had charge of the imperial treasure was obliged to halt on account of the exhaustion of the carriers. Bahādur unloaded his own camels and those of others, whatever remained, and put treasure on them. The rest he divided among the horses and camels (mules) of the soldiers. He also contended with the Hazāras and entered Kabul fourteen days after the Prince.

Though Bahādur K. had made great exertions in the campaign, yet owing to the representations of some people, Shah Jahan became impressed with the idea that he had been remiss in the matter of pursuing Nazr Muḥammad K. and in assisting S'aid<sup>2</sup>

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written Tang-Shir. But in Bib. Ind. ed. of Ain I. 590, and 595, the word is written Panjhīr with the variant Panjshir. See the account of the crossing in Khāfi K. I. 676. See also Elliot VII. 82 for a translation of the Shāh Jahān-nāma of 'Inayat K. The pass is there called Nek Bihār (?). Apparently the author of the Maasir got his account of the crossing of the Pass from the work of Muḥammad

Wāris, as the son does not mention 'Inayat Ullah's work among the sources.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I. 677-678.

<sup>2</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 663 and Pādshāh-nāma II. 691-692. S'aid K. was wounded and his sons were killed. The supineness of Bahādur is commented on by the author of the Pādshāh-nāma, do. 692.

Muhammad at the time of the Uzbek victory. Therefore, in spite of all the hardships and afflictions he had undergone, he was deprived of Sarkārs Kālpī and Qanauj, which were his fief and for twelve months of the year yielded a return, they being confiscated<sup>1</sup> to the crown (*khālṣa*), in lieu of thirty lacs of rupees which were claimed by the government. This made him grieved at heart. In the 23rd year he was appointed to the Qandahar expedition along with Prince Aurangzeb. In the siege of that strong place he set up a battery in front of the Mālūrī (variant Mālwa) Gate, and on 19 Rajab 1059, 19th July 1649, he by reason of asthma emerged from the fenced city of life. The prince and Jumla-ul-mulki S'aid Ullah K. gave fitting office and allowances to every one of his followers, who were 2000 horse in number, who was fit for service, and kept a number on their own establishment. Other officers took the rest. Shah Jahan raised his eldest son Dilāwar,<sup>2</sup> who was 15 years of age, to the rank of 1500, and gave offices to each one of his six other sons. All his property, except the elephants, was relinquished to his sons. They say that his zeal and loyalty in the king's service were so great that they quite removed from Shah Jahan's heart the cloud which had been caused by his father's crooked ways. They say that Bahādur K. always lamented that he had not had his revenge on the Bijapuris, and that as long as he lived the shame of this affair appeared on his face. 'Azīz K. Bahādur was one of his sons who in the 49th year of Aurangzeb distinguished himself at the siege of Wākin-kīra. On account of this the title of Chaghatai<sup>3</sup> was graciously accorded to him.

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<sup>1</sup> See statement repeated II. 42 in the account of Diler K. I am not sure of the meaning, and I have not access to the authority for the statement. If it refers to the 22nd year it is opposed to Khāfi K. I. 683 which states apparently that Bahādur received the charge of the province of Multan, and that his pay for the time he was without a jagir, was to be

set off against the government demand. The affair of S'aid K. occurred in 1056, in the 19th or 20th year of the reign, and probably Bahādur was punished by being deprived of his jagir at that time and recompensed in the 23rd year.

<sup>2</sup> Dalil in Khāfi K. I. 695.

<sup>3</sup> According to Kewāl Rām the title was given to Bahādur himself.

## BAHĀDUR KHĀN SHAIBĀNĪ.

His name was Muḥammad S'aid, and he was the brother of Khān Zamān 'Alī Qulī K. He was one of the Panchazārīs (5000) of Akbar. At the time of Humāyūn's expedition to India, he received the territory of Zamīn Dāwar. After some time, he out of an evil disposition got the idea of taking Qandahar, and sought to succeed by dint of stratagem. He did not succeed, and when he failed, he collected some vagabonds and prepared for battle. Shāh Muḥammad K. Qilātī, who was guarding the fort on behalf of Bairām, saw that help from India was far off, and so strengthened the fort and applied for help to the king of Persia. At his request an army of Persians came and suddenly fell upon Bahādur K. He made a stout resistance, but was not successful and had to fly. As he could not remain in the district, he, in the second year of the reign, and when Akbar was besieging Mānkot, presented himself at court in a shame-faced fashion. On the recommendation of Bairām K., his offence was pardoned, and he obtained Multan as his fief in the room of Muḥammad Qulī Birlās. In the third year Bahādur was appointed along with many other officers to conquer Mālwa. At the same time there occurred the downfall of Bairām, and the latter recalled him in order that he himself might take possession of that territory. But afterwards he abandoned this idea. Bahādur came to Delhi and on the recommendation of Māham Anaga was appointed to the high office of Vakīl. A few days had not elapsed when Etawah was made his fief, and he obtained leave of absence. In the 10th year, when Khān Zamān his eldest brother became rebellious, he was sent along with Sikandar K. Uzbeg to Sarwār, in order that he might come to Upper India by that route, and make a disturbance. On this account Akbar appointed a force under Mir M'uizu-l-mulk of Mashhad. Though Bahādur made submissions and said that his mother had gone to court with Ibrāhīm K. Uzbeg, and had obtained forgiveness for his and his brother's offences, Mir M'uizu-l-mulk would not agree and came forward to give battle. Though Sikandar K. who was with Bahādur turned to flee, Bahādur fell upon Mir M'uizu-l-mulk's centre, and Shāh

Budāgh K., who was one of the soldier-like officers, was made prisoner, and the Mīr was defeated. As Bahādur's and the Khān Zamān's offences had been pardoned, this act of his was not inquired into. But as the pardon was conditional<sup>1</sup> on the Khān Zamān's not crossing the Ganges so long as Akbar should be in that quarter, and as at the time when Akbar visited Chunār, 'Alī Qulī neglected this condition, and crossed the Ganges, the king was angry and made a rapid march against him. He issued an order to Ashraf K., who was in Jaunpur, to imprison Bahādur's mother. Bahādur heard of this and made a rapid expedition to Jaunpur and took the fort. He imprisoned Ashraf and released his own mother, and plundered Jaunpur and Benares, and then went off on the return of the king. But once more on account of the pardoning of the Khān Zamān's offences, and the entreaties of M'unim K., Akbar did not direct his attention to suppress the immoderate conduct of Bahādur. At last in the 12th year 974, 1566-67, he, along with his brother, with utter want of decency or gratitude entered upon a contest with Akbar. When Bābā K. Qāqshāl fell upon the army of Khān Zamān, Bahādur K. faced him and overthrew him. Suddenly his horse was struck with an arrow and reared, and Bahādur was thrown. When his men saw this, they dispersed, and the brave men of the imperial army attacked him. Wazīr Jamil Beg, who was then an officer of the rank of 700, wickedly and avariciously took something from him and let him go. Just then another man came up, and placed him in pillion on his horse and brought him to the king. Akbar said, "Bahādur K., what evil did we do to you, that you have made all this commotion and strife?" Bahādur replied,<sup>2</sup> "God is to be praised for whatever happens!" Perhaps his disloyalty had not yet been entirely extirpated, otherwise he would have expressed his repentance. At the importunity of well-wishers an order was given to Shahbāz K. to cut off his head.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. II. 265.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. III. 294, and Badayūnī, Lowe 99. The Darbār A. 222 understands Bahādur to have meant that

he praised God for giving him a sight of the emperor. Probably Bahādur merely implied that whatever was, was right.

He had a poetical vein and wrote verses. This opening is by him.

*Verse.<sup>1</sup>*

That saucy tyrant took another stone,  
As if to war with me the wounded one.

### BAHĀDURU-L-MULK.

They say that his real native country was the Panjab. After serving the kings of the Deccan for a long time he came to Akbar's court, and became his servant. In the 43rd year he took the fort of Pūnār<sup>2</sup> in the province of Berar. That fort is on a hill and has a river on three sides which is never fordable. After that he distinguished himself in various battles. In the 46th year when he was left with Hamid K. to guard the country of Telingāna, Malik 'Ambar brought an army from the country of Barid and stirred up strife. They in the pride of their valour opposed him with a small force and a battle took place on the bank of the Mānjarā. By the fatefulness of heaven they were defeated and Hamid K. was made prisoner. Bahādur<sup>3</sup> by great efforts crossed the river and gained a place of safety. In the 8th year of Jahangir he obtained the gift of a flag. In the 9th year he was distinguished<sup>4</sup> by increase of rank and the gift of an elephant. He died at the appointed time. They say that this line was engraved on his signet.

*Verse.<sup>5</sup>*

Whoever is a good friend is a valuable pearl.

(Bahādur).

<sup>1</sup> These lines with a difference in the first line are quoted by Badayūni III. 240, in his account of the Khān Zamān who had the takhalluṣ of Sul-tan. See also Darbār A. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Panār of Ain J. II. 227 and 233. In A. N. III. 743 it is Pūnā. The Paunār (Pownār) of the I. G. XI. 119. It is in Wardha district and on river Dhām. I.G. new ed. xxiv. 368.

<sup>3</sup> A. N. III. 796.

<sup>4</sup> In the 10th year of Jahāngir, Tuzūk 139, he was raised to the rank of 3000, and 2300 horse.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the point of the line is that it is a play on the name of the owner of the signet. Bahādur seems here to be taken as a Persian word and to mean a precious pearl, or simply anything valuable. Perhaps it should be "Whoever is the acceptable friend of anyone is a precious pearl."

## BAHĀDUR K. UZBEG.

His name was Abū-n-Nabī, and he was one of the nobility of Tūrān. In the time of 'Abdu-l-mūmin K. he attained to high office and was made governor of Mashhad. When 'Abdu-l-mūmin was killed, Baqī K. (the ruler of Tūrān) tried to conciliate Bahādur, but he got free by pretending that he was going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and came to India. In the 48th year he entered<sup>1</sup> into Akbar's service, and received suitable rank and the present of a jewelled waist-dagger. After the accession of Jahangir he received<sup>2</sup> Rs. 40,000 for expenses and went off with 57 officers to assist Shaikh Farid Murtaza K. who had been appointed to pursue Sultān Khusrau. In the 5th year he was made faujdār of Multan in succession to Tāj K. In the 7th year he obtained a *mansab* of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Bahādur K., and was, on the death of M. Ghāzī, appointed<sup>3</sup> to the government of Qandahar. Afterwards he got successive increases and attained<sup>4</sup> the rank of 5000 with 3500 horse. In the 15th<sup>5</sup> year he pleaded defective eyesight and resigned the appointment of Qandahar. They say that when the approach of the king of Persia's army was bruited abroad, he out<sup>6</sup> of carelessness could not make up his mind to remain (?) and so distributed two lacs of rupees among the royal clerks as bribes, and left the place. After that he obtained a fief in the Agra province and was prosperous. When Shah Jahan's standards moved from Ajmere towards Agra he came<sup>7</sup> forward and did homage. Nothing more is known of him.

BAHARJĪ, LANDHOLDER OF BAGLĀNĀ.<sup>8</sup>

His ancestors held this territory for 1400 years. They regard themselves as descended from Rajah Jai Cand Rāthor who was

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III. 820, and 839. He is there called Abu-i-Baqā.

<sup>2</sup> Tūzūk J. 28. <sup>3</sup> Tūzūk J. 109.

<sup>4</sup> It is mentioned under the 11th year of the Tūzūk 162, that he got an increase of 500.

<sup>5</sup> Tūzūk 323.

<sup>6</sup> The sentence is obscure. Appar-

ently it means that he was afraid to stay, and so left, but sent two lacs of rupees to the clerks at headquarters to secure a favourable representation of his case.

<sup>7</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 82.

<sup>8</sup> J. II. 251, Elliot VII. 65. Khān K. I. 561. Pādshāhnāma II. 105.

Rajah of Qanauj. Whoever ruled this country was called Baharjī. In former times they coined money. As it was between Gujarat and the Deccan, the ruler served whichever side was strongest. After having long been tributary to Gujarat, the rulers of Khandes came to prevail owing to their proximity. In the year 980, 1572, when Gujarat came into Akbar's possession, and the royal standards were planted in the delightful spot of the blessed port of Surat, Baharjī submitted and produced<sup>1</sup> M. Sharafu-d dīn Husain (afterwards) the king's brother-in-law, who had rebelled and had entered Baharjī's territories with the intention of going to the Deccan, and had been imprisoned there. In consequence Baharjī was treated with favour. After this the ruler of Baglāna always submitted and paid tribute, and when necessary made his appearance when summoned by the viceroys of the Deccan. As Baglāna on one side adjoined Gujarat, and on the other Khandes, and was in the middle of the imperial territories, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb in the time of his first viceroyalty appointed Muḥammad Tāhir, who received the title of Wazīr K., with Mālojī Deccanī, Zāhid K. Koka, and Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Wahāb of Khandes, to conquer Baglāna. After a siege, the fort of Mulher, which was the capital, was taken, and Baharjī sent his mother to make a reconciliation, and after making a treaty he in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan) surrendered the fort and waited upon the prince (Aurangzeb). Shah Jahan made him an officer of 3000 with 2500 horse and at his request assigned to him as his dwelling-place pargana Sultānpūr, which had been lying waste since the time of the famous famine<sup>2</sup> in the Deccan. The territory of Baglāna was included in the province of Khandes. Rāmgar,<sup>3</sup> which is a district of Baglāna, was likewise taken out of the possession of Sūm<sup>4</sup> Deo, the son-in-law of Baharjī. As the expenditure on it exceeded the income, Baharjī received it back, and Rs. 10,000 was fixed as the annual tribute. After Baharjī's death Shah Jahan converted his son Bairam<sup>5</sup> Sāh to Muham-

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III. 29.

<sup>2</sup> In 1630-31, Pādshāhnāma I. 362, Elliot VII. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Rāmgar in Pādshāhnāma II. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi K. I. 564.

madanism and gave him the title of Daulatmand K., and the rank of 1500 and the pargana of Pūnār Khandes (Paunār) as 'in'ām in lieu of Sultānpūr. He lived into the reign of Aurangzeb and in that town (Paunār) erected splendid buildings of which vestiges still remain.

*Verse.*

From the marks of broken gates and walls  
The signs of foreign (or of Persian) princes are visible.

Baglāna is mainly a hill-country. Its length is 100 *kos* and its breadth 30.<sup>1</sup> On the east are Gālāna and Nandarbār. West is Sorath. North, Tiplī (Rājpiplāh) and the Vindya range. South, the Sambha<sup>2</sup> range on the top of which are Nāsik and other places. Formerly it was rated at 3000 horse and 10,000 infantry. It had two great cities Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. At present there are not many villages. It had seven forts of note, and all were hill-forts. Two were especially famous, Mulher (Muleir of the maps) known as Aurangarh with a town one *kos* off. The river Mosān<sup>3</sup> flows 60 *kos* west of Aurangabad. Sālher is called Sultān-garh and is the loftiest of forts and summits.

*Verse.*

For Sālher is the son of high heaven  
In height he is as tall as his sire.

Other places are Hatgarha,<sup>4</sup> Jūlher, Besūl, Nāniya and Sālūta. This country<sup>5</sup> is well watered and has abundant orchards and various kinds of crops. It has abundance of mangoes and choice rice which is the best in the Deccan. In the time of former sultans the collections were ten lacs of rupees. Six and half krs of dāms were its fixed revenue. As it had been devastated by famine

<sup>1</sup> Pādshahnāma has 70 for the breadth, i.e. length from N. to S. But A.N. III. 30 has 30.

<sup>2</sup> So in text, but the variant Sahyāchal is right, the range in question being the Sahyādri hills of the I.G. XH. 137 old edition.

<sup>3</sup> Mus or Mos in text, but variant

has Mosan. I.G. VI. 192 has Mosam. It is a tributary of the Girnā which flows into the Tāptī.

<sup>4</sup> See Pādshahnāma II. 106, which has Hātgarha, Pepūl (qu. Bhusāwal), Bāūna and Sālūda.

<sup>5</sup> See Khāfi K. I. 561-562 who speaks from personal knowledge.



and the repeated marchings of troops the revenue after the conquest was fixed at four lacs of rupees. At present Rs. 11,000 has been deducted from this also in the offices. The parganas were in old times reckoned at 32, and of these 27 have now been included in three or four estates. Also the villages of this country which are in the hill-tracts towards Jawār<sup>1</sup> (Jawhār?) yield little and are in the possession of the Bhils.

### (I'TIQĀD K. MĪRZĀ) BAHMAN YĀR.

Son of Yamīnu-d-daulah Khān-Khānān Āṣaf K. He was of an independent disposition, of a careless nature, and a lover of comfort and pleasure. He spent his life in a delightful manner and had a sufficiency of the means of enjoyment. He did not deal with armies or marching. In perfect tranquillity and freedom from care he spent his days and nights. When he was Mīr Bakhshī he continually by feigning illness abstained from waiting on the royal stirrup, and spread the carpet of ease and comfort. Sometimes he went to the Deccan to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and sometimes, on the same pretext, he went off to Bengal. Many of his sallies and expressions are on the tip of people's tongues. From a regard to the merits of his ancestors and to his connection with the royal family both Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb excused him from many of the disagreeables of service and strove to make him comfortable. In the 10th year of Shah Jahan he held the rank of 500 with 200 horse. After his father's death he got an increase and was always treated with kindness. In the 19th year his rank was 2000, with 200 horse, and in the 22nd year it was 3000 with 300 horse and he had the title of Khānzāda Khān. In the 25th year he returned from the Deccan, where he had been to visit his brother Shaista Khān, and entered into the royal service. In the end of the same year he had the rank of 4000 with 500 horse and the family title of I'tiqād K. which his father and uncle had both held. And he was made Mīr Bakhshī. As frequently, he on the plea of

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<sup>1</sup> *Samt jawār*. Perhaps "the villages in the neighbourhood of the hill country."

illness was unable to carry on the duties, he in the 26th year at the time when the king was returning from Kabul to the capital begged, when the army reached Lahore, to be allowed to halt for a while and to adopt remedies. This was granted and a yearly allowance of Rs. 60,000 made him satisfied. After he got well, he in the 27th year attended court and was out of kindness restored to his former rank and service. In this service he continued till the end of the 30th year without covetousness or selfish designs, in perfect independence and freedom from care, and gathered the treasure of a good name. After the battle with Dārā Shikoh at Samogarha, which is a famous hunting-place, he had the distinction of entering into the service of Aurangzeb. In the 5th year he got the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and received royal favours. In the 10th year he obtained a flag and took leave to go and see his elder brother (Shaista K.) who was then governor of Bengal. He stayed a long while in that country, and spent his time in enjoyment. In the 15th year, 1082, 1671, he died.<sup>1</sup> May God have mercy upon him! He was a very honest man and free from anxieties. He was pious and had a perfect love for the poor.

They say that one day he had gone off into the lanes without ceremony to see an enthusiast. As this was contrary to the dignity of an Amīr the emperor asked him by way of rebuke, "Were any of the king's servants with you?" He replied, "One was there—this ashamed one (lit. this black-faced one); all the others were servants of God." His son Muḥammad Yār K. was also the unique of the age for his good qualities. He has been noticed separately. His daughter Fāṭima Begam was the wife of Muftakḥir K. the son of Fakḥr K. Najm-ḡānī. In the end she found favour with Aurangzeb and became Ṣadru-n-nisā, "Mistress of the Harem."

### BAHRĀM SULTAN.

Third s. Nazr Muḥammad the ruler of Balkh. As some account of Nazr Muḥammad has been given at the end of the

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<sup>1</sup> In Bengal, Maasir A. 114.

biography of Khusrau Sultan (his second son), and his final fate has been mentioned in the biography<sup>1</sup> of 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Sultan, it is necessary to give in this place some account<sup>2</sup> of his ancestors. He and his elder brother Imām Qulī K. were the sons of Dīn Muḥammad K. commonly known as Yatīm Sultan and who was s. Jānī Sultan, s. Yār Muḥammad K., who was the cousin of Ḥājīm K., the ruler of Ūrganj, the capital of Khwarazm. When the country of Sher<sup>3</sup> Khān (i.e. Astrachan) had been taken by the Russians from his ancestors,<sup>4</sup> Yār Muḥammad came away in a destitute condition. Perhaps he was influenced by the improper conduct of Ḥājīm towards himself. Anyhow, when he came to Transoxiana, Sikandar K. (i.e. Iskandar) the father of the famous 'Abdullah K. perceived that he was a young<sup>5</sup> man of ability and lineage, and gave him in marriage his daughter (Zahra Khānim) who was the full sister of 'Abdullah K. The fruit of this union soon appeared in the person of Jānī K. He had five<sup>6</sup> sons, viz. Dīn Muḥammad, who was the eldest, Bāqī Muḥammad, Walī Muḥammad, Pavinda Muḥammad Sultan and Alīm Sultan. All these five brothers submitted<sup>7</sup> to 'Abdullah K. and passed their days in Tūn, Qāiq<sup>8</sup> and other countries of Quhis-

<sup>1</sup> See Maasir I. 767 and II. 812.

<sup>2</sup> Copied from Pādshāhnāma I. 216-217.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be a mistake for Hashtar Khān or Ḥajj Tarkhān, i.e. Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga. It is Hashtar Khān in the Pādshāhnāma I. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Text *ābāish* "his ancestors," which seems to have no sense here. for Astrakhan was taken from Yār Muḥammad himself, who was then an old man. The Pādshāhnāma l.c. has *amālīsh* "his hopes," and the sentence seems to mean that Yār Muḥammad fell from his hopes of power and sway and had to come in a destitute condition to Transoxiana. This was in 975, 1567. Deemaison's Abū-l-Ḥāzī, p. 188, n. Ḥājīm Tarkhān is frequently mentioned in that work. The Astrakhan dynasty is known as the Jānids.

It came to an end, according to S. Lane Poole, in 1554, p. 229. Yār Muḥammad's genealogy is given in Vambéry's Hist. of Bokhara 305, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> It was Jānī Beg the son of Yār Muḥammad who received in marriage the daughter of Iskandar, and sister of the celebrated 'Abdullah K. See Howorth, Part II, 744. Vambéry's Bokhara 305, and Stanley Lane Poole's Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> So in Pādshāhnāma. According to Vambéry, p. 306, he had only three—Dīn Muḥammad, Walī Muḥammad, and Bāqī Muḥammad.

<sup>7</sup> *Az qibāl* 'Abdullah Khan, "under his suzerainty" (?).

<sup>8</sup> Qāin in Pādshāhnāma. It lies between Yezd and Herat, Blochmann 591. It is the old capital of Kohistan and is the Kayin of the maps.

tan (for Kohistān). Alīm Sultan died there. When there came a rupture between 'Abdullah K. and his son 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, the brothers had regard to their obligations to 'Abdullah and did not submit to 'Abdu-l-Mūmin. When the latter became ruler of Tūrān, he got rid of all his relations, whom he suspected of good conduct and propriety, and so raised smoke (*dūd* which also means sighing) from his own family (*dūdman*). He also proceeded to act badly to Yār Muḥammad K. and drove him out from Balkh, and he seized Jānī K. and imprisoned him. The brothers sounded the drum of opposition in Khurāsān, and behaved presumptuously. As it chanced, in the year 1006, 1598, when 'Abdu-l-Mūmin was marching with a large army from Bokhara with the intention of attacking Khurāsān he was killed one night by an arrow shot by an Uzbek who was grieved for the sorrows of the afflicted and was lying in wait. Dīn Muḥammad regarded the coin of opportunity as a great treasure and placed the cap of jay on the apex of fortune. He came to Herat and took possession of it, and appointed Walī Muḥammad to the charge of Merv. As there was great commotion throughout Tūrān, every head (*sir*) was a *sirdār* (leader) and every door (*dar*) was a caucus (*darbār*) and the Uzbeks being without remedy agreed to his supremacy in Khurāsān. He established his power in Herat and had the *Khutba* recited and coin struck in the name of his grandfather Yār Muḥammad K. Yār Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> after being turned out of Balkh had gone to India, and waited upon Akbar and been treated with royal favours. After some time he took leave to go on pilgrimage and had come to Qandahar, when the heavens caused this trampling upon dominion. Dīn Muḥammad K. had not yet moved some

Jarrett III. 86, n. Apparently it is the Ghaein of Macgregor's Khurāsān II. 148.

<sup>1</sup> This account of Yār Muḥammad is copied from the Pādshāhnāma. But it disagrees with Vambéry who says that Yār Muḥammad (of Astrakhan) died soon after his arrival in Transoxiana. Nor is there any mention of a Yār Muḥammad Sultan's

coming to India in Akbar's time. Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad of Pādshāhnāma I. 217 is not the father of Jānī Beg and grandfather of Dīn Muḥammad. But see *infra* in this notice. The "trampling upon dominion" referred to is the death of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin which took place in 1598 (1006).

steps towards the accomplishment of his wishes when Shah 'Abās Šafavī who was waiting for an opportunity of extricating his hereditary territories, equipped an army for battle and came to Herat. Some well-wishing and far-sighted people said to him (Dīn Muḥammad) that it was not advisable to make a disturbance about Khurāsān which for a hundred years had been the territory of the Persians, and of which a part was in his (Dīn M.'s) possession. The proper course was to propose friendship to the king of Persia, and to arrange the affairs of Turkistan, which was his old and hereditary possession and was without a fitting head. After subduing that country he might without objection, if he were able to do so, address himself to the conquest of Khurāsān. Dīn Muḥammad K. at the instigation of warlike young men for whom the pleasures of the government of Khurāsān had not lost their taste, and also because in the time of 'Abdullah K., and of the confusions in Khurāsān, war had been successfully made against some of the officers of that country, thought that the contest would be an easy one. At the Rabāṭ Pariyān near Pul Sālār, which is four *farsakhs* (leagues) from Herat, an engagement took place. There was a great battle<sup>1</sup> and the Uzbeks were defeated. Nearly 5 or 6000 of the best men in the army were killed, and Dīn Muḥammad fled. When he came to Mārūcāq weakness overpowered him on account of his wounds, and his companions laid him down in a corner in order that he might get repose. There he died. Some say he took refuge with one of the servants of the soldiers in a tent. He was not recognized and was ill-treated by the men, and when they did recognize him they were frightened of reprisals and so put him to death. Payinda Muḥammad Sultan went to Qandahar, and Shāh Beg K.<sup>2</sup> the governor there imprisoned him and sent him to Akbar. He made him over to Ḥasan Beg<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Umārī who was going to Kabul, and he made him

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry, Hist. of Bokhara, p. 206. A.N. III. 803, where Dīn M. is apparently called Hāshim K. See also 'Ālam Arāī, lith., p. 392. The Hāshim K. of the A.N. is apparently a mistake for Yatīm Sultan or Yatīm

K., which was another name for Dīn, Muḥammad. <sup>2</sup> Blochmann 377.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 454. Ḥasan Beg is the man who afterwards joined Khusrāu and was put to death with tortures by Jahangir.

over to Qulij K. the governor of the Panjab. After one year he died in Lahore. Wali Muhammad K. came away from the battlefield with 30 to 40 servants without knowing what had become of his elder brother Dīn Muhammad and hastened to Bokhara. There he joined Pīr Muhammad K., who was one of the relatives of 'Abdullah K., but whom 'Abdu-l-Mūmin had not put to death as he thought<sup>1</sup> him an opium-eating dervish because he always spent his time in opium-shops (*koknār khānhā*) in poverty and wretchedness, but who had afterwards been seated on the *masnad* of Tūrān. When at that time Tawakkal K. Qazzāq on finding that Transoxiana was destitute of a powerful ruler led an army against it, Bāqī Muhammad (a son of Jānī K.) distinguished himself in the battle, and received from Pīr Muhammad the government of Samarkand. Bāqī Muhammad after behaving obediently for some time perceived that he was fitter for rule than Pīr Muhammad and conceived the idea of being sovereign and called himself *Khān*. He also marched out from Samarkand to take Miyānkāl. Pīr Muhammad was made miserable and restless by this news and came to Samarkand with 40,000 horse. Bāqī Muhammad craftily had resort to supplications, but though he tried to clear himself it was of no avail. When he found himself helpless he opened the gates of contest and one day he came out of the fort and fell upon Pīr Muhammad's centre and defeated him. He was wounded and captured and was immediately put to death by Bāqī Muhammad's order. Bāqī M. then proceeded to Bokhara and sate upon the throne of rule. By ability and courage he also brought under his sway Balkh and Badakhshān. Yār Muhammad his grandfather, who was still in Qandahar, on hearing this news gave up the thought of going on pilgrimage and proceeded to Tūrān. Bāqī M. welcomed him with honour and seated him on the *masnad*, and had the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name. But when after two years he perceived that his grandfather was eager to advance, his sons 'Abbās Sultan, Tarson Sultan, and Pīr Muhammad Sultan who were not by the same mother as Jānī K., he deprived Yār Muhammad of power, and placed his

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ālam Arāī, p. 381, where he is called Pīr Muhammad Sultan.

rather Jānī K. in his room. After this when Yār Muḥammad K., and Jānī K. died, Bāqī M. recited the *khutba* and struck coins in his own name and his power rose as high as the Pleiades, and the vault of Orion. When he died in 1014, 1605-06, Walī Muḥammad succeeded to power. He made over Balkh, Andakhud and their appurtenances,—which were on this side of the Oxus—and which during his brother's time had belonged to him (i.e. Bāqī M.) to his brother's sons Imām Qulī and Nazr M. Sultan who were the sons of Dīn M. K. They for a long time were obedient to their uncle, but at last they on account of their youth and the instigation of ignorant companions became disobedient and took the road of rebellion. They made<sup>1</sup> their honoured uncle suspected in the matter of religion on account of the coming and going of the Persian ambassador, and induced most of the Uzbeg officers to have an aversion to him. At last Khwāja Abū Hāshim the Khwāja of Dahbid, and Muḥammad Bāqī Qalmāq who governed Samarkand on behalf of (*az qibal*) Walī Muḥammad K., and Ilangtosh Be Atālīq who was there as his (Walī's) auxiliary, and who had been vexed by the evil conduct of Walī Muḥammad, recited the *Khutba* and struck coin in the name of Imām Qulī and summoned him from Balkh. He with his brother Nazr Muḥammad crossed the Jaiḥūn (Oxus) and wished to come to Samarkand by the route of Koh-i-Tan.<sup>2</sup> Walī M. on hearing the news gathered together an army from Bokhara and blocked their path. When they came near, as Imām Qulī had not power to fight, he stirred up questions and brought forward charges. Walī M. too wished that things should not come to fighting. Suddenly, by accident, one night two or three boats came out of a reed bed into Walī's camp. People made a noise and came out of their tents and proceeded to fight with them. There was a great outcry that Imām Qulī was making a night attack, and people assembled in Walī M.'s enclosure. No trace could be found of him, as he out of suspicion against his own people had withdrawn himself with some persons that he trusted. Crowds of men joined the two brothers. Some are of opinion that these noctur-

<sup>1</sup> See 'Ālam Arāī, lith. 589.

<sup>2</sup> Pādashāhnāma I, p. 219, line 2.

nal rumours did not spring from mean and riotous fellows. Rather Walī M.'s chief officers who from unfaithfulness and avarice had shut their eyes to their obligations to their master and looked at his failure as their success raised the cry of a night attack and turned the face of hope to his enemies. However this may be, Walī M. after being for some time a spectator of the catastrophe went off to Bokhara in complete mortification and despair. There too he did not see his way to settle, and went off<sup>1</sup> with failure to Persia.

Imām Qulī having received unexpected good fortune hastened to Bokhara and sate upon the masnad, and gave Balkh and Badakhshān to Nazr M. K. Ai Khānim was the daughter of 'Ibād Ullah Sultan, younger brother of 'Abdullah K., and was first married to 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn. After his death she came into the possession of Iṣḥām K. Qazzāq, after that she was married to Pir Muḥammad K., after that to Bāqī M. K.; after that to Walī M. K. She was famed among the Uzbegs for good looks and beneficent influence (? *yamn qadam*).<sup>2</sup> When Walī M. was going to Persia, he, on account of want of time, had left her in Cārjū fort on the bank of the Jaihūn (Oxus). Imām Qulī now sent for her and wished to cohabit with her, but as she did not agree, he laid his hand on the skirts of the Qāzī and the Mufti and sought for subterfuges. No one would come forward to help him. But one Qāzī who was worldly gave his religion to the winds and gave a decree to the effect that as Walī M. K. had shown a heretical disposition and gone out of the Muhammadan circle his wives were husbandless.<sup>3</sup> That audacious (Imām Qulī) and incontinent one took in marriage the undivorced wife of his living uncle, a thing which is not allowed in any religion.

Walī M., who had come to Īspahan, was welcomed by Shah Abbas the 1st, and although he ignorantly interviewed the Shah from on horseback, the Shah behaved with gentleness and cor-

<sup>1</sup> Vambéry I, c. 311. See also account of the uproar caused by the boars in the 'Ālam Arāī, 590.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly it means "graceful figure."

<sup>3</sup> *M'uallaq*, literally suspended. See Lane 2137, col. 2, "a woman whose husband has been lost to her, neither having a husband, nor divorced."



diality and did not forsake the rites of hospitality. The chronogram was *Āmada pādshāh Tūrān*, "Arrived Tūrān's king" 1020, 1611.<sup>1</sup> Though the Shah increased his affectionateness and heartiness Walī M. remained depressed and did not expand. After some time when a musical entertainment came to an end, and political questions fell to be discussed, the Shah said: "This year the Turk (*Rūmī*) has come to Tabriz; I must dispose of him; next year I shall myself accompany the *Khān* and establish him on his ancestral throne." The *Khān* said:<sup>2</sup> "Delay and procrastination won't do. As yet the power of Imām Qulī has not been established. The help of the Qizilbāshes will be an object of horror to the Uzbegs." By chance at that time, letters came from the Uzbeg chiefs, whose unfaithfulness had made him an exile, full of repentance for the past, and of service and devotion for the future. By urgency he got leave from the Shāh and proceeded to Bokhara. After six months, which were spent in going and coming from Persia, he came to Tūrān, and with the help of some of the officers, who were penitent for what they had done and wished to repair it, he got possession of Bokhara without a battle. Imām Qulī fled from Bokhara and came to Qarshī. There he left Ai *Khānim* and came to Samarcand. Walī M. in the pride of success and from a distracted disposition set about taking vengeance (on his enemies), and without getting together a suitable force he trusted to the words of recalcitrants and traitors and proceeded against his brother's sons. The two parties came to blows at two *farsakhs* (leagues) from Samarcand. Many of the leaders turned away from fighting and withdrew to the rear. He could not bring himself to incur the disgrace of flight, but attacked Imām Qulī with 2 or 300 of his own men and was wounded and fell. They lifted him up and brought him before Imām Qulī, who immediately ordered him to be put to death.<sup>3</sup> Thus the sovereignty of Tūrān became established in Imām Qulī without a partner or rival, while the government of Balkh and

<sup>1</sup> Walī Muhammad left Tūrān in 1019, but met Shah Abbas in the beginning of 1020. 'Ālam Arāī 592,

where several chronograms are given.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* 593.

<sup>3</sup> Vambéry 321. Ālam Arāī 599.

Badakhshān fell to Nazr M. After thirty-five years of sovereignty he (Imām Qulī) in the year 1051, 1641, became blind and the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Nazr M. shut his eyes to his obligations towards his brother<sup>1</sup> and set before himself the seizure of Samarcand and Bokhara. Though the Uzbeks were so pleased with Imām Qulī's excellent behaviour that they unanimously said that though eyesight (*baṣārat*) was gone, foresight (*basīrat*) was apparent, and that in spite of his blindness they were pleased with his rule, yet as Imām Qulī was from the bottom of his heart willing that Nazr M. should take<sup>2</sup> his place, they were obliged to bring him to Samarcand and to recite the *khutba* in his name. Nazr M. sent him off by the route of Persia to the holy place though he wished to travel by India, and did not permit any of his ladies to accompany him; not even his beloved Ai Khānim. He also laid hold of all his accumulated treasures. Imām Qulī in great distress and in company with Khwāja Naṣīb, Nazr Beg Taghai (uncle by mother's side), Raḥīm Beg and Khwāja Mirak Diwān—about 15 persons in all, Uzbeks and slaves—set out, and after interviewing Shah 'Abbās the 2nd and receiving his hospitality, went off to the Kaaba. He then proceeded to Medīna, and there he died<sup>3</sup> and was buried in the Baqī' cemetery.<sup>4</sup>

As the establishment of Nazr M. on the throne, the commotion of the Uzbeks, and the coming of the armies of India to that country (Transoxiana), have been fully detailed in the accounts of Khusrau Sultan the 2nd, son of Nazr M., we now proceed with our narrative. When Prince Murād Bakhsh arrived at Balkh in the month of 1st Jumāda 1056, June 1646, Bahrām Sultan, Subhān Qulī Sultan and some great men and nobles of Balkh entered<sup>5</sup> the victorious camp. The prince sent Aṣālat K. the Mīr Bakhshī to bring them in, and Amīru-l-umarā 'Alī Mardān K. received them at the door of the diwānkhāna. The prince treated them with much respect and placed them on the right

<sup>1</sup> He was only his half-brother. Vambéry 318. See account of Imām Qulī and Nazr M. in Pādshāhnāma II. 252, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Vambéry 319, and Pādshāhnāma II. 255-256. <sup>3</sup> Vambéry 319.

<sup>4</sup> Lane's Dict. 235b.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 536.

hand of the masnad on the state carpet (*sozanī*). He showed them various kindnesses, and then dismissed them in order that they might go and exert themselves for the comforting of the Khān. They were to tell him that every kind of aid and service in chastising the malcontents and factions would now be translated from intention into deeds, and that until the settlement of the Khān, the victorious army would not set their feet on the skirt of repose. As the fortune of Naẓr Muḥammad had come to an end, a groundless suspicion took possession of him, and he announced that he was going to prepare a banquet for the prince, and went off to Bāgh Murād. He took some jewels and ashrafis along with him and fled with his two sons Subhān Qulī and Qutluq Sultan. When this news reached the prince he directed Bahādur K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K. to pursue him, and occupied himself in making arrangements for the country and for confiscating the Khān's property. Twelve lacs of rupees worth of jewelled vessels, etc., and nearly 2500 mares,<sup>1</sup> were received into the royal establishments. Though the amount of his accumulations which he had himself placed in chests, and the details of which were written in his own hand and left by him there, and the keys of which were always kept by him, were not found, yet from the verbal statements of the clerks it appeared that his treasures amounted to seventy lacs of rupees in money and goods. None of his ancestors had had as much. In the disturbance of the Uzbegs and Almān, and the time of flight and confusion, a little was spent and much was plundered. The revenue of Balkh and Badakhshān and the whole of Transoxiana and Turkistan—which were in the possession of the two brothers—according to a copy of the registers, including the regular land revenue and the miscellaneous receipts, the payments in money and in kind, the increases<sup>2</sup> and the tithes amounted to about one *kror* and twenty

<sup>1</sup> Horses and mares, Pādshāhnāma II. 540.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II. 814 in the account of 'Inayat, and also Pādshāhnāma II. 542. The expression in text is *jāmi' khirāj*

*irtifā' 'āl* corresponding to the *irtifā'* of II. 814. The Pādshāhnāma i.e. puts the total revenue of Naẓr M.'s kingdom at about one *kror* of *shāhis*, i.e. *khānis*, which was equal to 25 lacs

lacs of *khānis*—which is the currency of the country, and which came to 30 lacs of rupees. Of this, 16 lacs of rupees were received by Imām Qulī K. and 14 by Naẓr M.

In the month of Jumāda-al-akhīr, in the beginning of the 20th year of the reign of Shah Jahan, the *khutba* was recited in his (Shah Jahan's) name in the city of Balkh. Bahrām and 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, the sons of Naẓr M., together with Rustum the son of Khusrau Sultan—all three of whom on account of want of information had not accompanied Naẓr M. and had remained behind in the citadel of Balkh with his household—were, together with the wives and daughters of the Khān, kept under surveillance and sent off to the Presence. When they came to Kabul, Saiyid Jalāl Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr received them at the avenue (*khayābān*) and conducted them to the Presence. Bahrām Sultan received the rank of 5000 with 1000 horse and Rs. 25,000 in cash and other favours, and was always treated with respect, and spent his time in tranquillity. When Naẓr M. was again established in his hereditary territories his connections in obedience to summons went off in the 23rd year to Balkh. Bahrām Sultan could not withdraw his heart from the pleasures and delights of India and was unwilling to go to Tūrān, and spent the rest of his days in India in the enjoyment of a suitable pension, and lived on till the reign of Aurangzeb.

### BAHRAMAND KHĀN.

He was Mīr Bakhshī and his name was 'Azīzu-d-dīn. His father Mīrzā Bahrām was the 4th son of the well-known Ṣādiq<sup>1</sup> K., who was the sister's husband (*yazna*) of Yeminu-d-daulah<sup>2</sup> Aṣaf K. When Ṣādiq K. died, M. Bahrām, who was of tender age, received the rank of 500 with 100 horse. After that he had

of rupees. The *irtifā'* spoken of here and in the account of 'Inayat Ullah are the increases to the revenue effected by Naẓr Muḥammad's careful management and greedy ways. See *Fādhāhnāma* II. 542, where it is mentioned that Naẓr Muḥammad in-

creased his revenues, whereas Imām Qulī allowed his to deteriorate.

<sup>1</sup> Ṣādiq K. Mīr Bakhshī, *Maasir-ul-Umara* II. 729-31.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Nūr Jahān and father of Mumtāz Maḥal.

not much promotion but was sometimes *daroghah* of the goldsmith's office and sometimes steward. He had the rank of 1500 with 300 horse. When his elder brother Umdatul-mulk J'aafar K. was made governor of Bihar he also was appointed to that province. When in the 3rd year it was arranged that Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikoh, should be married to his daughter, he was summoned from Patna, and Shah Jahan gave jewels and ornaments to the value of one lac of rupees as a marriage-present. After that he lost his eyesight and lived for a long time in retirement in the capital. He had two sons, 'Azizu-d-dīn and Sharafu-d-dīn. The first obtained in the 10th year of Aurangzeb the title of Bahramand K. As he possessed ability and rectitude he performed his duties well and there were few services in which he was not employed. He was promoted from being *daroghah* of the elephant stables to be bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and then became Master of the horse (*akhtabegī*). In the 23rd year he was made Mīr Ātish (artillery-officer) in the room of Ṣalābat K., and in the same year Ajmere became the abode of the king. While the Kḥān was on the other side of the Ānā Sāgor and had his lodging in the garden, he happened to be sitting in the shade of a tree when there was a stroke of lightning, and the Kḥān jumped and fell into the tank. For some time he was insensible. In the 24th year he became Master of the Ceremonies (Mīr Tūzuk), and after that he, in succession to Luṭf Ullah became *daroghah* of the *ghuslkhāna*. After that when the imperial retinue marched to the Deccan, and encamped at Ahmadnagar, the Kḥān, who besides being a good office-man, was a capable leader, was appointed to attack the banditti. When in the 28th year his father died in the capital, Ashraf K. the bakhshī-ul-mulk went by orders and brought him to the Presence, where he was comforted by receiving an orphan's robe of honour. Asad K. the Jamla-ul-mulk, as he was the sister's son of the deceased, received a *nīma astīn* (tunic) which the king was wearing. In the 30th year after the battle of Bijapur, Bahramand was 2nd bakhshī in succession to Rūḥ Ullah K., who was raised to the post of 1st bakhshī. When the Jumla-ul-mulk Asad K. was sent off to take the fort of Ginjī, Bahramand was made vizier.

In the 36th year he was, on the death of Rūḥ Ullah, made<sup>1</sup> Mir Bakhshī, and had the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. Afterwards he had the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse.

During this time he went several times against the enemy and in the 45th year when Marwāngarha,<sup>2</sup> which is two *kos* from Khatānūn, was taken by the excellent exertions of Fath Ullah K. Bahādur, and its neighbourhood became the imperial camp, a large army was sent under the command of the Khān Bakhshī-ul-mulk (i.e. Bahramand) to take the fort of Nāndgarha, which is known as Nāmgarha, as also the forts of Candan<sup>3</sup> and Mandan, which were known as Miftāḥ (the key) and Maftūḥ (opened). He with the help<sup>4</sup> of Fath Ullah K. took all three forts in a few days and then returned. In the 46th year, after the taking of the fort of Khelna, he died<sup>5</sup> on the 5 Jumādā-al-akhīr 1114, 16 October 1702. As the daughter of Jumla-ul-mulk Amīru-l-umarā Asad K. was married to him, Prince Kām Bakhsh, in accordance with orders, removed her from her sorrow and sent<sup>6</sup> her to court, where she was comforted. Bahramand had no son. One daughter was married to Muḥammad Taqī K. Banī Mukhtār, and her son is the present Bahramand K. who has been described in the biography of Dārāb<sup>7</sup> K. Another daughter was married to Mir K., the eldest son of Amīr K. deceased. This marriage took place after Bahramand's death. Mir K. had in Aurangzeb's time the rank of 1000 with 600 horse. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was for some time governor of Lahore as deputy of Aṣafu-d-daula. Afterwards he was the governor of the fort of Kālinjar, which is a celebrated fort in the province of Allahabad.

To sum up. Bahramand K. was an officer possessed<sup>8</sup> of gravity and modesty, a master of dignity and firmness, of a pure

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Qu. Wardāgarha. M. 'Alamgīrī, 442.

<sup>3</sup> Do. The Kahāwan of Khāfi K. II. 490, and Elliot VII. 370.

<sup>4</sup> Chandan and Wandan. Elliot VII. 370; note. They are N; Sattara of Maasir 'Alamgīrī 442.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān II. 491. The three

forts were Nāndgīr, afterwards called Nāmgar, Candan and Wandan. Maasir-A. 444.

<sup>6</sup> M. 'Alamgīrī 461, where the date given is 25 Jumād-al-akhīr. The death was from paralysis.

<sup>7</sup> M. A. 461.

<sup>8</sup> Maasir, II. 40.

<sup>9</sup> M. A. 161.

disposition and good morals, and also pleasant and affable. In his latter days he had an impediment in his speech. They say that when in the Deccan campaign he had become Mīr Bakshī and a great officer, he often said that if the king would give him leave of absence for one year to Delhi he would give a lac of rupees as *Peshkash* (present). His companions said to him, "Are not the society of the emperor and the respect of the public worth the pleasures of Delhi?" He replied, "True, these are great blessings, but the joy would be if I could go to my own city and be my own master (*shahryār*). Nothing can be pleasanter to the vain soul than that in the place where I was seen in my former condition, I might be beheld in my present circumstances."

### BAIRĀM KHĀN KHAN-KHANĀN.<sup>1</sup>

He was separated by three intermediates from 'Alī Shukr Bahārīlū who belonged to the great Turkman tribe of the Qar-āqūnlū. At the time when this tribe was in its glory and there were such chiefs as Qarā Yūsuf and his sons Qarā Sikandar and Mīrzā Jahān Shāh who were rulers of Arabian Persia and Azarbai-jān, 'Alī Shukr held the territories of Hamadān, Dīnawar<sup>2</sup> and Kurdistan, and up to this day those countries are known as the possessions of 'Alī Shukr. His son Pīr 'Alī Beg came to Hīṣār Shādmān at the time of Ḥasan (Uzzun Ḥasan) the king of the White Sheep who contrived to extirpate the Black Sheep, and was for a while with Sultan Mahmūd Mīrzā, and then went off to Persia. He fought a battle with the ruler of Shiraz and was defeated. At the same period he fell into the hands of the officers of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā and was put to death. After that his son Yār Beg left Persia in the time of Shah Ism'ail Safavī and came and settled in Badakhshān. From there he went to Amīr Khusrau Shah in Qandūz, and on the termination of the latter's authority he with his son Saif 'Alī Beg, who was Bairām K.'s

<sup>1</sup> B. 315. Darbār A. 157. Elliot V. 215, note 1. A.N. trans. I. 381. Bairām was the fourth descendant of 'Alī Shukr.

<sup>2</sup> Described in Burhān Qāṭi, Appen-

dix, as a large city of Persian Irāq. It is in N.W. Persia and lies N.W. Hamadān. See J. III. 82, note. This part of the account seems taken from the Haft Iqlīm.

father, became the servant of Bābur. Bairām K. was born in Badakhshān, and on his father's death went to Balkh and acquired learning. In his sixteenth year he entered the service of Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and grew daily in the shadow of his favour, till at length he became his companion and an Amīr. He hazarded his life in the disaster of Qanauj and went towards Sambhal. There he was received with kindness by Raja Mitr Sen, who was one of the important landholders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr. When Sher Khān heard of this news, he sent for him and had a meeting with him on the road to Mālwa. Sher K. rose up and embraced him. He sought to attract him by enticing words, and remarked, "Whoever acts sincerely does not err." Bairām answered, "So it is, whoever acts sincerely shall not go astray." Near Burhanpur he after a thousand difficulties and with the help of Abū-l-qāsim governor of Gwalīyar made his escape and went off to Gujarat. On the road Sher Khan's ambassador, who was coming from Gujarat, heard of him and sent men and had him and Abū-l-qāsim—who was of distinguished personal appearance—arrested. Bairām K. out of high spirit and courage objected, saying, "I am Bairām K." Abū-l-qāsim out of generosity said: "This is my servant, and he wants to devote himself for me." They withheld their hands from him and so Bairām K. escaped and went to Sultan Mahmūd in Gujarat. Not recognizing Abū-l-qāsim, they put him to death. Sher K. used often to say that "When Bairām K. said, 'Whoever is sincere, shall not go astray,' I perceived that he would not arrange matters with us." Sultan Mahmūd Gujarātī also tried to win him, but Bairām would not consent. He took leave to go on pilgrimage and came to the blessed<sup>1</sup> port of Surat and from there he went to the country of Hardwār.<sup>2</sup> With the idea of serving Jinnat Ashiyānī he took the road to Scinde and on 7 Muharram 950, 13 April 1543, at the time when Humāyūn had returned from the country of Māldeo and was in the town of Jūn—which was on the bank of the Indus

<sup>1</sup> So called as the pilgrims' port.

<sup>2</sup> See Akbarnāma translation I. 382, note 4. All this part of the ac-

count of Bairām is taken from Abul Fazl.



and was remarkable for the number of its gardens and streams. By chance on the day that he came to Jūn he had to appear on the battle-field before he could pay his respects to Humāyūn, for the latter's forces had a fight with the Arghūniāns. Bairām took part in the fight and fought bravely so that the soldiers thought he was a heaven-sent ally. When it appeared that he was Bairām K. there came a cry of joy. In the expedition to Persia he was the best and most faithful of servants. The king of Persia also admired his abilities and loyalty. As that sovereign sometimes feasted with Humāyūn for the sake of enjoyment, and sometimes had a hunting party with him, he, one day, when there was a display of polo and of tilting (*qabk andāzī*), gave him (Bairām) the title of Khān. After the return from Persia he was sent with a letter of royal advice and a firmān of favour to Mīrzā Kāmran. He considered within himself that it would not be right to present the two rescripts to Kāmran who would doubtless be sitting, and whom it would be difficult to induce to pay the respect of rising up to receive them. He therefore took a copy of the Koran in his hand and tendered it as a present. The Mīrzā stood right up out of respect to the volume, and just then Bairām presented the two documents. When Humāyūn after taking Qandahar made it over to the Persians according to the promise he had made to the Shah and decided upon conquering Cabul, it became necessary to have a place of safety for his family and domestics. Accordingly he took Qandahar by force from the Persians, and made it over to Bairām K. and wrote to the Shāh a letter of apology saying, "Bairām K. is the trusted servant of both of us. We have made over the fort to him."

When in the year 961, 1554, some make-bates spoke to the king untrue things about Bairām K., he came to Qandahar and ascertained that the reports were false. He treated him graciously, and Bairām became in the expedition to India the best of all the leaders and was a forefighter in battle, and was victorious. Especially, in the battle of Macīwāra, when with a few men he attacked a numerous army of Afghans and defeated it. He obtained the parganas of Sirhind, etc. in fief, and received the lofty titles of Yār Wafādār (the faithful friend), Barādūr Nekū-siyar

(well-conditioned brother) and Farzand S'aadatmand (auspicious son). In the year 963, 1556, he was made the guardian of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and was appointed to suppress Sikandar K. Sūr, and to manage the affairs of the Panjab. In the same year on 2 Rabīu'l-akhir, Friday, 14 February 1556, when Akbar sate upon the throne in the town of Kalānūr, Bairām was made Vakīlu-s-sultanat. He had the control of affairs, and had the title of Khān-Khānān and was styled in correspondence Khān Bābā. In the year 965, December 1557, Selīma Sultan Begam, whom Humāyūn had promised to Bairām, was given to him in marriage. She was the daughter of Mirzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, and the niece (half-sister's daughter) of Humāyūn. M. Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Alāū-d-dīn Muḥammad who was the son of Khawāja Husain known as the Khawājazāda of Caghānīān, and who was great-grandson of Khawāja Hasan Attār, who was the immediate son of Khawāja Alāū-d-dīn who was the successor (*khalifa*) of Khawāja Naqshband. The daughter of Shāh Begam, the daughter of 'Alī Shukr, the great-great-grandfather (text, third grandfather) of Bairām, who was in the household of (i.e. was married to) Sultan Mahmūd the son of Sultan Abū S'aid, had been married to the Khawājazāda. It was on account of this connection that Bābur gave his daughter Gulbarg<sup>1</sup> to M. Nūru-d-dīn, and for the same reason was this marriage made. The Begam (Selima) had a poetical vein and wrote under the name of Makhfi (concealed). This verse of hers is famous.

*Verse.*

In my passion I called thy lock the "thread of life";  
I was wild and so uttered such an expression.

<sup>1</sup> Jahangir, Tūzuk 113, calls her Gulrukh. See Akbarnāma translation II. 97, 98, and note. Selīma is said by Jahangir to have been sixty years of age when she died in 1021, or 1611. If so, she must have been a child of six when she was married to Bairām in 1557. It appears, however, from a note by Mirzā Muḥammad in a MS. of Kāmgar Ḥusain Ghairat K.'s his-

tory, and which is one of Col. Hamilton's MSS. in the B. Museum, that Selima was really 76 when she died, she having been born in Shawwāl 945, so that she was some three years older than Akbar. The chronogram of her birth is khūshhāl, which yields 945, 1538-9. See A.S.B.J. for 1905 and Tūzuk J. trans., p. 232, and note 6, p. 509.

After Bairām's death Akbar himself married her. She died in the seventh year of Jahangir.

Good God ! In spite of this proximity, solidarity, influence, and all that wisdom, experience, abundant loyalty, and devotion, some marks of the caprice of fate appeared upon the tablet of manifestation, so that the disposition of Akbar became alienated from that great man. In fact strifemongers who were full of envy, out of spite and self-interest, exaggerated matters (lit. made one a hundred) and perverted the feelings of the young monarch. Also flatterers and overturners of houses altered the nature of the aged Amīr, so that he did not pay Akbar the deference that was due to him. For instance, one day Bairām was taking an airing on the river Jumna, and one of the royal elephants rushed into the water and made for Bairām's boat. Though the driver by great efforts got him under control, the Khān Khānān suspected something, and was much disturbed. The king, out of consideration for him, sent the driver to him, and Bairām without paying regard to court-rules, put the driver to death. The king was much displeased ; and determined to free himself from his minister. Accordingly, he in 967, 1560, left Agra on pretence of hunting and went off to Delhi. When he arrived there he summoned the officers, and, on the recommendation of Māham Anaga, Shihābuddīn Ahmad K. was appointed to the charge of affairs. The Khān Khānān wished to present himself, but Akbar sent him a message that he could not see him at this time, and that it would be better for him not to come. Some are of opinion that the king did go off in order to hunt, and that when he came to Sikandarābād in the Delhi district, Māham Anaga instigated him to gallop off to Delhi to wait upon his mother Miriam-Makānī. There was no cloud then on his heart with regard to Bairām K. though sinful and envious people were trying to produce such a feeling, and said things to him with this object, and Adham K. and his mother were especially active in this respect. But as the idea of Bairām K.'s unsullied loyalty was firmly rooted in the royal mind such representations had no effect. But as has been said—

Verse <sup>1</sup>

Whenever rivals are regarded with favour  
I assure them that words have their effect.

The strifemongers, who had their opportunity, at this time implanted ideas of alienation. In short Bairām himself from a right conception of the situation sent the insignia of office along with the principal officers to court and asked permission to go on pilgrimage. Afterwards at the whisperings of some evil-disposed persons he proceeded to Mewāt. When it was reported that the royal army had gone in pursuit of him, all the king's servants left Bairām; and he sent the *tumān-togh*, the standard, the drum and other insignia of office to court by his sister's son Ḥusain Quli Beg. He wrote to the officers who had been told to pursue him that he had withdrawn his hands from everything, and asked why they tormented him. He had for a long time desired to visit the holy shrines; now the thread of the accomplishment of his desire had fallen into his hands. The officers were obliged to return. As Rai Māldeo the Rajah of Jodhpūr was on the road to Gujarat (i.e. his lands lay on the way) and was on bad terms with Bairām, the latter went from Nāgor to Bikānīr. Rai Kalyān Mal the landholder of that place came before him with loyalty and gave him hospitality. At this time a report arose that Mullā Pīr Muḥammad had come from Gujarat and had been ordered to follow Bairām. Strifemongers stirred up Bairām, and by exciting him to resistance made him turn back to the Panjab. Owing to the deceitfulness of foolish talkers he removed the veil from his actions, and set his face towards the Panjab. He busied himself in collecting men, and wrote to the various officers, "I intended to go to the Hījāz, but when it became known that Māham Anaga

<sup>1</sup> These lines are quoted by Ferishta. but in the first line he has *nihayat* instead of '*inayat*'. See Newal Kishore's lith., p. 248. It is, however, '*inayat*' in a MS. of Ferishta and it seems to have the negative *ni* in the first line. The "them" in second

line is perhaps honorific for the king or minister concerned. The verse is also quoted again in II. 568, where *insān* is incorrectly substituted for *ishān*. See note to translation of life of Shihābu-d-din.

and others had perverted the royal mind and were plotting my ruin, it occurred to me that I should first punish those evil-doers and then proceed on the blessed pilgrimage, and also that I should lay hold of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, who has now obtained a flag and has been appointed to expel me."

In short, all these things having irritated him he became overpowered by wrath, and could not restrain himself. Strife-mongers too got their opportunity and aggravated his disposition still more. When the rebelliousness of the Khān-Khānān became manifest, Akbar sent on the Atga Khān in advance and also set out himself from Delhi. At that time the Khān-Khānān was scheming to take Jālandhar. When he heard that the Atga Khān was coming, he advanced to meet him. After a severe engagement he was defeated and took refuge in Talwārā—a strong place in the Sivalik hills—with Ganesh the Rajah thereof. When the report of the arrival of Akbar's army reached the hill-country, his men came out of the fort and fought. They say that in that encounter Sultan Ḥusain Jalair of the king's army was killed, and that his head was cut off and brought to the Khān-Khānān. He burst into tears and said, "My life is not worth my being the cause of the killing of such men." In great grief he sent his slave Jamāl Khān to H.M. and begged forgiveness of his offences. Akbar sent Mun'im K. with other officers into the hills in order that they might assure him of safety and bring him into the Presence. In Muḥarram of 968, October 1560, the 5th year of the reign, Bairām came into the camp, and all the officers received him with honour. When he came before Akbar he had a handkerchief (rūpāk) round his neck and he flung himself at the king's feet, and wept greatly. Akbar with consummate graciousness embraced him and removed the handkerchief from his neck. He enquired after his health and bade him be seated according to the established custom (i.e. on his right hand). He also presented him with a glorious robe which he himself was wearing and gave him leave to visit the holy shrines.

When he came to the city of Pattan in Gujarat, which was formerly known as Nahrwāla, he remained there for some days in order to rest his cortège. At that time Musā Khān Fulādi was

governor of that city, and a number of Afghans had collected about him. Among them, one Mubārak K. Lohānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Macīwāra, cherished the idea of revenge. Also the Kashmīrī wife of Selīm Shāh was in the caravan with her daughter by him. She intended to go to the Hījāz, and it was arranged<sup>1</sup> that the daughter should be married to Bairām's son. The Afghans were also displeased at this. On Friday 14 Jamāda-l-awwal, 31 January 1561, Bairām went boating on the lake which is the recreation-ground of the city, and is known as the Sahas Lang, because there are a thousand idol-temples on its banks. When he was disembarking from the boat that savage represented that he had come to pay his respects, and during the interview he struck him with his dagger and killed him. The Khān-Khānān uttered the *kalma* Allah Akbar and departed from this world and obtained the martyrdom which he had long prayed for, and had begged from the men of God. They say that for years he had never omitted to shave and bathe on Wednesdays<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the intention of martyrdom, and that on one such occasion a simple-minded Saiyid, who had heard of this, said to him as he left the assembly, "We shall repeat the fātiha with the intent that the Nawāb obtain martyrdom." Bairām smiled and said, "Mir, what kind of sympathy is this? I desire martyrdom, but not so soon as this."

Upon the occurrence of this catastrophe every one of his servants ran off, and Bairām lay there in blood and dust. A number of Faqīrs took up his bleeding body and committed it to the earth in the tomb of Shaikh Hīṣām—who was one of the great Shaikhs there. Afterwards the body was, by the care of Hūṣain Qulī K., buried in holy Mashhad. Qāsim Arslān of Mashhad made the chronogram of the event. They say that he, a long time before the occurrence, had been warned of it in a dream and had made the verses.

<sup>1</sup> This is stated by Abul Faḡl but seems unlikely. The girl must have been several years older than Bairām's son, for her father died in 1554,

whereas 'Abdu-r-Rahīm was not born till the end of 1556.

<sup>2</sup> It was on a Wednesday that Muḥammad bathed for the last time.

## Verse.

When Bairām donned the *ihrām* to visit the K'aaba  
 His purpose was effected by his martyrdom on the way.  
 In truth a spirit uttered the chronogram  
 "Muhammad Bairām was made martyr." (968)  
 (*Shāhid shud Muḥammad Bairām.*)

His body was removed to Delhi, and in accordance with his will it was taken to Mashhad in 985, 1577. Bairām was greatly skilled in poetry. He composed<sup>1</sup> brilliant odes and made fitting insertions in the poems of the masters. He collected these and gave them the name of *dakhliya*. They say that when Bairām was in Qandahar Humāyūn wrote this quatrain :—

Verse.<sup>2</sup>

O thou friend of my saddened heart,  
 How thy sweet nature is well-balanced !  
 I'm never at any time without thought of thee,  
 But what sadness hast thou in thought of me ?

Bairām replied :—

## Verse.

O thou who art incomparable shade (protector),  
 Greater than any praise I can offer thee,  
 When thou knowest how it passes without thee  
 Why ask, "How feelest thou, when parted from me ?"

They<sup>3</sup> say that one night Humāyūn was conversing with the *Khān*, and that the latter became inattentive. The king said, "We are addressing you." The *Khān* woke up and said, "My king, I was attending, but I have heard that in waiting upon

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure of the meaning. The verb *dārad* is wanting in the text after *ghara*, but occurs in a variant and seems required. Also it is found in *Ferishta* from whom the passage is borrowed. Bairām's odes were composed in honour of 'Alī.

<sup>2</sup> Humāyūn is said by *Ferishta* to have sent this quatrain to Bairām at

Qandahar after the taking of Kābul, and Bairām is said to have written the quatrain which follows in reply. See *Darbār A.* 163-64. As the first word of the fourth line of Humāyūn's quatrain *Ferishta* has *aya* "come" instead of *ama* "but."

<sup>3</sup> *Badayūnī* III. 192.

princes one should have heed to his eyes, and when serving dervishes should have heed to his heart, and in presence of the erudite should guard his tongue, and so I was thinking that as all three personalities were collected in your Majesty, which of them I should observe." The king was pleased with this extempore pleasantry and praised him.

The author of the *Ṭabāqāt Akbarī* writes that twenty-five of Bairām's servants attained the rank of 5000 and received flags and drums. The truth is that Bairām was adorned with ability, excellence, probity, vigour, genius, and generosity, and was strong of heart and profound. He was devoted to the house of Timur. At such a crisis when Humāyūn was removed before his empire was established and the prince was young and inexperienced, and all the territory except the Panjab had been lost, and when the Afghans were numerous and were raising the standard of empire, and in every hole and corner, waiters upon events were beating the drum of opposition, and the Chaghatai officers who were not well affected towards staying in India were advising a departure to Kabul, and Mīrzā Sulaimān had seized his opportunity and recited the *Khutba* in his own name in Kabul; Bairām, by the sole influence of his courage, firmness, and excellent arrangements, made the stream which had left its course return to its channel, and re-established the sovereignty. Akbar also by many favours and attentions entrusted the management of affairs to him in order that he should carry out what he thought proper, and should not pay heed to any one else, and be without fear of censure. He also quoted this verse.

*Verse.*

Grant a loving friend, and let both worlds be foes.

When the power of the *Khān Khānān* became greater day by day, the thorn of envy broke off in the hearts of others. Envious persons mixed up calumnies with truth, made one into a hundred, and so alienated the king's disposition. The *Khān-Khānān* also, in his might and grandeur, gave no consideration to others and did not take them into account. He was suspicious of them and



thought that they would soon take up a new position towards him (?). Even after his downfall he had no real intention of rebelling. As soon as he received the king's message, which was conveyed by Mīr 'Abdu-l-Lāṭif Qazvīnī, he sent the insignia of office to H.M. and showed a desire to go to the Hījāz. Strife-mongers on both sides did not allow him to do this. Opponents wrote to the landholders on the route that they should not allow him to pass through in safety, and his associates urged him and said, "Men who are of no rank have leagued together to overthrow you and so are having recourse to intrigues, and are seeking to cast you, in spite of all your rights, into contempt and misery. 'Tis better to die with honour than to live with disgrace." In this way they succeeded in ruining him, according to the saying (*nukta*). "Presumption and the love of glory bring a man to evil days, and cast him into dangers and sorrows." Hence it is that the love of the world is the head of errors.

*Verse.*<sup>1</sup>

Ambition is the ruin of the brain.

'Tis the property of a hood to extinguish a candle.

#### BAIRĀM BEG TURKAMĀN.

He was Mīr Bakhshī in the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, and was then one of his principal officers. He held high office and had the title of *Khān Daurān*. When the prince on account of the treachery of Rustam K. Shighālī turned back before Sultan Parvīz and crossed the Narbada, he took the boats to his own side and made the ferries strong with cannon and muskets, and left Bairām Beg in charge on the bank of the river, and hastened off to Burhanpur. When Mahābat K. arrived with Sultan Parvīz at the river-bank he proceeded to engage Bairām Beg. There was a battle of guns and muskets on both sides, and when Mahābat K. saw that crossing was difficult, he had recourse to craft. He wrote to the *Khān-Khanān M. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm*

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<sup>1</sup> *Sir u barg* is a phrase meaning the brain, and also pride. Exaltation is like putting a hood (*kulah*), i.e. an extinguisher, on a candle.

through Rāo Ratan, and set in motion the chain of peace. The Khān-Khānān too expostulated with Shah Jahan, and requested that peace might be established on his guarantee. If the servants (of Jahangir) were not conciliated by him, his ('Abdu-r-Rahīm) sons might be put to death (by Shah Jahan). He added strong oaths to these representations. When the sound of peace was spread abroad, the guarding of the ferries was neglected and Mahābat K. crossed the river at night before the arrival of the Khān-Khānān. The Khān-Khānān too forgot all his promises and joined the imperial army. Bairām Beg was obliged to go to Burhanpur. After that in the expedition to Bengal when Shah Jahan was at Bardwan, Ṣāliḥ Beg, the brother's son of Aṣaf K. Ja'afar who was faujdār there, in spite of the weakness of the fort, shut himself up in it. 'Abdullah K. proceeded to besiege him and reduced him to extremities so that he came out and was imprisoned by Shah Jahan's orders. The Sarkār of Bardwan was given in fief to Bairām Beg and he was sent off to administer it. When the prince, after subduing Bengal, went to Behar and took possession thereof, Bairām Beg came from Bardwan and took charge of Behar. After that, the prince encountered the imperial army at Benares, and Wazīr K. was appointed to the charge of Behar; and Bairām Beg was summoned to the Presence. One day when Sultan Parvīz had sent his bakshī Muḥammad Zamān across the river, Bairām Beg Khān Daurān was ordered to seize an opportunity for attacking him. He from pride and arrogance did not regard Muḥammad Zamān sufficiently and attacked him with a few men at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges and was wounded. He sacrificed<sup>1</sup> his life. His son Ḥasan Beg escaped from the field of battle wounded and also died after a few days.

### BĀLJŪ QULĪJ SHAMSHER KHĀN.

Brother's son and son-in-law of Qulij K. Jānī<sup>2</sup> Qurbānī. In the 8th year of Jahangir's reign he obtained the rank of 1000 with 700 horse. In the 9th year he attained the rank of 2000

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Said to be the name of a tribe. See B. 35 and Badayūnī III. 188.

with 200 horse, and was appointed to Bengal. Afterwards he was for a long time stationed at Kābul, and in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign had the rank of 2000 with 1500 horse. When after the death of Jahangir, Nazr Muḥammad K. the ruler of Balkh came with an army to Kābul, and the dust of commotion rose high, he (Nazr) sent a threatening message to the king's men who were in the city, but they out of loyalty refused to listen, and Bāljū<sup>1</sup> Qulij who was among them, impressed his fidelity more than ever on the mind of the king. In the 2nd year he at the instance of the governor Lashkar K. marched with a force against Zohāk and Bāmīān. The Uzbeks out of terror abandoned the forts and fled. In the 3rd year he in company with S'aid K. distinguished himself in chastising Kamālu-d-dīn Rohilla, the son of Raknu-d-dīn, who in the time of Jahangir had been raised to a *manṣab* of 4000 and afterwards had out of a seditious mind been lifting the head of presumption in that country.<sup>2</sup> He received a *manṣab* of 2500 with 1800 horse and the title of Shamsheer K. In the 4th year the *thānas* of both parts<sup>3</sup> of Bangāsh were entrusted to him, and he had a *manṣab* of 3000 with 2500 horse. In the 5th year corresponding to 1041, 1631-32, he died. His son Ḥasan K. received a *manṣab* of 800 with 300 horse and 'Alī Qulī his brother had a *manṣab* of 900 with 450 horse and died in the 17th year of the reign of Shah Jahan.

#### BĀQI K. CELAH QALMĀQ.

One of the trusted slaves of the king. By a happy horoscope and good service he had a place in the heart of Shah Jahan. In the 6th year he obtained the rank of 700 with 500 horse, and in the 9th year he had the rank of 1000 with 1000 horse. In the 10th year he got an increase of 1000 *zāt* and 1000 horse and his rank became 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was given a flag, a horse,

<sup>1</sup> Pādehāhnāma I. 20. It is Bālcū there. Bāljū does not seem to be mentioned in the Tūzūk I. He is called Bālkū in Pādehāhnāma I. 183.

<sup>2</sup> id. 311. The country was Peshawar.

<sup>3</sup> That is Upper and Lower Bangāsh. The term Upper and Lower Bangāsh occurs several times in the Maāsir, e.g. II. 239.

and an elephant and made *faujdār* of Catra<sup>1</sup> which is a pargana belonging to Orcha in Bandelkand. When this territory was taken from Jujhār Singh and became imperial property, that pargana which contained 900 villages and yielded eight lacs of revenue, and was adorned by ample territory and abundant rivers, was made *Khālṣa* and received the name of Islāmābād.<sup>2</sup> At this time Bāqī K. was made the *faujdār* thereof, and distinguished<sup>3</sup> himself by putting down the malcontents of the country. When Campat Bandila the servant of Rajah Jujhār Singh made, after the death of the latter, his son Prithirāj the instrument of sedition, and plundered the villages of Orcha and Jhānsī, ‘Abdullah K. Firūz Jang was made the jagirdar of Islāmābād, and appointed to extirpate Campat. When he came there he wished that Bāqī K., who had already exerted himself in chastising the wretch, should personally march against the recalcitrants. The *Khān* from love of work promised that if ‘Abdullah lent him his troops he would finish the affair. Firūz Jang out of indolence did not go himself but turned back, and Bāqī K. in the 13th year made a rapid march and took the rebels unawares. Campat with great difficulty saved himself, and Prithirāj was captured. In the 17th year Bāqī K. was made darogha of the *ghuslkhāna* and afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Agra. In the end of the 27th year he died on his fief of Bārī<sup>4</sup> which belongs to the province of Agra, and his jagir became crown-land. His sons Sirdār K. and Bāqī K. were distinguished in the reign of Aurangzeb, and have been separately noticed. They say that Bāqī Beg in the beginning of his career was *kotwāl* of Lahore which was then in the fief of Yemenu-d-daula Āṣaf K. On behalf of the latter, Bābā ‘Inayat Ullah Yezdī, who was a trusted servant of Āṣaf K., was the governor, and as he did not esteem Bāqī K. he engraved on his ring the words “The work is ‘Inayat’s<sup>5</sup> and Bāqī is a pretence.”

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 277. Catra or Jhatra was formerly in Sarkār Irij. Jarrett II. 188. Orcha is written in text as Andcha.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfi* K. I. 454.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma II, 136, and 193.

<sup>4</sup> Jarrett II. 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Kār b'‘inayat ast u bāqī bahāna.*

The words pun upon the meanings of ‘*inayat* and *bāqī*, the first meaning favour, and the second, remainder.

## BĀQĪ KHĀN HAYĀT BEG.

Younger brother of Sirdār K. Kotwāl. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb he received the title of Hayāt K. In the 28th year he received the charge of the palace-guards (*amānat-i-haft caukī*)<sup>1</sup> in succession to Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm. Afterwards he was made *darogha* of the *ghusikhāna* of Muḥammad M'uaẓẓam commonly known as Shah 'Ālam. When during the siege of Bijapur the disposition of the king suspected the prince of disloyalty and was unkind to him, and ordered his advisers, such as Mūmin K. Najm Šānī, the *darogha* of the artillery; Multafat K., the 2nd bakhshī, and Bindrāban Diwān, to be expelled, the prince did not take warning but during the siege of Haidarabad carried on a correspondence with Abū-l-ḥasan, with whom he had previously had relations. All his endeavours in this respect were that the knot (of the siege) might be untied by his hand, and that his father might connect the taking of the fort with his name. Ill-wishers and envious persons represented these excellent endeavours in a bad light and alienated the king's affections from him. One day the king in his private chamber examined<sup>1</sup> Hayāt K.<sup>2</sup> about this affair, and though he strongly asserted the prince's innocence, he did not produce any effect. The king ordered that an intimation should be conveyed to the prince to the effect that Shaikh Nizām Haidarabadī would on this night make an attack on the camp, and that the prince should put his servants in the front parts of the camp, in order that they might resist the attack, and that when his men had gone off in that direction, Ihtimām K. Kotwāl would guard his tents. Next day, which was the 18th Jumāda-al-akhīr of the 29th year of the reign, the prince came to the Darbār in accordance with orders, accompanied by Muḥammad M'uiẓẓu-d-dīn and Muḥammad 'Aẓīm (his sons.) At this time the king was seated in the hall of state. After he (the prince) had sat for some time the king said, "Certain matters have been mentioned to Asad K. and Bahramand K.—go into the Oratory and have a conference with them." The prince was helpless and

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann 257.<sup>2</sup> Khān K. II. 331.

had to go. Asad K. asked for his arms and said, "You must spend some days in quietness." He was then conducted to a tent which had been set up close by. They say that at the time of taking his arms M'uizzu-d-dīn meditated doing something else (i.e. he thought of resisting) but that his father looked sternly at him, and that thereupon he subsided. The imperial clerks took possession in the twinkling of an eye of the insignia of office. The king left the hall of audience and came to the female apartments. He cried "Alas! Alas!" and laying his hands on his knees said, "I've reduced to dust the labour of forty years." After this catastrophe as Sirdār K., the elder brother of Ḥayāt K., was a favourite, the Khān also was not censured, and became a zealous servant. Afterwards he received his father's hereditary title of Bāqī K. and in the 48th year obtained the rank of 2000 and in succession to Kāmgar K. was made governor of the fort of Agra, which is for strength distinguished from all other forts. On this account it is reckoned above all the other forts in India, and the royal jewels and treasures are preserved in it. After the death of Aurangzeb, Bāqī K. determined with himself that he would give the keys of the fort, and the treasures, to whomsoever among the heirs of the kingdom should arrive first. These treasures consisted of *ashrafis* and rupees and surplus<sup>1</sup> presentation-pieces, besides uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels, and amounted, according to a statement (*qaul*), to nine krors of rupees, and according to rumour (*revayit*) to thirteen krors. Though the idea was that Muhammad A'zam Shah would be the first to arrive, yet as the writers of the book of destiny had inscribed it with the name of Bahādur Shah, it came about that the latter came first, and the former last. Muḥammad 'Azīm (Bahādur Shah's son) who had been dismissed from the Government of Bengal was travelling with the intention of coming to the Presence (of Aurangzeb); on hearing the news (of his death) he came to Agra by relays of horses. Bāqī

<sup>1</sup> u 'urfī u gharībnewāz. The passage seems to be copied from Khāfi K. II. 568, four lines from foot, but the word *urfī* which I have conjecturally rendered as "surplus," does not occur.

Professor Dowson renders the words *rupiya gharībnewāz* as presentation-money, Elliot VII. 389, and this seems to be right. Khāfi K. goes on to say that the *gharībnewāz ashrafis* and

K. refused to give up the fort and alleged<sup>1</sup> the compact he had made with himself. The prince erected batteries, and some cannon-balls reached the Begam's mosque (Jahānāra's). At last the prince saw that the attempt was vain and withdrew his hand from battle, and entering the gate of conciliation sent Bāqī K.'s petition and compact to his father. Meanwhile Bahādur Shah's standards had traversed a great distance and reached the capital (Delhi). On hearing the news he increased his speed and reached Agra, and Bāqī K. delivered up the keys of the fort and the treasure, and congratulated Bahādur Shah on his accession. He was rewarded by princely favours. Bahādur Shah rapidly took four krors of rupees from the treasury and made presents to the princes and nobles according to their rank. He also paid the old servants their wages and gave two months' pay to the new servants, and gave something to the female department, and something to the poor and needy, and spent two krors. He left Bāqī K. as before in charge of the fort. He died in the beginning of Bahādur Shah's reign. He had many sons and sons-in-law.

### BĀQĪ MUHAMMAD KHĀN.

Foster-brother of Akbar and elder brother of Adham K. His mother was Māham Anaga, who was closely connected with the king (Akbar). At the time when the reins of power were in her hands she celebrated Bāqī Khān's marriage, and the king

rupees, for he mentions both, weighed up to five hundred *tolas*. So I suppose that the pieces meant are those which were struck at coronations, etc., and distributed. The word '*urfi*', which the Maasir has added, means, I suppose, accumulations of these coins, or surplus remaining over after distribution. An enormous gold piece, above 70 ounces in weight, of Shah Jahan's time is described in Richardson's Dict., ed. 1806, under the word *Sitka*, by Sir Charles Wilkins. The same or a similar coin is figured in the J.A.S.B. for January 1883, p. 2. It was a 200 mohur piece. In the Maasir

text there is a conjunction between *urfi* and *gharibnewāz*, but the Blochmann MS. has not this and it seems better away. A variant to the text omits it. *Gharibnewāz* is perhaps used as a synonym for the Arabic word *niqār*. Mr. Gibbs points out that Tavernier mentions the distribution of large gold coins.

The word *khazāin* in text means both treasures and treasuries. According to Abul Fazl, Blochmann, p. 14, Akbar had twelve separate treasuries.

<sup>1</sup> The prince was not the heir, as his father was alive.

out of his affection for her, came to the entertainment. Bāqī K. obtained the rank of 3000, and from Badayūnī's history it appears<sup>1</sup> that he died in the 30th year of the reign in Garha Kantanga, which was his fief.

### BĀQIR K. NAJM ŠĀNĪ.

This family goes back to Yār Aḥmad of Ispahan. He (Yār Aḥmad) first gained a name for rectitude and ability when he was in companionship with Mīr Najm Gilānī, the Vakīlu-s-sultanat of Shah Ism'ail Šafavī. When Amīr Najm died, the Shah made over the bridle of affairs to Yār Aḥmad and gave him the title of Najm Šānī (second star), and raised his rank above that of all the other officers.

#### *Verse.*

Najm Šānī who had no second in the two worlds.

They say that his magnificence and grandeur were such that nearly two hundred sheep were daily used for his table (*shilān*) and that a thousand dishes of excellent food were his daily portion. On marches forty strings of camels carried his kitchen. In the Transoxiana campaign, though he was marching rapidly, thirteen silver caldrons (*deg*) were used in cooking. When his magnificence and greatness had got to such a pitch, and he had become arrogant and proud, he was appointed to conquer Tūrān. The Shah sent him to assist Bābur who had left that country on account of the predominance of the Uzbegs, and had applied for aid to the Shah. Najm Šānī crossed the Oxus and set himself to commit massacre and rapine. The Uzbek princes barricaded themselves in Ghajdawān and prepared for battle. The Qizilbāsh officers, who were insincere and treacherous, prosecuted the siege negligently. Consequently Amīr Najm planted his foot firmly, and made great efforts and was made prisoner. In the year 918 (1512), Ubaidullah K. Uzbek put him to death.

They say that the father of Bāqir K. was for a time diwan of

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<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 351. It really was the 29th year: see A.N. 436. The date of his death was early in September, 1584. See also Blochmann 381.



Khurasan. By heaven's decree he underwent deprivation and Bāqir K. came to India in great distress. As he was a youth of merit he became enrolled among Akbar's servants and obtained the rank of 300. Some say that in the time of Jahangir he came from Persia and that he was made a day-servant<sup>1</sup> and received the rank of 200 with 5 horse. By chance Khān Jahān Lodi came to court, and asked the king who the young man was. Jahangir told the whole story of Najm Ṣānī. Khān Jahān represented that it was a pity that with such a record his rank should be so small, and accordingly he was promoted to 900 with 30 horse. As his horoscope was fortunate they married him to the daughter of Khadija<sup>2</sup> Begam the sister of Nūr Jahān. Immediately the gates of power were thrown open for him. He obtained a *manṣab* of 2000 and the government of Multan with the *faujdarī* of the 'Alam Khān<sup>3</sup> river. By his ability<sup>4</sup> and industry he produced great tranquillity and took presents (*peshkashhā*) from the Bilūcis, the Dudayān,<sup>5</sup> and the Nāhar,<sup>6</sup> who form another world between Multan and Qandahar, and became possessed of much money and goods. Bāqirābād-Multan was named after him. Jahangir out of great affection called him *farzand* "child." In the time when Shah Jahan was a prince, he became governor of Oudh. He came with a well-equipped army to the Presence, and received praise and compliments. In the end of Jahangir's reign he was made governor of Orissa, and there too he distinguished himself. In the 4th<sup>7</sup> year of Shah Jahan he led an army to

<sup>1</sup> rūz malūzamat. The Rouzinpar (*rūznādār*) of Bernier.

<sup>2</sup> She was wife of Ḥākim Beg, Maasir I. 574.

<sup>3</sup> Text اب علم خان Alam Khān. Apparently this is the Shah Alam river mentioned in I. G. XIV, 247. It is the southern branch of the Kabul river.

<sup>4</sup> Text او از کار دانی *ao az kardānī* but the I.O. MS. No. 628 and also Blochmann's MS. have *awāz-i kardānī*, "The report of his skill," and this seems more probable.

<sup>5</sup> Text دودایان Dudayān. Perhaps the Dādi tribe is meant. I.O. MS. 628 has apparently Daud Khān. Dāūdai is named as a tribe in J. II. 402.

<sup>6</sup> Variant Tāhar and so in I.O. MS. Perhaps it should be Nāghar, J. II. 402. More probably it is the Nazhari or Tazhari tribe of Baluchistan mentioned in J. II. 337, and note.

<sup>7</sup> It was the third year. Pādehahnāma I. 332, etc. See also *id.* 373, Elliot VII. 17.

Khairapāra, two *kos* from Chhatardawār,<sup>1</sup> which is a defile between Orissa and Telang and is so narrow that if a small body of musketeers or archers took possession of the pass it would be impossible to get through. On the other side of Khairapāra at the distance of four *kos* is the fort of Manşūrgarha which Manşūr, a slave of Quṭbu-l-mulk, had built and called by his own name. Bāqir neglected nothing in the way of ravaging the country. When he came to the fort he fought bravely and defeated and drove off the enemy. When the garrison beheld his courage and vigour they got frightened and begged for quarter and delivered up the fort. He remained for a time in the province of Orissa. His father whose condition had been changed by his great age and who lived with his son died there. In the 5th year on account of his behaving badly and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed<sup>2</sup>, and when he came to court in the 6th year he was made governor<sup>3</sup> of Gujarat. After that he was made governor of Allahabad, and there he died<sup>4</sup> in the 10th year and beginning of 1047 (1637).

He was unequalled for courage and he was the first of his age for military skill. He was deeply skilled in archery. Jahangir has written in his diary<sup>5</sup> that "One night Bāqir K. in my presence placed a slender white glass in the light of a torch and made something of wax of the size (*qadr*) of a fly's wing and stuck it on the (top of the?) glass. Above it he put a grain of rice and above that a pepper-corn (*fulful*). With the first arrow he shot away the pepper, with the second the rice, and with the third the wax, without ever brushing the glass."

They say that Bāqir K. delighted much in hearing the sound of a trumpet, because Rustum used to listen to it; and he had a well-equipped orchestra (*naubatkhāna*). One day Ḥakīm Ruknāi<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it is the defile mentioned in the Tūzūk I, p. 302, by which Shah Jahan entered Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 430.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 451.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 274 and 295.

<sup>5</sup> This apocryphal story is told in Price's version of the Memoirs, p. 93.

Apparently the author of the Maasir, or his son, considered the work authentic. Cf. Elliot VI. 279. The pepper-corn was probably "long pepper," i.e. a *chilli*. The fly's wing might be a butterfly's wing. The story is not in the authentic Memoirs.

<sup>6</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, 349.

Kāshī came to see him. The trumpet was sounded in his presence and the Ḥakīm said, "Nawab Salāmat, Hail to the Nawab: Rustum sometimes listened to the trumpet." Bāqir K. was much skilled in prose and poetry and in calligraphy. He composed a *diwān*. The following is an extract. (Seven lines follow.)

M. Šābar, his eldest son, died in the beginning of his youth. The account of his second son Fakhir K.<sup>1</sup> has been separately given.

#### BASĀLAT K. M. SULTAN NAZR.

He belonged to the Caghatai tribe of Arlāt. His father M. Muḥammad Yār was a native of Balkh and came to India in the time of Shah Jahan, and was enrolled among the *manṣabdārs*. M. Sultan Naẓr was born in India and after coming to years of discretion obtained an office and attached himself to Muḥammad A'ẓim Shāh. At last he was the prince's agent and remained at court. After the death of Aurangzeb, Muḥammad A'ẓim-Shah gave him the rank of 3000 and the title of Šalābat K. and made him *darogha* of the *diwān-i-khāṣ*. He was wounded in the battle with Bahādur Shah and fell upon the field. Afterwards he joined Bahādur Shah and received the title of Basālat K. and was made Bakhshī of the *Risāla* (troop of cavalry) which was known by the name of Sūtan 'Alī Tabār.<sup>2</sup> At the time of returning from the Deccan he was retired on its being found that the pay (of the soldiers) was left in arrear and that the men of the *risāla* were in evil case. In the time of Jahāndār Shah he was, by the exertions of Zū-l-Fiqār K., confirmed in his *manṣab* and former jagir. In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī K. remembered old associations and made him bakhshī of the force which had been appointed to chastise the Rajputs, and took him with him. Afterwards, in the march to the Deccan, he also accompanied Ḥusain 'Alī K. In the year 1167, 1754, he was killed in the battle with Dāūd Panī near Burhanpur, and was buried in

Ethe, I.G. Cat. 858. Rieu II, 603a and 688a. His poetical name was Masiḥ. I do not see the point of his remark.

<sup>1</sup> Maasir III, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Household troops. Cf. Irvine, 40 and 44.

his estate in the Sanwāra quarter of that city. He was famed for his friendliness, and he was also very well spoken. His eldest son had the name of M. Ḥaidar. By the help of Ḥusain 'Alī he got his father's office of *bakhshī*. After the deaths of the Saiyids he went into retirement. His second son, who was called by his father's title, was a companion of Āṣaf Jāh. The writer has seen him. He had two sons who are still living and who hold small offices and jagirs. (Q)

### BARKHŪRDĀR.<sup>1</sup> (M. Khān 'Ālam).

Son of M. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Duldai whose ancestors long served the Timuride family. His forefathers had from the time of Timur been Amirs, generation after generation. His ('Abdu-r-Rahmān's) great grandfather Mīr Shāh Malik was one of the great officers of Timur, and was always renowned for his right-mindedness and loyalty. M. Barkhūrdār held up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign a manṣab of 250. In the 44th year when Dalpat Ujjaini<sup>2</sup>—who was one of the contumacious in the province of Bihar—was released<sup>3</sup> from prison and obtained leave to return to his home, the Mīrzā, out of revenge for his father's having been killed in battle with that landowner, fell upon Dalpat in the fields with some followers, but Dalpat escaped. Akbar ordered that the Mīrzā should be bound and sent to Dalpat, but this was remitted at the intercession of some courtiers, and he was imprisoned. It chanced that he was much engaged in the service of Sultan Selīm, and after the accession as he was much skilled in the duties of chief huntsman he was made Chief Falconer (*qūshbegī*). In the 4th year he became known as Khān 'Ālam, and when in the 6th year 1020, 1611, Shah 'Abbās Ṣafavī, the king of Persia, sent Yādgar 'Alī Sultan Tālīsh to offer condolences for the death of Akbar, and to congratulate Jahangir on his accession, Khān 'Ālam was in the 8th year sent back with Yādgar 'Alī as envoy. As the Shah had gone to Azarbaijan to attack the Turks, Khān 'Ālam was desired to stay for some time in Herat and Qūm.

<sup>1</sup> B. 512 and 465.

<sup>2</sup> Dalpat belonged to the Dumraon family.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 758.

They say he had many men with him, viz. 200 falconers and huntsmen and 1000 of the trusted servants of the king. On account of his long stay he sent most of them back from Herat. In the year 1037, 1627—28, when the Shah returned to Qazwin the capital, Khān 'Ālam who had with him 700 or 800 servants, arrived at the city with ten powerful elephants with gold and silver trappings; a number of beasts of prey, and war-horses, birds, including birds that talked, Gujarat cattle, ornamented chariots<sup>1</sup> and palanquins. All the principal officers came out to welcome him, and brought him to the S'āadatabad garden. Next day the Shah had polo and tilting (*qabaq andāzī*) in the S'āadatabad plain. Khān 'Ālam paid his respects, and the Shah showed him much honour and observed that "as between us and the noble king Jahangir there is the relationship of brotherhood, and as he has called you brother, the brother of a brother is also a brother." Thereupon he embraced him in brotherly fashion. Khān 'Ālam wished to present one of the presents each day. The Shah wished to go to Mazandarān for *zangūl*<sup>2</sup> hunting, which is specially practised in that country and for which the time was now passing. Accordingly he produced the special rarities on one day, and the other things were made over to the Biyūtāt (the housekeeping-department), in order that the Shah might inspect them gradually. The Shah was so captivated by his company that if it was all written down it would be taken to be exaggeration. In the excess of his graciousness he used to call him Jān 'Ālam (life of the world) and could not spend a moment without him. If by day or night it chanced that he did not come, the Shah would without ceremony go to his quarters and show him still greater favour. One day<sup>3</sup> when he had taken leave of the Shah and made his quarters

<sup>1</sup> *gardūnhā*. Is this a mistake for the *Karkadan* (rhinoceros) of the 'Ālam Arāī? The same book speaks of deer as among the animals.

<sup>2</sup> *Shikār zangūl*. *Zangūl* means a bell or a rattle, and the reference may be to the kind of hunting called *Ghantabarah*, B. 292. The 'Ālam Arāī, Tehran ed., p. 663., 32nd year of

reign, says it is a kind of boar-hunting, *shikār gurāz*. Can *zangūl* be connected with Latin singularis—French sanglier?

<sup>3</sup> Khāfī K.I. 300. Perhaps this refers to the day when Khān 'Ālam took his final leave of the Shah and went outside of Ispahan. The apologies the Shah made were in case he had un-

outside of the city the Shah came to him on foot and made apologies.

Certainly Khān 'Ālam performed his mission well and spent much money and acquired a great name. Sikandar<sup>1</sup> Beg Munshī, the author of the 'Ālam Arāi history, writes that he saw the pomp with which Khān 'Ālam entered Qazwīn, and that he heard from credible people that from the beginning of the Ṣafavī dynasty no ambassador had come from India or Turkey with such splendour. Nor was it known if any had come so grandly in the time of the Khosroes or of the Kayanian dynasty. Khān 'Ālam returned from Persia in the beginning of the year 1029, 1620, which was the end of the 14th year of Jahangir and at a time when the king was going for the first time to Kashmīr (as king). Khān 'Ālam appeared then before the king in the town of Kalānūr<sup>2</sup> and paid his respects. The king from excessive graciousness kept him for two days and nights in his own bedchamber and gave him his own blankets. As a reward for his having accomplished the embassy he raised him to the rank of 5000 with 3000 horse. It is strange that Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd of Lahore has written in the Pādishāhnāma Shahjahani that Khān 'Ālam was wanting in cajolery and tact, and so did not conduct the embassy well. One does not understand why he has so written, and what his authority was.

When the sovereignty came to Shah Jahan, Khān 'Ālam was raised to the rank of 6000 with 5000 horse and received a flag and a drum, and was made governor of Bihar in succession to M. Rustum Ṣafavī. As on account of excessive addiction to *koknār* (opium) he could not transact business, he was removed in the same year. In the 5th year, end of 1041, 1632, when Shah Jahan returned to Agra from Burhanpur, Khān 'Ālam paid his respects. On account of his great age and his addiction to opium the King excused him from service, and allowed him a lac of rupees a year. He spent

intentionally failed in any of the duties of hospitality. Compare Tūzuk J. 284, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Tuzuk J. 285.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālam Arāi, account of 32nd year,

p. 662. As B. remarks 513, the author of the Pādishāhnāma says Khān 'Ālam was a failure as an ambassador. Khāfi K. I. 299, 300, says he did excellently.

his days with tranquillity and comfort in Agra, and died a natural death. He had no children. His brother M. 'Abu-s-Subhān was faujdār of Allahabad and did his duties well. Afterwards he was appointed to Kabul and was killed<sup>1</sup> in a fight with the Afrīdīs. His son Sherzād K. Bahādur was full of courage. He fell in the battle of Sahīndah fighting against Khān Jahān Lodī on the king's side. The author of the '*Ālam Arāī*' writes<sup>2</sup> that Khān 'Ālam received from Jahangir the title of "brother," but this is not mentioned in the Indian histories, nor is it commonly reported. But as the Shah mentioned this at the interview, as has been related above, it appears to be genuine for without inquiry the Shah would not have said such a thing. But God knows!

(Rajah) BĀSŪ.

He was the zamindar of Mau<sup>3</sup> and Pāthān (Pathankot), which is a tract in the Bārī Dūāb in the Panjab and near the northern hills. When the inevitable event (the death) of Humāyūn disturbed the world, and the somnolent seditions awoke in every quarter, Sultan Sikandar Sūr, who had crept into the defiles of the Panjab hills, and was watching for his opportunity, raised the head of rebellion. Bakht Mal, who was then the chief of the tract, raised the head of influence, and was prominent in exciting sedition. He joined Sultan Sikandar and strove to support him. Afterwards, in the 2nd year of Akbar, when Sikandar was besieged in the fort of Mānkot, and the distressed condition of the garrison became more apparent every day, inasmuch as it is the way with most of the zamindars of India, to abandon the path of straightforwardness, and to watch every side and join whoever is the stronger and is being victorious, Bakht Mal acted in accordance with zamindari wiles and joined the royal army. After the fort had been taken and Sultan Sikandar had withdrawn, and the city of Lahore had become the halting place of the imperial standards, although severity towards those who have come in be not ap-

<sup>1</sup> B. 514. Tūzūk J. 158. This was in Jahangir's time, 1025=1616, and when Khān 'Ālam had been appointed ambassador to Persia.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālam Āīāl 662, top line.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett II. 319.

proved of, even though they have yielded out of necessity, yet Bairām K. took into consideration his seditious spirit, and judging it right to destroy him, put him to death, and appointed his brother Takht Mal in his room. When the proprietorship of the tract came to Rajah Bāsu, he always trod the path of obedience, and performed good service. When Akbar, after the death of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the taking possession of Afghanistan, perceived that the settlement of the Panjab was the important matter and fixed upon that province as his residence, Rajah Bāsū from shortsightedness and foolish thoughts proceeded to be seditious. Accordingly, in the 31st year Ḥasan Beg Shaiḥ 'Umārī was sent against him. His orders were to punish him if he did not listen to advice. When the royal army came to Pāthān (Pathankot in Gurdāspur) the Rajah was roused from slumber by a letter from Rajah Todar Mal and came to court with Ḥasan Beg and submitted. Afterwards, in the 41st year he brought over many of the landholders to his side, and again became disobedient. Akbar gave Pāthān and its neighbourhood in fief to M. Rustum Qandaharī and sent him off to chastise Bāsū. Aṣaf K. was also sent with him to give assistance. But the two leaders did not act together and so the work was not accomplished. M. Rustum was recalled and Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was appointed. The royal servants made promises of working in harmony and addressed themselves to the task. They invested the fort of Mau, which was famous for its strength, and was Bāsū's residence. Fighting went on for two months, and at last the fort was surrendered. In the 48th year when news of his recalcitrancy was brought, another army was ordered against him. Jamil Beg,<sup>1</sup> the son of Tāj K., was killed by his (Bāsū's) men. After that the Rajah attached himself to Prince Sultan Selim, in order that by his representations he might obtain pardon for his offences. Again he became turbulent, and in the 49th year, when the prince for the second time submitted to his father, he came with him in the hopes of his intercession. But, on account of dread, he remained<sup>2</sup> on the other side of the river. Before the

<sup>1</sup> B. 457.<sup>2</sup> Akbarnāma III. 833. Mādḥū

Singh was Rajah Mān Singh's brother's son according to the statement there,



the prince had spoken for him, Akbar sent Mādhū Singh Kach-wāha to seize him. He got news of this and fled. When Jahangir came to the throne he received the rank of 3500. In the 6th year he was sent off to the Deccan, and in the 8th year he died,<sup>1</sup> 1022, 1612. His sons were Rajah Sūraj Mal and Rajah Jagat Singh. Both of them have been separately noticed.

### BĀZ BAHĀDUR.

His name was Bayazīd and he was son of Shujā'at K. who was generally known in India as Sajāwal K. When Sher Shah took Mālwa from Malū K. who has known as Qādir Shah, he made Shujā'at, who was one of his officers and of his clan, the governor of that country. In the time of Selīm Shah he went to the Presence, and after some time he became displeased and went back to Mālwa. Selīm Shah led an army against him, and he took refuge with the Rajah of Dūngarpūr. At last Selīm Shah summoned him to his presence by making promises and oaths, and kept him under surveillance, and distributed Mālwa among his officers. After that, in the time of 'Adlī he again got possession of Mālwa and wished to recite the *khutba* and to coin money in his own name. In the year 912, 1555, he died a natural death, and Bāz Bahādur succeeded him. In 963, he defeated most of his opponents and hoisting the umbrella over his head recited the *khutba* in his own name. He brought the whole of Mālwa in subjection to himself and led an army against the extensive country of Garha. He was defeated by Rānī Durgāvatī, who was the ruler of that country, and did not attempt to retrieve himself, but occupied himself in pleasure and dissipation. He let the foundation of his power go to the winds and waves, that is, he became so addicted to wine and music that he made no difference between night and day, and gave heed to nought except these two things.

Physicians have prescribed wine according to fixed quantities and seasons with reference to the bodily frame and certain consti-

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but it appears from Blochmann 437 that Mādhū was Rajah Bhagwān Dās's son and consequently Mān Singh's brother. Jahangir also speaks of Madhū as being his wife's brother.

<sup>1</sup> Tūzūk 123. He died at Shahabad in Rajputana.

tutions, and prudent and wise persons have sanctioned music at the time of care and melancholy—such as are produced by engrossment in worldly matters, with the object of recruiting the faculties, but have not approved of making these two things the great objects of life and of ever sacrificing to them precious hours for which there is no exchange. Bāz Bahādur who was himself the teacher of the age in music and melody, employed all his energies in collecting dancing girls (*pātarān*). They were all famous over the world for music. The head of the troop was named Rūpmatī. They say that she was a "Padminī,"<sup>1</sup> which is the first class of the four kinds of women, according to the division made by Hindu sages, that is, the class which is compounded of excellent qualities. Bāz Bahādur was wonderfully attached to her, and continually wrote Hindi love-songs about her, and emptied his heart for her. Stories about their love and beauty are still upon people's tongues.

In the sixth year, 968, 1560-61, Adham K. and other officers were sent to conquer Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur had made a fortification two *kos* distant from Sārangpūr, which was his capital, and he showed fight. His men were vexed and did not show alacrity. At last there was a stubborn battle, and he was defeated. As he had left some trustworthy men with his women and dancing girls in order that if news of his defeat should arrive they should put them to death as is the custom of India, when his defeat was known, some were put to the sword, and a large number were wounded, and still had some flickerings of life, while others were yet untouched. The imperial army came to the city and there was not time to kill the rest. Adham K. got possession of everything and made search for Rūpmatī, who had been severely wounded. But when this news ("*naghma*" melody) came to her ears her fidelity grew ardent and she quaffed the cup of poison and *manfully* died for love of Bāz Bahādur.

When the government of Mālwa was taken from Bāz Bahā-

<sup>1</sup> "Padminī is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature. Her limbs are perfectly proportioned: her voice soft,

her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose. She is chaste, and obedient to her husband." Jarrett III, 243.

dur and given to Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī, Bāz Bahādūr, who was wandering in the jungles between Khandes and Mālwa, collected an army and came forward to fight. He was again defeated by Pīr Muḥammad and took refuge with Mīrān Mubārak the ruler of Khandes, who gave him his army. On this occasion he again opposed Pīr Muḥammad, who after taking Bijagarh hastened off with a few men to plunder Burhanpur and was returning laden with booty. As fate would have it, Pīr Muḥammad was defeated, and in his flight and confusion he was crossing the Narbada. He got separated from his horse and was drowned, and the sief-holders of Mālwa lost heart and went off to Agra. Bāz Bahādūr again became securely possessed of Mālwa. On hearing of this occurrence, 'Abdullah K. Uzbek, who was one of the great officers, was sent off along with a number of other officers, in the 7th year, to conquer the country. Bāz Bahādūr gave way before the arrival of the imperial army and fled. At the sound of the pursuit of the victorious army he threw himself into the mountain-defiles, and spent his days in wretchedness. For some time he went to Baharjī the landholder of Baglāna, and from there he went to Gujarat to Cingez K. and Sher K. Gujarātī. After that he went to Nizām-ul-mulk in the Deccan, and being unsuccessful everywhere, he took refuge with Rānā Udai Singh. In the 15th year Akbar sent Ḥasan K. Khazāncī to make him hopeful of favour and to bring him into service. At first he received the rank of 1000, and finally got the rank of 2000 *zat u sawār* (personal, and cavalry). Bāz Bahādūr and Rūpmatī both sleep<sup>1</sup> on a ridge in the middle of the wide lake of Ujjain.

#### BEBADAL KHĀN SAIDAI GĪLĀNĪ.

He was a good poet. He came to India in the time of Jahangir and became one of the king's servants, and was included in the list of poets. In the time of Shah Jahan he on account of his sagacity and skill received the title of Bebadal (Incomparable) Khān, and was for a long time darogha of the goldsmith's office

<sup>1</sup> Through the kindness of Captain Luard I have ascertained that if Bāz Bahādūr was ever buried beside

Rūpmatī, there is nothing to show the fact at present.

in the royal establishment. The jewelled throne—known by the name of the Peacock-throne—was finished by him in the course of seven years at the cost of a kror of rupis, or 333,000 tomans of Persia, or four krors of the *khānī* coinage of Transoxiana. As a reward he was weighed against gold. In fact so valuable and adorned a throne was never seen in any other age or race, nor at the present day is there anything like it.

*Verse.*

No second to it has come to view

However many side-glances<sup>1</sup> have been thrown.

When by the revolutions of Time various kinds of costly jewels had been gathered together in the royal jewel-chamber, it occurred to Shah Jahan in the beginning of his reign that the sole object of collecting such eye-pleasing rarities was to add lustre to the sovereignty and therefore they should be so made use of that both sightseers might share the beauty of these products of the mine and ocean, and also that a fresh glory might be added to the Sultanate. After reserving the private jewels which were in the females' apartments, and which were of the value of two krors of rupees, it was ordered that jewels to the value of eighty-six lacs of rupees should be selected out of the jewels in the store-rooms, and which were nearly three krors of rupees in value, and made over to Bebadal Khān so that with them and one lac of *tolaks* of pure gold, corresponding to 250,000 *misgāls*, the value of which was fourteen lacs of rupees, he might make a throne three and a quarter yards (*gaz*) long, two and a half yards broad and five yards high. The inside of the canopy was to be chiefly of enamelled work and with a few jewels, but the outside was to be inlaid with rubies and cornelians and the canopy was to be supported by twelve emerald-coloured pillars. On the top of the canopy there were two (?) peacocks made of jewels, and between every two (?) peacocks there was a *dirakht* (tree, the bouquet of Tavernier) set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. In order to ascend to the throne there was a stair of three steps which was adorned

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<sup>1</sup> *Aḥwal*. lit. "squints."

with lustrous jewels. The middle one of the eleven jewelled balustrades (*takhta*) which went round the throne in order to retain the pillows, and which is the one on which the king rests his arm, carried jewels worth ten lacs of rupees, and among them was a ruby<sup>1</sup> the price of which was one lac of rupees. Shah 'Abbās Šafavī had sent it as a present to Jahangir and the latter had given it to Shah Jahan as a reward for his conquest of the Deccan. At first the names of Amir Timur, M. Shahrukh and M. Ulugh Beg were engraved on it. Afterwards when by the revolutions of Time it fell into the hands of the Shah (of Persia) he had his own name cut upon it. Jahangir had his own name and that of Akbar engraved on it, and afterwards Shah Jahan had his own name engraved on it. At the New Year's feast of the 8th year, 3 Shawāl 1044, 12 March 1635, he sate upon this incomparable throne. Hāji Muḥammad K. Qudsi<sup>2</sup> made the chronogram.

*Aurang Shahinshāh 'Ādil.* "The throne of the just Shahinshah," 1043, 1633-34.

He also wrote a *magnavi* in praise of the throne, of which the following is a verse.

*Verse.*

If Heaven approached to the throne-foot

It would give Sun and Moon as guerdon.<sup>3</sup>

Bebadal K. also wrote 134 couplets, every first line of twelve couplets gave the date of the king's birth, every first line of the 32 following couplets gave the date of the Accession, and every first line of the remaining ninety couplets gave the dates of the expedition from Agra to Kashmīr which took place in 1043, 1633-34, of the return to Agra, and of the sitting on the peacock throne. The following famous quatrain is also a production of Bebadal.

*Quatrain.*

That which was your throne majestic as heaven

Was the ornament of your justice over the world

<sup>1</sup> See Tūzūk 202. Another ruby worth a lac is mentioned in *Khāṣṣi K.* I. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu II. 648b and Ethé 845.

<sup>3</sup> *rūnamāi*. Present to a bride on unveiling.

Thou wilt last as long as God exists  
For substance is ever accompanied by its shadow.

In the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb the Peacock-Throne was by orders of the reigning sovereign still more adorned by Amīnā at a cost of a *kror* of rupees. In the year 1152, 1739, when the great Shāhinshāh Nādir Shah filled the capital of Shah-jahānābād with glory by his power, he took away the throne<sup>1</sup> from the king of the time as part of the spoils of India.

### BEGLĀR KHĀN.

His name was S'aad Ullah and he was the son of S'aīd K.<sup>2</sup> Caghatai of Akbar's time. He had all the advantages of an Amīr's son. He was famed for personal beauty, the strength of his limbs, and pleasant speech. He surpassed his companions in skill in polo and in military aptitudes. In the lifetime of his father he gained a name for reliability. In the 46th year Akbar gave M. 'Azīz Koka's daughter in marriage to him. He had a lofty mind and behaved like a prince in matters of etiquette, and was always in quest of fame. When his father died he, though his rank was small, did not dismiss his father's servants. In the beginning<sup>3</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> For Tavernier's description see vol. II, pp. 241, 242, ed. 1676. He speaks of only one peacock. The account in the Maagir is copied from the Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 78, etc. See the translation in Elliot VII. 45. This translation has been useful to me, but the description is still somewhat obscure. According to Elliot's version there were two peacocks on the top of each pillar. Though Tavernier speaks of only one peacock, I think there were two for Bernier speaks of two, II. 53, ed. 1699. The peacock-throne was first used at Agra. In my father's History of India, II. 705, a representation is given of a jewelled peacock which was one of the ornaments of Tipu Sultan's throne. See also Keene's Delhi, p. 19. The total cost of the materials of the throne according to

the Pādshāhnāma was a *kror* of rupees, that is one million sterling. Tavernier's account of the cost, p. 242, as stated by his informants, is much greater and presumably includes workmanship, etc. He saw it after Aurangzeb had spent an additional *kror* of rupees on it, but still two *krors* are far less than the 107 thousand lacs mentioned by him. According to Beale, Bebadal is probably a sobriquet of the poet Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm. Elsewhere he calls Saidai Saidai Gilānī and says his poetical name was Bedil. See pp. 106 and 344. Saidāi is the Mullā Shaidā of Rieu. Cat. III. 1083a and I. 251a. But if Shaidā lived till 1080, 1669-70, he must have been a very long-lived man.

<sup>2</sup> B. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzūk 96. It was in the 6th year.

Jahangir's reign he obtained the title of Nawāzish K. When in the 8th year, 1022, 1613, Ajmere became the residence of Jahangir, it was perceived that the remedy for the long-standing trouble of the Rānā, which had not been brought to a conclusion, lay in appointing Prince Shah Jahan to the task. Beglār K.<sup>1</sup> was his assistant. When Udaipūr, the Rānā's residence, was occupied by Shah Jahan, Nawāzish K. and some other officers were sent to Kambhalmīr, which was in the hill country, and there was such a want of grain that a *sīr* of it could not be had for a rupee. An universe of men gave their lives for want of bread. At this time the Khān in his zeal and generosity shared his food every day with a hundred others. As he had no money, he sold his dishes of gold and silver and expended the proceeds. When dissension broke out between Jahangir and the heir-apparent, and love became hatred, and the dispositions of both parties were turned towards strife, the imperial retinue proceeded with a small force from Lahore in order to collect troops on arrival at Delhi. Nawāzish K. also zealously came to the Presence from his fief in Gujarat and did homage. As such times were tests of the jewel of loyalty, he was the recipient of a thousand congratulations and was the subject of favours. He was appointed to accompany 'Abdullah K. who was in charge of the vanguard of the army. It happened that as soon as the imperial army and Shah Jahan's men encountered one another, 'Abdullah K. in accordance with a secret treaty galloped off and joined the prince. Nawāzish K. was ignorant of what was beneath the surface and thought that the urging on of the horse was for purpose of battle. He and some other officers and followers fought bravely and acquired fame for courage. He became more and more an object of favour and received the title of Beglār K. He obtained the *faujdārī* and the fief of Sorath and Junāgarh, the rank of 2000<sup>2</sup> with 2500 horse, and hoisted the flag of glory. He stayed long in that country with honour and respect, and after the accession of Shah Jahan

<sup>1</sup> In the 8th year he got an increase of 500 horse so that his rank became 2000 personal and horse. *Tūzuk J.*

<sup>2</sup> In the 15th year of Jahangir he obtained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse.

though he received all increase of 1000 *zāt*, yet in the same year he was removed, and in the third year, 1039, 1630, he died. He was buried in Sirhind in his father's tomb. After him, none of his family became distinguished.

#### (RAJAH) BETHAL DĀS GAUR.

They say that formerly Marwār and Meywār were in the possession of this tribe (the Gaur tribe) before they came to be held by the Rāthor and Sīsodia tribes. After the latter became victorious, several parganas of those districts remained in the possession of the Gaur tribe. Bethal Dās was the second son of Rajah Gopāl Das Gaur who, at the time of the return of Sultan Kharram from Bengal and of his coming to Burhanpur, was governor of the fort of Āsīr. After that the prince summoned him to his presence and put Sirdār K. in his place. At the siege of Tatta he with his son and heir Balarām bravely sacrificed their lives. Bethal Dās came from his home to Junair, and entered into service. After Shah Jahan had ascended the throne he obtained the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse, the title of Rajah, a flag and a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000. Afterwards, he was sent under Khān Jahān Lodī to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandila. In the 2nd year he was sent off, along with Khawāja Abū-l-ḥasan, in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the keenness of his zeal he did not wait for the commander but went off like a whirlwind. Near Dholpūr he came up with Khān Jahān and engaged him. After the manner of the Rajputs he dismounted and behaved with gallantry, and received several wounds. As a reward, he received an increase of 500 horse, and the present of a drum. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies, under three leaders, to chastise Khān Jahān Lodī and to devastate the country of Nizāmu-l-mulk, he was sent off along with Rajah Gaj Singh, and did good service in the battle against Khān Jahān Lodī.

As his and his father's fidelity had been witnessse by the king, and he was desirous of becoming the governor of a fort—without which the title of Rajah did not carry influence—he was made



governor of the fort of Ranthambur in place of Khān Celā. In the sixth year he was made faujdār of Ajmere in succession to M. Moẓaffar Kirmānī. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Shujā' and did good service at the siege of Parenda. As the fort could not be taken, and the prince was summoned to court, he in the 8th year, after coming to court, was sent to Ajmere. In the 9th year, when the king came to the Deccan and sent three armies under three leaders to chastise Sāhū Bhonslā, he was placed in the contingent of Khān Daurān. When out of great liberality, the country of Dhandera had been given to his brother's son Sīv Rām, and the latter had gone with a body of troops and driven out Indarman the zamindar, the said zamindar collected a force and retook the territory from Sīv Rām. Thereupon, in the tenth year, the Rajah was sent with a force—of which the leader was Mut'amid K.—to set the territory free. After he came there, he erected batteries over against the fort of Sehra. The zamindar got hard pressed and waited upon Mut'amid K., and the Rajah came to court and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse and the territory of Dhandera as his home. In the 11th year when the king was going to Lahore, he was made the governor of the fort of Agra. In the 12th year, he, by orders, conveyed treasure from Agra to Delhi. In the 14th year he, on the death of Wazir K., was left in charge of Agra, and in government of the fort.

In the 16th year, after the arrival of the royal retinue at Agra, he received the rank of 5000, with 3000 horse, and in the 19th year his rank was 5000 with 4000 horse. He was now sent in the vanguard of Prince Murād Bakhsh to take Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken, when the Prince became discontented and returned to court, and S'aad Ullah K. went off to settle the country, he in the 20th year came to court with the persons left behind by Nazr Muḥammad. In the 21st year, when the king entered the newly-erected buildings of Shahjahanabad, his rank was 5000 with 5000 cavalry of which 1000 were two-horse, and three-horse, and was appointed to Kabul. In the 22nd year he came to court and another 1000 of the cavalry of his contingent were made two-horse and three-horse. In company with

Prince Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians, which took place during the siege of Qandahar. When the fort could not be taken, he came with the prince to court in the 23rd year. He obtained leave to go home, and he died there in 1061, 1651.

As he was noted for his fidelity and loyalty, the king grieved for his death, and favoured those whom he had left behind. His eldest son was Rajah Anurūdhā,<sup>1</sup> of whom a separate account has been given. The second was Arjan who became known to Shah Jahan during his father's lifetime. On the day when Rāo Amar Singh killed Śalābat K. in the king's presence, he behaved bravely and struck Amar Singh twice with his sword. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakḥsh to the Balkh campaign. In the 21st year his rank was 1000 with 700 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 100 horse, and in the 25th year, after his father's death, he had an increase of 500 with 700 horse and was appointed to Qandahar in attendance on the prince. In the 32nd year he accompanied Maharajah Jaswant Singh to check the advance of the Deccan army, and was appointed to Mālwa. In the battle which took place between the Maharajah and Prince Aurangzeb near Ujjain, Arjan behaved bravely and sacrificed his life. The third son was Bhīm, who after his father's death received a proper rank and who fought well at the battle of Samogarha on the side of Dārā Shikoh and came near the *qūr* of Prince Aurangzeb, and was killed. The fourth was Harjas, who entered into service in the time of Aurangzeb. After the Rajah's death the ten lacs of rupees which he had left were divided as follows: six lacs, and also goods, to Rajah Anurūdhā, three lacs to Arjan, Rs. 60,000 to Bhīm, and Rs. 40,000 to Harjas. Girdhar Dās the younger brother of the Rajah was, in the 9th year of Shah Jahan, after the killing of Jujhār Singh Bandila and the capture of the fort of Jhānsī, made governor thereof. In the 15th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 22nd year he had an increase of 1000 horse. After the Rajah's death his rank was 1500 with 1200 horse. He was appointed to the siege of Qandahar and in the 29th year he

<sup>1</sup> Maagir II. 276.

was made governor of the fort of Agra in succession to Siyādat K., and had the rank of 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 30th year he was made faujdār thereof in addition to his governorship and had an increase in his contingent of 800 horse. In the battle of Samogarha he was in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard, but it appears from the 'Ālamgīrnāma that he was also actively employed during the reign of Aurangzeb.

#### (RAJAH) BHAGWANT DĀS.<sup>1</sup>

Son of Rajah Bihāra Mal Kachwāha. He distinguished himself at the battle of Sarnāl in 980, 1572, when Akbar after the conquest of Gujarat made an onset with 100 troopers on Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. He was rewarded with a flag and a drum. He also did good service in the nine days' expedition to Gujarat and thereafter was sent by way of Īdar to the Rānā's country, in order that he might put down the rebels there. The Rajah brought all the landowners of Budhnagar and Īdar into the highway of good service, and had an interview with Rānā Kikā and brought his son Amr Singh to court. In the 23rd year, when the jagirs of the Kachwāha family were placed in the Panjab, the Rajah was made governor of that province. In the 29th year his daughter was married to Prince Selīm (Jahangir).

#### *Chronogram.*

The Moon and Venus were conjoined. (993)

Akbar personally went to the Rajah's quarters, and the latter gave a splendid feast, and produced the bridal present and tribute which came to a large sum. They say there were strings of Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Cutch horses, together with 100 elephants, and many male and female slaves, Abyssinian, Circassian and Indian. The dower was two *krors* of rupees.<sup>2</sup> The king and prince were conveyed in litters, and on the whole road rare cloths were spread. In the year 995 (on the 4th August 1587), Sultan Khusrau was born of this marriage. In the 30th year the

<sup>1</sup> B. 333

The T A. and Badayūnī say it was *tankas*, i.e. *dāms*.

Rajah was made a panjhzārī, and in the year in which Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed to the Yūsufzai affair, the Rajah was made governor of Afghanistan. He formed some unfitting desires and the king recalled him. The Rajah repented and had recourse to entreaties, and his apology was admitted. But when he crossed the Indus and came to Khairābād he was seized with madness, and they brought him back to Attock. A physician was feeling his pulse, and the Rajah drew his (the physician's) dagger and stabbed himself. The king's physicians were appointed to treat him, and after a long while they cured him. In the 32nd year he and his tribe had a jagir in Bihar, and Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to look after that country. In the beginning<sup>1</sup> of 998, 1589, he died in Lahore. They say that when Rajah Todar Mal was cremated, he was present. When he came to his house he vomited<sup>2</sup> and had an attack of strangury. After five days he died. One of his good works was the building of a Jāma'<sup>3</sup> masjid in Lahore where many men collect and say their prayers on Fridays.

#### (RAO) BHĀO SINGH HĀRĀ.

Son of Satr Sāl who had a place in Dārā Shikoh's vanguard at the battle of Samogarh, and bravely lost his life. Bhāo<sup>4</sup> Singh in the first year of Aurangzeb came from his home to court, and did homage. He received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse, the gift of a flag and a drum, and the title of Rāo with the zamindari of Bundī, etc., which had belonged to his ancestors. In the battle with Shujā' he was appointed to the king's artillery which was in front. When Shujā' had fled, he, in company with Prince Muḥammad Sultan, was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, when the prince's army had passed Bīrbhūm<sup>5</sup> on the way to Bengal,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently both officers must have died in the end of 997, for Akbar got the news at Kabul in that year or very early in 998.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 570. The word is *ist-farāgh*, and perhaps it means "overstrained himself."

<sup>3</sup> The Jām'a Mosque in Lahore was built by Aurangzeb in 1674. It

seems unlikely that Bhagwān would build a mosque. He erected a famous temple to Hārī Dev at Mathurā, Growse, 304.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ālamgirnāma 231. Satr Sāl is the Chuttar Sāl of Tod who describes his death in battle.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ālamgirnāma 498. The Rajputs left because they had heard false

Bhāo Singh left the prince without leave and returned. He was appointed to the Deccan, and in the third year in company with Shaista K. the Amīru-l-umarā he was engaged in the siege of the fort of Islamabad<sup>1</sup> or Cakna, which had been constructed by Malikū-t-tajār the general of 'Alāu-d-dīn Ahmad Shah Bahmani, who had been appointed to conquer the Konkan. The garrison fell into difficulties, and by Bhāo Singh's intervention made over the fort. Afterwards when Shaista K. was removed from the Deccan, and Maharajah Jaswant Singh stayed in that quarter to punish Siva, Bhāo Singh also remained with him. As Rāo Bhāo's sister was married to the Maharajah, the latter sent for her from her native country in order that she might make friendship between them, but Rāo Bhāo Singh was faithful to his salt and did not agree. After the arrival of Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh at the Deccan, he made campaigns along with him. In the 9th year he went with Diller K. against the zamindar of Chanda<sup>2</sup> (in the Central Provinces). From the Naskha Dil Kushā<sup>3</sup> it appears that he was for a long time in Aurangabad. He had formed an intimacy with Sultan Muhammad M'uazzam. In the 21st year corresponding to 1088,<sup>4</sup> he died.

As he had no sons, the rule of his native country fell to the grandson<sup>5</sup> of his brother Bhagwant Singh, who was called Anurūdhha Singh and was son of the Kishn Singh whom Sultan

reports about the result of the battle of Ajmer with Dā'ūd Shikoh. At p. 496 of the 'Ālamgīrnāma mention is made of one Kamāl Afghan the zamindar of Bīrbhūm. This would seem to indicate that the Bengal Bīrbhūm was meant, for an Afghan family did get possession of that zamindari about 1600. See Hunter's Rural Annals of Bengal, App. F., where a Kamāl K. is mentioned. At p. 496 of the 'Ālamgīrnāma Bīrbhūm is spoken of as a village and at 458 as a station. Apparently the geography of the 'Ālamgīrnāma is vague. Mir Jumla did try to take Shujā' in the rear by marching via Bishanpur, etc. See Steward's Bengal, 269. The rains

obliged Mir Jumla to return to Rājmaḥal. Perhaps the defection of the Rajputs also contributed to this.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot VII. 262.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 1023.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu's Cat. I. 271a. It is a book of historical memoirs relating to the Deccan, and was translated by Jonathan Scott, and published under the title of a "Journal kept by a Bondela officer." The author was Bhīm Sen Kāyath.

<sup>4</sup> 1677. Tod says he died in 1682 in Aurangabad.

<sup>5</sup> The Maasir A. calls Anurūdhha grandson of Bhāo, p. 227. But Tod agrees with the Maasir Umarā, which perhaps he has copied.

Muhammad Akbar had summoned when he was governor of Ujjain, and who had been killed<sup>1</sup> with a dagger on account of insolence. After his death his son Budha Singh was raised to the leadership, and was for a long time in the contingent of Bahādur Shah in Kabul. When after the death of Aurangzeb there was disagreement between Bahādur Shah and A'zim Shah and the former was victorious, he received the title of Rām Rajah, a *manṣab* of 3500 and the zamindari of Mūmīdāna,<sup>2</sup> and Kotah—which (Kotah) belonged to Rām Singh the grandson of Mādhu Singh Hārā, who had been killed along with A'zim Shah. There arose a quarrel between him and Bhīm Singh his (Rām Singh's) son. After his death, his son Umed Singh for a time ruled and then left the property to his sons. At the time of writing Kishn Singh<sup>3</sup> his grandson holds the property.

(RAJAH) BHĀRATHA BANDĪLA.

Grandson of Rām Cand who was (the elder) son of Rajah Madhukar. As Jahangir had a special regard for Bir Singh Deo, in the end of the year of his accession, 'Abdullah K. went<sup>4</sup> rapidly from his fief of Kālpī on the day of the Dusserah to Undchah (Oorcha), and arrested Rām Cand, who in that rugged place was showing the appearance of sedition, and produced him before the king, in chains, in the second year. The king removed his chains and gave him a robe of honour and made him over to Rajah Bāsū who was to take security from him and let him go. From that day Undchah belonged to Rajah Bir Singh Deo. In the fourth year Rām Cand's daughter<sup>5</sup> entered the royal harem, at his request. When he died, his grandson Bhāratha received in the seventh year a suitable rank and the title of Rajah. After the presumption which Mahābat K. showed on the bank of the Bihat (Jhelam) and his subsequent flight to the Rānā's country,

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 161, which says that a quarrel arose at the time of putting on the robe of honour, and that Kishn Singh killed himself. This was in 1088, 1677. Tod in his account of Bundi says Kishn was put to death by Aurangzeb.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Called by Tod Bishn Singh.

<sup>4</sup> Tuzuk J. 39, where Rām Cand is called the son of Nand Kuar (Nandkūmar). 'Abdullah reached Undchah on the Dusserah day. See also B. 487-88. Bir Singh was Rām Cand's younger brother.

<sup>5</sup> Tūzūk J. 77.

Bhāratha<sup>1</sup> was one of the officers whom Jahangir appointed to pursue him, and who halted at Ajmere. Meanwhile the aspect of circumstances changed. Jahangir departed to another world, and the standard of Shah Jahan brightened Ajmere. Bhāratha hastened to serve him and received an increase of 500 troopers so that his rank became<sup>2</sup> one of 3000 with 2500 horse, and he had the gift of a flag and a horse. In the first year he became<sup>3</sup> faujdār of Etawah and its neighbourhood—which was crown land—and after some time had<sup>4</sup> the present of a drum. In the second year he went with Khwāja Abul-ḥasan in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lodī, and in the third year was appointed, along with Rāo Ratan Hādā, to conquer Telingāna. Afterwards, he had an increase of 500 horse and did good service, along with Naṣīrī K.,<sup>5</sup> in the siege of Qandhar in the Deccan. When the garrison got into difficulties, they, at his recommendation, surrendered.<sup>6</sup> In the fourth year he came to court and received an increase of 500 *zāt* and had altogether the rank of 3500 with 3000 horse. Afterwards he was appointed to guard the borders of Telingāna. In the 6th year he took the town of Wākūr<sup>7</sup> (?) together with the family of Bolā, who, along with Sidhī Miftāḥ, held the town on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan. When this news reached Shah Jahan, he raised his rank to 4000 with 3500 horse. In the 7th year, when the court was at Lahore, the news came<sup>8</sup> that the Rajah had died in the year 1043, 1633-34, in Telingāna. His son was Rajah Deb Singh of whom an account has been given.

#### (RAI) BHOJ.<sup>9</sup>

Younger son of Rai Surjan Hādā (pronounced Hārā). When his father attached himself to Akbar, he too always did good service, and was the object of special favour. In the 22nd year of the reign the fort of Bundī was taken from Dūdā his elder brother and given to him. After that, he was for a long time

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 191.

<sup>4</sup> Do. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma, 377.

<sup>6</sup> It is Diklūr in Pādshāhnāma I. 534.

<sup>7</sup> Pādshāhnāma I Part II, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> B. 458.

included in the contingent of Kunwar Mān Singh and did brave deeds in the battles with the Afghans of Orissa. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan along with S. Abu-l-faḡl, and always distinguished himself. After Jahangir's accession, the king desired to marry the daughter of Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh. Rai Bhoj, who was the maternal grandfather of the lady, objected, and this displeased Jahangir, who resolved to punish him on his return from Kabul. In the same year, which was the second of the reign, and corresponded to 1016, 1607, he loosed<sup>1</sup> the thread of his life (committed suicide?). Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1000. They say that the daughters of the Rahtor and Kachwaha families have entered the harem of the house of Timur, but that the Hādā tribe has never consented to such an alliance.

### (RAJAH) BIHĀRA MAL.<sup>2</sup>

Son of Prithī raj Kachwāha. In this tribe there are two sections—Rajāwat and Shaikhāwat. Bihārā Mal belonged to the Rajāwat section, and was settled at 'Amber, which is a dependency of Ajmere and is east<sup>3</sup> of Mārwar. Though it is inferior to Mārwar in extent, it is superior in productiveness. He was the first Rajput who entered into Akbar's service. After the death of Humāyūn, when disturbances arose on every side, Hājī K., a slave of Sher Khan, also became seditious and besieged Nārnaul which was in the fief of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl. The Raja at that time was friendly with him, and from goodness and right-thinking he interposed and took amicable possession of the fort, and procured an honourable departure for Majnūn. After Hemū had been slain, and the report of Akbar's fortune had become current, Majnūn Qāqshāl represented the choice fidelity of the Rajah, and an order

<sup>1</sup> B. l.c. says he committed suicide. Tod in his chapter on the Annals of Haravati (reprint II 521) says Rai Bhoj died in his palace at Bundī, but does not say he committed suicide. The expression in the Maagir is ambiguous. Rai Bhoj's grand-daughter was married to Jahangir in the third

year, 1608, Tūzūk J. 69. Rai Bhoj had a distinguished son, Rāo Ratn, who received the title of Sarbuland Rai. See Maagir U. II. 208.

<sup>2</sup> B. 323, where the name is spelt Bihārī.

<sup>3</sup> Text has "west." Probably this is a printer's error.



was sent for his appearance. The Rajah paid his respects in the end of the first year. On the day of taking leave, when the Rajah and his sons and other relatives had been clothed in robes of honour and presented, the king mounted on a furious (*mast*) elephant. As the elephant was furiously moving from side to side, the people everywhere dispersed, but when it ran to where the Rajputs were, they stood still. This pleased Akbar greatly, and he graciously said to the Rajah that he would cherish him.

In the sixth year, when Akbar was proceeding to Ajmere to visit M'uinu-d-dīn's shrine, it was represented to him in the village of Kalālī by Caghatai K. that Rajah Bihārā Mal—who was distinguished for intelligence and courage, and who had waited upon him in Delhi—had become apprehensive and taken refuge in the hills because M. Sharfu-d-dīn Husain the governor of Ajmere had, at the instigation of Sūjā the son of the Rajah's elder brother Pūran Mal, led an army and had fixed a sum of money as tribute, and had seized Jagnāth the son of the Rajah, Raj Singh the son of Askaran, and Kangār the son of Jagmal, who were the brother's sons of the Rajah, and wanted to seize 'Amber which was the Rajah's ancestral residence. From appreciation of his merit the king sent for him, and his brother Rūpsī appeared at the station of Deosah along with Jai Mal his son, who was the headman in that neighbourhood, and did homage. In the town of Sāngānīr the Rajah himself appeared with most of his relatives and was graciously received. The Rajah, from his good sense and foresight, wished to emerge from the crowd of landowners and to be enrolled among the special intimates of the court, and so expressed a desire that his daughter might enter the Harem. The king assented, and the Rajah took leave to accomplish this affair, and at the time of Akbar's return he sent his daughter, with all ceremony, to the royal palace at the station of Sāmbhar. He himself, his son Bhagwant Dās, and Kunwar Mān Singh the son of the latter, waited on the king at the station of Ratan.<sup>1</sup> Akbar honoured

<sup>1</sup> This apparently should be Rantambhur. Mān Singh was only the

adopted son of Bhagwant. Bihārā Mal's daughter became the mother

him more than all the other Rajahs and Rais of India and bestowed high dignities and offices on his sons and grandsons and on his tribesmen and made them the pillars of India. The Rajah was raised to the rank of 5000 and dismissed to his home, while Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kunwar Mān Singh together with many of his other relatives attended the king to Agra, and rose by degrees to high honour.<sup>1</sup>

(RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJĪT.<sup>2</sup>

His name was Patr Dās and he was a Khatrī by caste. At first he was accountant of the elephant-stables of Akbar. He received the title of Rai Rayān, and afterwards attained to high rank. In the 12th year at the siege of Citūr he, along with Ḥasan K. Cagatai, looked after the royal battery. In the 24th year he was made diwān of Bengal in partnership with Mīr Adham. In the 25th year when the rebels killed Mozaffar K. and imprisoned Patr Dās, he cleverly managed to escape, and was for some time afterwards employed in the province. In the 31st year he was made diwān of Bihar. In the 38th year he was sent off to take the fort of Bāndhū—which was one of the strong forts of the age, and where, on the death of Rām Cand Baghīla and his son, the men of the place had set up the grandson who was of tender age. After besieging it for eight months and twenty-five days the garrison surrendered from want of food, and the fort was taken. In the 43rd year he was made Chief Diwān,<sup>3</sup> and next year he was removed from that post and sent off to the fort of Bāndhū. In the 46th year he received the rank of 3000. In the 47th year, when the slaying of S. Abu-l-faḍl by Bir Singh Bandīla was reported to Akbar, an order was given that Patr Dās should exert himself to extirpate that evil-doer, and not give up until he sent his head. He in repeated combats fought bravely and

of Jahangir. For account of the marriage, etc. see A.N. II, p. 240, etc. of translation.

<sup>1</sup> It would seem that Bihārī Mal died about 1569, for in 1570 a monument was erected at Mathurā, to the memory of his widow who com-

mitted Sati. Growse, Mathurā 148. There is also a temple at Mathurā to Harī Devī which was erected by Rajah Bhagwān Dās, do. 304.

<sup>2</sup> B. 469.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 741 and 758.

defeated Bir Singh, and when the latter took refuge in the fort of Īrij Patr Dās proceeded to invest it. When Bir Singh made a breach in the wall of the fort and came out, the Rajah followed him, till at last he escaped into the jungle. In the 47th year the Rajah came to court according to orders and kissed the sublime threshold. In the 49th<sup>1</sup> year he received the rank of 5000 and the title of Rajah Bikramājīt. After the accession of Jahangir he was chief officer of the artillery and was ordered to collect 50,000 artillerymen (?) Fifteen<sup>2</sup> parganas were assigned in tankh wāh for the expenses. When the disturbance caused by Mozaffar Gujarati's sons<sup>3</sup> and the slaying of Yatīm Bahādūr in Gujarat were reported, he was sent there with a large force, and an order was given that he should appoint officers, from among those who appeared before him at Aḥmadabad, to the rank of yūzbāshī (centurion), or if they had held higher commands he was to report the circumstances in detail. The year of his death does not appear.<sup>4</sup>

#### (RAJAH) BIKRAMĀJĪT RAI RAYĀN.

He was a brahman, and his name was Sundar<sup>5</sup> Dās. He was a writer in the service of Prince Shah Jahan, and for his uprightness and zeal he was made Mīr Sāmān (major domo). On account of his high spirit and lofty nature he was raised from the pen to the sword. In the affair of the Rānā he attacked with a gallant army the country of the latter and devastated it, and killed many and made many prisoners. By his instrumentality the Rānā sub-

<sup>1</sup> Jahangir in the Tūzūk, p. 9, speaks of having conferred the title on him. His father, he says, had made him Rai Rayān. He was to collect 50,000 artillerymen (topcīs) and 3000 gun-carriages.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Price's Jahangir, 28. The Tūzūk, p. 10, does not mention the 15 parganas.

<sup>3</sup> The Tūzūk J. speaks of one son, and of the death of Yatīm Bahādūr in the first year. See p. 23. Yatīm is there called Pim. The Maasir has the variant Talīm. There

is no mention of Yūzbāshīs etc. in the authentic Tūzūk. Perhaps the permission to appoint yūzbāshīs was a consequence of the former order for collecting 50,000 gunners. The Mirāt Aḥmadi lith., p. 192, says Mozaffar Gujarati left two sons and two daughters.

<sup>4</sup> Jahangir, Tūzūk translation, p. 104, speaks of a son named Kalvān whom he severely punished.

<sup>5</sup> He was a native of Bandhū, i.e. Bānda, in the Allahabad Division. Tūzūk translation, 325.

mitted and waited upon the Prince. In return for this good service Rai Sundar Dās had an increase of rank, and the title of Rai Rayān. When the Prince left for the first time for the business of the Deccan he sent him along with Āfzal K. to give counsel to Ibrahim ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr. He transacted that affair in a proper manner and obtained fifteen lacs of rupīs of tribute. With two lacs of rupīs which ‘Ādil Shāh had given to himself he purchased at Goa a ruby weighing 7 *misgāls*, 5½ *surkhs*, and which was unrivalled for colour and water, and presented it to the Prince at the time of paying his respects. The Prince made it the head of his own present to his father, and the Rajah had an increase of rank and the title of Rajah<sup>1</sup> Bikramājīt, which is the highest honour in India. When in the end 1026 (1617) Gujarat was assigned to the Prince as his fief, the Rajah was appointed to the charge of it as his deputy. He led an army against the Jām and the Bihāra, who are the principal landholders of the province. The territory of the first of these is bounded on one side by Sorath, and on the other by the ocean. The other is on the seashore and marches with Scinde. Both landholders are men of substance, and who ever holds the properties is styled the Jām, and the Bihāra. Up to this time they had never waited upon any king. By the Rajah’s dexterity they became obedient, and did homage to Jahangir in Ahmadabad.

When Sūraj Mal, the son of Rajah Bāsū, who had been appointed to take the fort of Kāngra, became treacherous and rebellious, the Rajah was sent in the end of the 13th year with an army consisting of the Prince’s servants, and also of Jahangir’s, viz. Shahbāz K. Lodī and others, to take that inaccessible asylum, which no Delhi sovereign had hitherto thrown his lasso over. He first addressed himself to the putting down of Sūraj Mal. After a short struggle he put him to flight, and won the forts of Mau and Mahārī which was Sūraj Mal’s residence. In reward for this he was given drums. In the 16th year, 1029, 1620, he was sent to besiege Kāngra, the city of which is called Nagarkot. He pressed hard upon the besieged and in the beginning of 1030, 1621,

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<sup>1</sup> Tūzuk J. translation, p. 402.

they after a siege of fourteen months and odd days sued for quarter and surrendered the fort.

The fort is famous for its strength. It lies in the hill-country north of Lahore. The belief of the landholders of the Panjab is that no one but God knows when it was built. During all this time it had never passed out of the hands of one tribe. No stranger's hand had ruled over it. Among Muḥammadan Sultans, Sultan Fīrūz Shah went with all his grandeur to take it. When he found that this was impossible,<sup>1</sup> he had to be content with an interview with the Rajah of it, and to withdraw his hand. They say that the Rajah took the Sultan and a number of his followers inside the fort to a feast. The Sultan said to the Rajah that it was indiscreet to introduce him to the fort: if he and his followers were now to attack him, what could he do? The Rajah made a sign to his men, and immediately crowds upon crowds of armed men came out of ambushes. The Sultan became apprehensive, but the Rajah represented that nothing but obedience was in his mind, but still it was right to take precautions. No Delhi Sultan had ever succeeded after this in taking the fort.

Akbar, with all his appetite for conquest, and length of reign, did not succeed in taking Kāngra, though the country adjoined his dominions. Once when the Rajah of it had become an object of censure, Akbar made over the country to Rajah Birbar and appointed an army under Ḥusain Qulī K. Khān Jahān, the governor of the Panjab. While he was pressing the siege, there arose the rebellion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. The Khān Jahān was compelled to make peace with the Rajah and to go after Ibrāhīm. After that, Rajah Jai Chand, the lord of the fort, showed proper respect for the emperor by continually sending tribute, and doing homage.

In the beginning of the 26th year, 990, 1582, when Akbar was marching towards the Indus, he went to see the wonders of the temple of Nagarkot, which has from old time been a place of pilgrimage. At the first stage Rajah Jai Chand did homage.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Shams Sirāj's history, 188, the Rajah surrendered the fort. See also Elliot III, 317.

When Akbar halted for the night at the town of Desūha, which was in Rajah Bīr Bar's fief, the spiritual form,<sup>1</sup> of which strange stories are told, appeared to him in a dream. She rehearsed the greatness of the emperor, but warned him against his intention. In the morning he related his dream and turned back. His followers, who had been wearied by the difficulties of the road, and the ruggedness of the defiles, but had been afraid to make any remonstrance, were greatly delighted at his change of plan.

When Jahangir came to the throne he resolved to take Kāngra and in the first place sent Shaikh Farid Murtaẓa K., who was the governor of the Panjab, to take it. He died before he had accomplished the task, and Rajah Sūraj Mal was appointed to the undertaking. As everything has its appointed time, that scoundrel went the other way about. Meanwhile by the auspiciousness of the Prince the heir-apparent, and the excellent measures of Rajah Bikramājī, the long-standing knot was unloosed, and in the 16th year Jahangir visited the fort and introduced Muḥammadan rites there

The fort is situated on the top of a lofty hill, and has 23 bastions and 7 gates. Its inner circuit is one *kos* and 15 *ṭanābs*. Its length is a quarter *kos* and two *ṭanābs*, and the breadth is more than 22 *ṭanābs*, and less than 15. Its height is 114 cubits. There are two large tanks inside. The temple<sup>2</sup> of Mahāmāya is near the city, and is known as Durgā Bhavānī. It is regarded as a representative of the deity. Pilgrims come to it from a distance and obtain their hearts' desire. A strange thing is that in order to obtain their wishes they cut their tongues, and that some of them have their tongues restored in a few hours, and others, after one or two days. Though physicians regard the tongue as capable of regrowth, yet its restoration in so short a time is very extraordinary. In the legends they call the goddess Mahādev's wife (viz. Mahāmāya), and the learned of the sect represent his energy by this name.

They<sup>3</sup> say that on seeing the evil she had done (to her

<sup>1</sup> Taken from A: N. III. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from Ain, see Jarrett II. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett II. 313, n. 2.

husband) she committed suicide, and that her body fell in four places. Her head and some of her members fell towards Kām-rāj in the northern hills of Kashmīr, and this place is called Sārādā.<sup>1</sup> Other portions fell near Bijāpūr in the Deccan. That place is called Tuljā Bhavānī. The place to the eastward where portions fell is called Kāmākhyā. The place where portions remained on the original spot (of the suicide) is called Jālandharī. This is the place (near Kāngra), and near it flames burst out. Some places burn as if they were tallow, and this is called Jālāmukhī. It is visited by pilgrims, and they throw various things into the flame and draw favourable omens from this. On the top they have built a lofty dome, and there is a great assemblage of people. Apparently it is a sulphur mine, but the common people regard it as a miracle. Even Muhammadans gather there, and some of them take part in the spectacle.

Some say that when Mahādev's wife ended her life, he out of excessive grief carried the body about for a while. When the cohesion of the members was dissolved, portions fell in various places. They worship at each place in proportion to the dignity of the member that fell there. As the breast fell there (at Kāngra), that is regarded as the holiest of the places. Some say that a stone which the infidels used to worship was removed by the Muhammadans and thrown into the river. Afterwards a cheating brahman showed another stone as that one. Afterwards, the Rajah, either out of simplicity, or from cupidity—for much was obtained from offerings—set up this stone in the village. It is written in histories that when Sultan Firūz Shāh came to this neighbourhood he heard that the brahmans had from the time when Alexander Zūl-Qarnīn came there, set up an image of Naushāba and worshipped it. The Sultan took the image and sent it to Medina. It was cast into the highway in order that it might be trodden under foot. Ferishta<sup>2</sup> relates that there were in this temple 1300 books written by brahmans of old times. Sultan Firūz Shāh sent for the learned men of the sect and had portions translated. Out of these

<sup>1</sup> Text has an alif as the first letter, but the name is Sārada, or Shārada. See Jarrett l.c. For Tuljā Bhavānī see I.G. XXIV, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Newal Kishore's lithograph, Part I, p. 148.

abstracts 'Izzu-d-dīn Khālid Khānī who was a poet of the time—composed a book in verse on the science of omens, etc., and called it Dilā'il Firūz Shāhī. In truth, it contained much about practical and theoretical sciences.

When Rajah Bikramājī, after the taking of Kāngra, joined, with a well-equipped force, Shah Jahan in the 15th year, news came that the Deccan rulers had, on hearing that Jahangir had gone off to Kashmīr, become refractory, and extended their feet beyond their proper limits. Especially, Malik 'Ambar had done this, for he had taken possession of the territories of Ahmadnagar and Berar. The imperial servants, who were gathered together in Mahakar, had contended with the enemy, but from want of provisions had gone to Bālāpūr, where too they could not maintain themselves. They had gone to Burhānpūr and joined the Khān Khānān. The enemy had attacked the imperial dominion and besieged Burhānpūr. As the settlement of the troublous Deccan depended upon Shah Jahan, he went off there with the great officers in this year of 1030, 1621.

After Shah Jahan had reached Burhānpūr, five armies of 30,000 cavalry were dispatched to put down the rebels, under the command of Dārāb K., 'Abdullah K., Khawājā Abu-l-Ḥasan, Rajah Bikramājī, and Rajah Bhīm. Though Dārāb was nominally Commander-in-Chief, yet in reality the whole<sup>1</sup> management was in the hands of Rajah Bikramājī. The Rajah marched in eight days from Burhānpūr to Khirkī—which was the residence of Nizām Shah and Malik 'Ambar—and thoroughly destroyed that city. When Malik 'Ambar saw destruction in the mirror of his situation he approached the Rajah with representations of repentance and humility. It was agreed<sup>2</sup> that lands of the value of 14 krors of dāms out of the lands of the Deccan which remained in the possession of the Deccanīs should be given up, together with lands which were imperial property, to the imperialists, and that 50 lacs of rupis should be paid as tribute from the 'Ādil-shāhī and Qutbshāhīs, and that the Rajah should return with all the troops to the town of Tamarnī (?) and encamp there. The

<sup>1</sup> Khānī K., I. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Khānī K. I. 322.



Rajah in accordance with Shah Jahan's orders built near that town and on the bank of the river known as Kharak Pūrnā a very strong fort and called it Zāfrnagar. He spent the rainy season there.

When Shah Jahan had settled the Deccan, time played another game. The particulars are that when Nūr Jahān got complete sway and had control of political and financial matters, and nothing but the name of king remained to Jahangir, she fell athinking that if Jahangir's long illness ended in his death, the empire would become Shah Jahan's. Though he was perfectly friendly to her, how would he permit her to exercise all this power? Therefore she married the daughter that she had by Sherāfgan to Sultan Shahriyār, the youngest son of Jahangir, and set about patronizing him. She became hostile to Shah Jahan and turned Jahangir's feelings that way also. So he was sent for to court for the affair of Qandahar. When he came to Māndū he wrote to his father that on account of the mud and slush of Mālwa it was advisable to remain in Māndū till the end of the rains. As the Shah of Persia had to be opposed, it was necessary to collect equipments, and he asked that fort Ranthanbhūr might be assigned for the harem and for the families of the officers. Also that the province of Lahore, which was on the road to Qandahar, might be given to him in fief in order that he might have facilities for collecting provisions, etc. He also asked that until the termination of the expedition he might have the appointment and removal of officers.

The Begam, who was all powerful, represented these requests as improper and made Jahangir believe that the prince's design was to take possession of the empire. She so worked upon Jahangir that he assigned the Qandahar expedition to Shahriyār, and took away the fiefs that Shah Jahan had in Upper India, and summoned his officers to court. Though Jahangir perceived the evils of these orders he could not help doing what pleased the Begam. He did whatever she said. At last it came to fighting. On the one side Jahangir left Delhi, and on the other side the prince came to Bilūchpūr. There were only ten *kos* between them. The prince's confidants represented that things had got

beyond a peaceful settlement, Jahangir would not be quiet. The prince's army was better in quantity and quality than the emperor's, and they should engage. The prince replied that he could not behave so presumptuously, and in a way that was displeasing to both creature and Creator. If H.M. were defeated and he obtained the victory, what advantage would he get from such a sovereignty? And what pleasure would it give him? His only desire was that the evil advisers and stirrers up of strife might be punished.

At last it was arranged that the prince should turn aside to the left to a distance of 4 or 5 *kos* and halt in Koṭlah which is in Mewāt, and that three forces under the charge of Dārāb K., Rajah Bikramājī and Rajah Bhīm should attack and devastate the country round about the imperial camp, and so prevent the coming in of supplies. Possibly, this would lead to peace. When Āsaf K. on behalf of the king came in front of the prince's troops, with 'Abdullah K. in the vanguard, the latter had previously said that when an encounter took place, he would join the prince's troops. No one knew of this except the prince and the Rajah. 'Abdullah in accordance with the agreement urged on his horse, and the Rajah perceiving this went to Dārāb K. to inform him. Suddenly Nawāzish K., son of S'aid K. Chaghatai—who was in the imperial vanguard—thought that 'Abdullah was making a charge. He too urged on his horse and his contingent. He fell in with the Rajah who was coming back with four or five men from seeing Dārāb. He hastened to oppose. Before assistance came up a bullet struck his temple and he gave up the ghost. Both sides withdrew from fighting and returned to their own place. The Rajah had attained the rank of 5000 personal and horse, and there was no greater officer than he in the prince's service. His brother Kunhar Dās was his deputy in Aḥmadabad.

#### (RAJAH) BĪR BAHĀDUR.

Son of Bahroji Sirkār (?), which is a section of the tribe of Dhangar. His ancestors lived in the neighbourhood of Anagundi<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vijaynagar or Hampi in the Bellary district.

on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and which was formerly a seat of kings. It chanced that they had to move from there and come and dwell in villages near Bijapur. Bahroji in consequence of his connections with Nima<sup>1</sup> Rajah Sindiah—who had obtained an important office and extensive fiefs—received in the time of Nizāmul-mulk Āṣaf Jāh a suitable office and the fief of pargana Palam in the province of Bidar, and entered into service. When he died, Akāji his eldest son took his place and gradually attained to the rank of 7000 and the title of Rajah Bīr Bahādur, and got additional fiefs. In 1190, 1776, he died. He was acquainted with the Persian tongue and was skilled in poetry, and in *duhara* (dohra), which is an expression for rhyme in the language of the men of the Duāb. After him his son Sadharm and his nephews divided the hereditary properties, and continued in service. (Q)

#### (RAJAH) BĪRBAR.<sup>2</sup>

His name was Mohesh Dās, and he was a brahman and a bard (*bādjarosh*). In Hindī such a person is called a Bhāt. This set of men are the panegyrists of the wealthy. Though Mohesh Dās was without means and was in distressed circumstances, yet he was a congeries of eloquence and understanding. By his abilities he became a favourite with his contemporaries, and when by his good fortune he entered into Akbar's service, he became by his wit and humour one of the favourite companions, and gradually took the lead of all the other intimates. As he was skilled in the composition of Hindī verses, he received the title of Kab Rai, which resembles the phrase *Maliku-sh'aara* (king of poets). When in the 18th year the king was displeased with Rajah Jai Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, and imprisoned him, his son Budh Cand, who was young in years, assumed the position of his father's representative and entered on the path of rebellion. The king presented the territory to Kab Rai, who had a fief there, and issued an order to Husain Quli K., the Khān Jahān and governor of the Panjab, to the effect

<sup>1</sup> Text *Timā*. But the word is Nima. It seems to be a family name and is used by Tod in his *Annals of Meywār*. Khāfi K. has the word

several times in his second volume; in the Bib. Ind. ed. it is written Nibā.

<sup>2</sup> B. 404.

that he should march there with the officers of the province and take Nagarkot from Budh Cand and give it to Kab Rai. He also conferred on the latter the title of Rajah Birbar, i.e. the brave Rajah, and sent him off there.

When the Rajah came to Lahore, Husain Quli K. and the fief-holders led an army against Nagarkot and besieged it. By chance, just when the garrison had got into difficulties, the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Husain M. broke out, and as the suppression of it became the pressing work of the hour, the taking of the fort had to be put off. On the recommendation of the Rajah, Husain Quli had to be content with receiving a tribute of five *mans* of gold from Budh Cand, with reciting the *khutba* and having coins struck in Akbar's name, and with laying the foundation of a mosque in front of the gate of the fort of Kāngra. When in the 30th year 994, 1586, Zain K. Koka was appointed to chastise the Yūsuf-zai—who are a large tribe in the hill-country of Bajaur and Swād—he after ravaging Bajaur came to Swād, which lies to the north of Peshawar and east of Bajaur, and is forty *kos* long and 5 to 15 *kos* broad, and has 40,000 householders, and punished it.

As the army was wearied out by traversing the defiles, he asked the king for reinforcements. S. Abu-l-faḍl in his zeal and devotion begged to be placed on this service, and Akbar cast lots between him and Rajah Birbar. As it happened, the dice gave the name of the Rajah. After he was appointed, Akbar, out of caution, sent after him an army under the charge of Ḥakīm Abū-l-faṭḥ. When both leaders had entered the hill-country, although there was a dislike between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, the former prepared a feast and invited the new arrivals. The Rajah displayed resentment and ill humour. The Koka exercised self-restraint and went to see the Rajah, but when they consulted together, the Rajah, who was also previously on bad terms with the Ḥakīm, spoke with flippancy and rudeness, and ended with contumely and abuse.

In fine, the mist of dissension arose between them, and each, from envy, tried to discredit the other's opinion. At last, on account of presumption and discord it came to their entering the defile of Balandī without proper arrangements. The Afghans

overwhelmed them from every side with stones and arrows. In the confusion, men, horses and elephants got mixed, and a large number of men lost their lives. Next day they made an ill-concerted march, and in the darkness they got entangled in defiles, and many were killed. Rajah Bīrbar also fell.

They say that when they came to Karākar some one said to the Rajah that the Afghans intended to make a night-attack, and that if he could get through the defile—which was less than three or four *kos* long—the danger of the night-attack would be at an end. The Rajah without informing Zain-K. Koka, started off at the end of the day, and the whole army followed him, and what was to happen, happened. A great defeat befel the royal army, and nearly 8000 men with some officers and notables were killed in those two days. Though the Rajah tried all he could to get out, he was killed.

Whenever any one in his ingratitude and incognition of what is right treads the path of calumny instead of rendering thanks, he soon is pierced by the thornbrake of the results of his actions. They say that the Rajah whilst traversing these mountains was continually frowning in his heart and his brow, and would say to his confidants that the times seemed out of joint that he should have to accompany the Ḥakīm and assist the Koka in traversing hills and deserts. What would be the end of it all? He did not perceive that the furtherance of his master's projects and the carrying out of his commands was the main thing and the source of good. Though it might be a cause of dissatisfaction, it was evident that Zain Khān, on account of his fosterage and rank, was the superior, and that the Rajah had only latterly attained the rank of 2000. But his presumption was caused by his companionship and intimacy with the king.

They say that on receiving the news of Bīrbar's death, Akbar refrained for two days from eating and drinking, and the letter of sorrow which he wrote to the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, and which appears among S. Abul-fazl's letters, shows what a place the Rajah had in the king's heart, and how close his connection with him was. Accordingly, after expressions of praise, and mention of his loyalty, he says, "Alas, a thousand times, that the wine

of this wine-cellar has become lees, and that this sugarcane has become poison. The world is a deceiving and thirst-producing mirage, and a station full of heights and hollows. Crapulousness follows the drinking at this feast. Some obstacles have prevented me from seeing the body with my own eyes so that I might testify my love and affection for him."

*Verse.*

"What heart is there that bleeds not for this sorrow,  
Whose eyes are not blood-shot from this grief?"

In fine, Rajah Bīrbar was among the singular of the age for liberality and generosity, and was famed for his gifts. He had perfect skill in music. His poetry and distiches<sup>1</sup> are well known. His *takhallaṣ* was Baramba<sup>2</sup> (?) His eldest son<sup>3</sup> had the name of Lāla, and he received a suitable *manṣab*. Owing to bad behaviour and self-indulgence he exceeded his income. When this was not increased, he took into his head to live in a free and easy manner, and in the 46th year he obtained permission to leave the court.

(RAJAH)<sup>4</sup> BIR SINGH DEO BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Madhukar. From the first he joined the service of Prince Sultan Selīm, and attached himself to his fortunes. When he showed audacity in slaying Abu-l-faḍl, Akbar repeatedly sent troops against him. In the 50th year it was reported that he with a few followers had gone off to the wilds, and that the royal troops were pursuing him. When Jahangir came to the throne,

<sup>1</sup> Text *duhaza*, but should be *dohara* or *dohra*.

<sup>2</sup> The Darbār A. 295 says that many people say his *takhallaṣ* was Burhiya. Badayūnī, Lowe, 164 nas Brahman Dās, but the Persian text II. 161 has Bīrham Dās, and it may be noted that a section of the Bhāts is called Bīrmbhāt. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, L. 18. The editors of the *Maasir* give the variant *Barhana* "naked."

<sup>3</sup> There was another son, Har Har Rai, who is mentioned in the 48th year, A. N. III. 820, as having brought a letter from Prince Daniel from the Deccan. There is a long notice of Bīrbar in Darbār Akbarī, p. 295 *et seq.*, and there is also a Hindustani pamphlet about him. It seems that he was a native of Kālpi. There is a tradition that his daughter was one of Akbar's wives.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann 488, etc.

Bir Singh Deo was raised in the first year to the rank of 3000. In the 3rd year he was appointed with Mahābat Khān in the affair of the Rānā, and received a *khilat* and a horse. In the 4th year he went with Khān Jahān to the Deccan, and in the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2200 horse. In the 8th year he hastened from the Deccan to join Sultan Khurram, who had been appointed to chastise Rānā Amr Singh, and again came to the Deccan. In the 14th year, when the prince aforesaid went to the Deccan, he distinguished himself in battle with the Deccanis, when he had under him 2 or 3000 cavalry and 5000 infantry. When a disagreement occurred between Jahangir and Sultan Khurram (Shah Jahan) Bir Singh came to court with a well-equipped force, and in the 18th year accompanied Sultan Parvez in his pursuit of Sultan Khurram.

When in the end of Jahangir's reign, things assumed a different aspect, and there was much intriguing, Bir Singh, with the help of bribery extended his power over the estates of the neighbouring zamindars and acquired a wide and fertile territory. He acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajahs of India had attained to. In the 22nd year, corresponding to 1036, 1627, he died. The idol-temple in Mathurā which was converted (?) by Aurangzeb into a mosque was built by him. As Jahangir had been impressed<sup>1</sup> by his good service, he, from indifference, preferred pleasing this villain to observing the glorious Law, and gave him permission for building this idol-temple of a wretched religion. He spent thirty-three lacs in making it strong, and especially in decoration and ornamentation.<sup>2</sup> He also made in Undcha (Orchha) lofty buildings which for size and ornamentation surpass all others. Especially there is an idol-temple by the side of his palace which is very lofty and grand. A large amount of money was spent on it. There are the tank Shersāgar, which has a circumference of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  royal *kos*, and the tank of Samandarsāgar, which is twenty *kos*

<sup>1</sup> The good service was the killing of Abul Faḡl. See Maasir A. 95, 96 for an account of the building of the mosque.

<sup>2</sup> *Parkārī*, or *purkārī*. Perhaps the

word refers to the filling of the temple with idols. The account of the destruction of the temple is taken from the Maasir A. 95.

round, in the pargana of Mathurā.<sup>1</sup> In this estate there are nearly 300 large tanks. He had many sons. Among them were Jujhār Singh and Pahār Singh, of both of whom accounts have been given.

### BIYĀN K.

He was a Fārūqī Shaikh and like the Fārūqīs of Khandesh he was styled Khān. He attained to the rank of 2500, and held a fief in the Deccan, and entered into service. He had the manners of a dervish, and his disciples speak of his extraordinary customs. He had an old friendship with Saiyid 'Abdullah K. Quṭbu-l-mulk (the Bārha Saiyid). When in the year 1129, 1717, the Amīru-l-umarā Husain 'Alī K. proceeded from the Deccan towards Delhi in order to seize Farrukh Siyar, he was ill, and in the year 1130, 1718, he died and was buried in his own abode in the quarter of Fāzilpūra in the city of Aurangabad. His eldest son obtained his title. His second son Muḥammad Murtaẓa K. gained high rank and was made governor of the fort of Bidar. He was a pious man and one contented with fate. He was a good friend. He died in 1189, 1775, and is buried outside Haidarabad near the Fath gate. (Q)

### BURHĀNU-L-MULK S'ĀĀDAT K.

His name was Muḥammad Amīn, and he belonged to the Mūsavī Saiyids of Nishāpūr. At first he had the rank of 1000

<sup>1</sup> This must be a pargana in Bandelkhand. In the history of Bandelkhand, A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 114, it is stated that Bir Singh constructed the tanks of Bir Sāgar and Barwa Sagar, and many others, in all 52. Bir Sāgar is in Orcha, 12 m. S.S.E. Orcha, and Barwa Sagar is 12 m. E. Jhansi. It seems probable that the Mathurā of text is a mistake for Maraura which is a pargana of Jhānsī. Mr. Silberrad mentions a pargana Moth in Jhānsī which may be what is meant. Bir Singh built a great palace at Datia, id. 114. The temple which Bir Singh built in Mathurā and which Aurangzeb destroyed in 1070, Maasir

A. 96, has been described by Taverniere, II, p. 403, Chap. XII. It seems to me that Taverniere's description applies better to the temple of Govind Das in Brindāban. He seems to speak of it as an old temple, and not one less than 50 years old. It was dedicated to Kesava Deva (Krishna). See Growse's Memoir on Mathugā, pp. 37 and 127. The site is now occupied by Aurangzeb's mosque, Growse, id. 127. The Maasir A. calls it the temple of Keshav Rai. It would seem that some of the idols were saved and taken to Nāthdwāra in Meywār, Growse, 130. Possibly Mathurā in text is a mistake for Jhatra or Chatra.



and was enrolled among the Wālā Shāhīs (household cavalry) of Farrukh Siyar. After the accession of the latter he was, by the instrumentality of Muḥammad Ja'afar,—who then had the title of Taqarrīb K. and was Khānsāmān, and in the beginning of the reign was, when there was a famine, also made in addition *krorī* of the market (*ganj*).—made his deputy-*krorī*. Afterwards he was made *ṣawjdār* of Hindaun Bīāna—which is a turbulent place—and obtained a name for energy by his chastisement of the contumacious and seditious there. He received an increase of 500. When Agra became the encampment of Muḥammad Shah, he came there and joined him with a good force. Together with Muḥammad Amīn K. Bahādūr he was an important sharer in the killing of Ḥusain Alī K., and in the subsequent commotion of Ghairat K. and other friends of Ḥusain 'Alī he fought and distinguished himself. As a reward he received the rank of 5000, 5000 horse and the title of Bahādūr, and the grant of a flag and a drum. Afterwards in the battle between Muḥammad Shah and Sultan Ibrāhīm,<sup>1</sup> eldest son of Sultan Rafi'u-sh-shān, whom Qutb-ul-Mulk (Saiyid Abdullah the elder of the Bārha brothers) had raised up (as emperor), after the assassination of Ḥusain 'Alī, Burhanu-l-Mulk was a leader and fought well. After the victory he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse and had the title of Burhānu-l-Mulk Bahādūr Bahadur Jang and was made Subahdār of the capital (Agra). When Cūrāman Jāt, who had been one of those brought forward by the Saiyids of Bārha, was killed<sup>2</sup> in this battle by the imperialists, and his sons had strengthened their forts and raised the head of arrogance, Burhānu-l-Mulk was appointed to chastise them. But as they had thick jungles and

<sup>1</sup> See Siyāru l-Mutākherīn (reprint) I. 186. Burhān received the insignia of the Fish for his conduct in this battle. Sultan Ibrāhīm's title apparently was Rafi'u-l-Qadr. See Scott's History of the Deccan II. 179. The Hādīqau-l-Aqālīm, p. 384, says he was made governor of Agra in 1101, 1690 (but there must be a mistake in the figures here) and that he was made

governor of Oudh in succession to Rajah Girdhar.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this statement is due to wrong pointing of the text. In the notice of Churāman I. 545, it is not said that he was killed in the battle, and though Beale says he was, the statement seems incorrect. See Elliot VIII. 360.

strong keeps, they were not punished as they deserved. Afterwards he was removed from his *ṣubahdārī* and made *darogha* of the Headquarters' artillery—to which a daily salary was annexed (?)—in addition to the government of Oudh.<sup>1</sup> He became renowned in that province for having a large army and park of artillery and from his binding and killing the rebellious. In the 21st year of Muḥammad Shah, corresponding to 1151, 1739, when Nādir Shah came to India and the emperor went to Karnāl to engage him, Burhānu-l-Mulk had fallen behind, but by long marches he brought himself on. As his baggage was behind and on the road, the Persian army, on learning this, made a rapid movement and fell on it. As soon as Burhānu-l-Mulk heard of this, he, in spite of the prohibition of the emperor and his advisers, acted hastily and went off to fight with the Persians with the force that he had with him. They turned back and he went in pursuit, and then they joined with other troops and turned round and assailed him. He was wounded, and by chance the elephant of Niṣār Muḥammad K. Sher Jang his brother's son was *mast* and ran at his elephant, and drove it into the Persian army. There was no means of stopping him so that Burhānu-l-Mulk was made prisoner. After<sup>2</sup> that he became an opportunist and impressed upon Nādir Shah the weakness of Muḥammad Shah, and it was agreed that he should cause the giving of a large sum from the capital. After that an arrangement was made between Nādir Shah and Muḥammad Shah, and Burhānu-l-Mulk was ordered to go with Tahmāsp K. Jalair to Delhi. Accordingly he hastened there and arranged a lodging for the Shah in the fort. On 9 Zi'l-hajja, 9th March 1739, both kings came to the city and on the night of the 10th, 1151, 10th March, Burhānu-l-Mulk<sup>3</sup> died of his former wounds. In

<sup>1</sup> *Topkhāna-i-Ḥaḡūr*. Probably this has the same meaning as the phrase *topkhāna-i rikāb*, for which see Irvine's *Army of the Moghuls*, p. 134. "Apparently both phrases meant the light artillery which attended on the emperor. The original of the words "to which a daily salary is annexed" is *ke rāz kalab mokarrarī ast*. I presume

that the words refer to the office of superintendent of the artillery and not to the government of Oudh.

<sup>2</sup> The *Siyār M.* says he became disgusted by hearing that he had been superseded, id. I. 313.

<sup>3</sup> See Beale, s.v. S'ādat K., where some additional particulars are given. He was the son of M. Nāṣir and was

fact, he was an energetic officer and was bold and good to the people. He left no sons. His daughter was married to Abu-l-Manşūr K. (Şafdar Jang). A separate notice of him has been given.

### BUZURG UMED KHĀN.

Son of Shaista K.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign he was raised to a suitable *mansab* and was appointed, along with his father, to obstruct Sulaiman Shikoh who wanted to cross the Ganges and join Dārā Shikoh (his father). Afterwards he got the title of Khān and in the first year of the reign, when the imperial army, after defeating Shujā', proceeded to Ajmere to confront Dārā Shikoh, he came with his father from the capital and gained the bliss of service. In the 7th year he had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse, and in the 8th year, when the port of Chittagong was conquered<sup>2</sup> by his efforts, he obtained the rank of 1500 with 900 horse. Chittagong is on the borders and is contiguous to the territory of the zamindar of Arracan who belongs to the Magh tribe. The subjects of that zamindar were always attacking the imperial possessions when they had an opportunity, and committing plunder and carrying off prisoners. After Chittagong was

originally a merchant. See also Elphinstone. Sir Henry Lawrence, in an article on Oudh in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845, denies that he was ever a merchant. The *Siyar-i-Mutā-kherin* says nothing about Būrhan's being wounded or of his dying of his wounds. It speaks of him as Saadat K. and says he died of a cancer in his foot, I. 316. There are several notices of Burhānu-l-Mulk in Elliot VIII. There is also an account of him in the *Hadiqau-l-Aqālim* under the article *Niahāpūr*, p. 383 of Newal Kishore's lithograph. It says he began his career as a servant of Mubārizu-l-Mulk Sirbaland K.

<sup>1</sup> Kewal Rām says he was the third son.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān II. 188. A large *pargana* in the Bakarganj district is

named Buzurgumedpur. The fullest account of the taking of Chittagong is in the *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 940, etc. A Captain Moore\* (?) is mentioned in connection with the victory, pp. 948 and 952. Chittagong was taken in 1665. There is a translation of the *Ālamgirnāma* account of the taking of Chittagong in the translation of the *Riyāṣu-s-salātīn*, p. 228, etc.

\* Captain Moore, as my friend Mr. Irvine has suggested to me, is probably Captain Mor, i.e. Chief Captain. See Danvers' *Portuguese in India*, II. 371, where it is mentioned as a title of Francisco Pereira da Silva. Buzurg Umed took Chittagong in January 1666. See two valuable articles by Jadu Nath Sarkār in *A.S.B.J.* for June 1906, p. 257, and June 1907, p. 405.

conquered, it was included in Bengal. In the 30th year he was made governor of Allahabad in succession to Himmat K., the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh. Afterwards, he was made governor of Bihar. In the 30th year corresponding to 1105, 1694, he died. They say he was of a very haughty disposition. Musavi<sup>1</sup> K. Mīrzā Mu'izz whose pen-name was Fītrat, and who was the son-in-law of Shah Niwāz K. Šafavi, and was a learned man and a good poet, was made diwar of Bihar during Buzurg Umed's governorship, and went there. On the day of his first interview, as there was a small water-basin in the portico of the governor's house and it had running water, the Mirza without thinking put his hands into it, and rinsed his mouth once or twice. The governor was offended at this uncouth proceeding and reported against him to the Presence, and to gratify him Musavi was removed from his appointment.

#### (RAJAH) CABĪLA<sup>2</sup> RĀM NĀGAR.

The Nāgar is a branch of the Brahman caste, and they chiefly live in Gujarat. Cabila Rām was the brother of Dayā Rām, and both were revenue-servants on the establishment of Sultan Aẓimu-sh-shān. Dayā Rām, after some time, died, and Cabila Rām became faujdār of Karra-Jahānābād. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, in order to claim the sovereignty and to fight with his uncle Jahāndār Shah, marched from Patna, Cabila Ram first<sup>3</sup> joined with Sultan A'zzu-d-dīn, the son of Jahāndār Shah, and afterwards he came with some lacs of rupees from the collections of his t'ālūqs and with a suitable force and joined Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. In the battle he was opposed to Kokaltāsh K. and did good service, and after the victory he received the rank of 5000, the title of Rajah and the office of Diwan of the Khālṣa. As this post, which is subordinate to the viziership, was given him without the approval of Quṭbu-l-mulk the vizier (Saiyid 'Abdullah), it became a cause of disagreement between the king

<sup>1</sup> For Mūsavi's biography see III. 633. See also Sprenger's Cat. 109 and 408. He died in 1106. The *Taz-kira Ḥusainī* 253 has a short notice of him.

<sup>2</sup> Caplain text. See Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 156 and note.

<sup>3</sup> See Irvine, A.S.B.J. for 1896, 185, etc.

and the vizier, and there were long arguments between them about it. At last he received the government of the capital, and afterwards he was made governor of Allahabad, and went off there. In the beginning of the reign of Ratiu'-darjāt when seditious men raised to the sovereignty in Agra Nekū Siyar the son of Sultan Muḥammad Akbar, it was reported that Cabīla Rām wished to join him. But as he was on bad terms with the zamindar of his own province he could not arrive. After Nekū Siyar had been got hold of, Ḥusain 'Alī K. sought to punish Cabīla Rām. Before he set out, Cabīla Rām suddenly died in the first year of Muḥammad Shah's reign, corresponding to 1131, 1719. After him his brother's son Girdhar, who was the son of Dayā Bahādur, and was called his chief swordsman (Mīr Shamsher) attended to the collecting of troops and the putting in order of the fortifications of Allahabad. Though an army was sent against him, under the command of Ḥaidar Qulī K., yet at last, by the mediation of Rajah Ratan Cand, he received the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse, the title of Rajah Girdhar Bahādur, and the charge of the province of Oudh, and went off there. When the Saiyid's downfall arrived, he came from Oudh to court and did homage. In the 7th year he was made governor of Mālwa in succession to Aṣāf Jāh, and in the 9th year when Holkar came to Mālwa from the Deccan and stirred up strife, he opposed him and was killed in 1139, 1727. Till the arrival of another governor his sons took charge of the defence of the city of Ujjain.

(KHĀN<sup>1</sup> 'ALAM) CALMA BEG.

He was the son of Hamdam Koka, the foster-brother of M. Kāmran. By his fortunate horoscope he became a favourite with Humāyūn and was made his table-attendant. When in the year 960, 1553, Kāmran was blinded, he made from the bank of the Indus the request to go to the Hijāz. Humāyūn went with a number of his intimates to take leave of him. The Mirzā after paying his respects recited this verse.

<sup>1</sup> B. 375, 378, and Bada'yūnī III, 285, who calls him M. Barkhūrdār-

But this title seems to belong to another Khān 'Ālam. B. 512.

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky  
 When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse rose to his lips—

Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,  
 Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

The king, who was a world of compassion and gentleness, showed sympathy, and bade him adieu. Next day he ordered that all his servants who wished to do so were permitted to accompany the Mirzā. No one volunteered. Those who had boasted of their love for him abandoned him. Humāyūn said to Calma Beg Koka who was attached to his court: "Will you go with him or will you stay with me?" He, though he was in service at the court and enjoyed the king's favour, preferred fidelity to temporal pleasure, and said, "I see that it is right for me that I, at this dark time and clouded nights of solitude, should be in the Mirzā's service." Humāyūn highly approved of his fidelity and gave him leave, and made over to him the money and effects which had been settled upon for the Mirzā, and sent him to the Mirzā. When the Mirzā died, Calma Beg obtained his desire of serving Akbar, and soon attained to the rank of 3000 and got the title of Khān 'Ālam.

When in the 19th year Akbar, at the request of the Khān-khānān, who had been besieging Dāūd Karārānī who had hoisted the flag of claim to the countries of Bihar and Bengal, came to that neighbourhood and perceived that the taking of Hājipur, which is a fort over against Patna, while between them there rolls with great violence the Ganges with a breadth of about two kos, was necessary to the conquest of Patna, he appointed a force under the command of the Khān 'Ālam to go by boat. He went up stream towards the Gandak, and in spite of a rain of cannon from the fort he disembarked and entered on the arena. Many of the enemy were killed in that man-testing fight, and the fort

<sup>1</sup> See A.N. translation I, 806. The first couplet is imitated from the *Gulistan*, III. 19.

was taken. The Khān 'Ālam was the object of thousands of thanks and praises. When in the same year Bengal, which was in Dāūd's possession, was conquered without a battle, and Dāūd went to Orissa and there displayed arrogance, the Khān-khānān went to extirpate him, with the Khān 'Ālam in the vanguard. On 20 Zī-l-q'ada 982, 3rd March 1575, there was an engagement at Takrūī (Tukaroi), a dependency of Orissa. The Khān 'Ālam, on account of being in the prime of life and of his excessive courage, dropped the thread of deliberation, and galloped too far. A body of archers exerted themselves against him. The Khān-khānān got angry at this recklessness and spoke roughly and made him turn back. His men had not been properly drawn up when Gujār K., who was the head of the hostile army, and whose swift elephants had their heads, necks and trunks dressed up with black Yāk tails and the skins of wild beasts so as to inspire terror, arrived. The horses of the imperial vanguard were frightened at this extraordinary spectacle and fled. The Khān 'Ālam, who was mounted on a veteran horse, remained firm and behaved with courage and slew many of the foe. Suddenly his horse reared on account of a sword-cut and Khān 'Ālam was thrown. He quickly remounted, and then a *mast* elephant came and flung him to the ground. The Afghans crowded round him and finished him. They say that before the battle he said, "Something tells me that I shall yield up my life in this engagement. I am confident that my devotion will be told to the king." He had a poetical vein and wrote poetry. Hamdamī was his pen-nome. This verse is famous.

*Quatrain.*<sup>1</sup>

O thou, why ruin your white beard,  
 You pull out white hairs one by one, but the whole shows  
 (white).  
 You surrendered your youth to folly,  
 It boots not now to pluck out your beard.

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<sup>1</sup> These lines may remind us of the famous verse of Rochester which Goethe and Jowett used to quote.

## (RAJAH) CANDAR SEN.

He belonged to the Mahratta tribe and had the title of Jādūn. His father Dhanāji Jādūn was one of the influential leaders who accompanied Sambhā Bhonsla. He was always attacking and plundering countries with a large force. Accordingly, his name is mentioned in the notice of Rajah Sāhū Bhonsla. After him, Candar Sen obtained great influence among the Mahrattas. For some reason he became discontented, and in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, he, on the recommendation of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āsaf Jāh,—who had become governor of the Deccan for the first time,—entered the royal service and obtained the rank of 7000 together with Bhālki and other estates in Bīdar. He served with 4000 horse. In the Panemahala<sup>1</sup> t'alūq—which is an expression for the parganas of Angūr (?) Maknahal, Amarcatiya, Karicor and Ūdmān, which are five estates in Sarkār Mozaffarnagar *alias* Mulkhair in the province of Muḥammadābād Bīdar, which were in his fief—three *kos* from the river Kishna—he built a small fort on the top of a little hill and gave it the name of Candargah. Āsaf Jāh had much consideration for him. After his death, in 1156, 1743, his son Rajah Rām Cand took his place, and had the rank of 7000 and the title of Maḥarajah. But on account of his addiction to wine, and neglect of business, his soldiers were always in want of their pay. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang most of his estates were resumed on account of his injustice, and again for some reason they were restored. Sometimes he applied himself to service and sometimes he neglected his duties. In the time of the heir-apparency of Nizāmu-d-daula Āsaf Jāh—when the army of Islam had entered the Mahratta country, and there was daily fighting—he colluded with them and at night went off with a body of troops. As he was of a changeable disposition, and wicked, and was devoid of understanding, he did not acquire their confidence either, and after some time was imprisoned in Daulatabad. By the mediation of some persons he was released and after expressing repentance for his crimes he came before Nizāmu-d-daula

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Panemahal of the I.G. This Panemahala lay in Bīdar and west of Hyderabad.



Āṣaf Jāh. He was confirmed in his rank and fief. When at last he did improper actions, confidence in him was lost and Āṣaf Jāh put him under surveillance and shut him up in the fort of Golconda. There he died. He left two sons who obtained a small fief out of the hereditary possessions.

(MIRZA) CĪN<sup>1</sup> QULĪJ.

Son of M. Qulij Muḥammad K. of Akbar's time. He was learned and excellent. He studied under Mullā Mustāfa of Jaunpūr, and read the current books. He was adorned with many good qualities, and was very liberal. Nor was he wanting in courage and greatness of heart. He advanced far in administrative matters and for a long time was faujdār of Jaunpūr and Benares. They say that he was skilful in entertaining, and that his assemblies were so delightful that they inspired desire to centenarian ascetics when they beheld them. When his father died in the reign of Jahangir, his younger brother M. Lahorī,<sup>2</sup> who was his father's favourite and had been brought up with excessive kindness, but whose disposition was enough to leaven a whole world with petulance and turmoil, and whose navel-strings had been cut in devilry, joined him. No long time had elapsed before his disordered brain had made him stretch out his hand against the king's territory. In Jaunpūr he raised the head of presumption, and became notorious for sedition. So far was this that M. Cīn Qulij was killed in consequence of his wickedness, and his property confiscated. They say that it took the clerks a whole year to make out lists of his property.

In the year 1022, 1613, when Jahangir was in Ajmere, Mullā Mustāfa, who was one of the learned men of Jaunpūr, was summoned to the presence with the intention of censuring him for his teaching of the Mīrzā. Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta was the spiritual teacher of Āṣaf Khān,<sup>3</sup> and on account of the profundity of his learning was an intimate friend of that noble Khān. He

<sup>1</sup> B. 500, Tūẓuk J. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Qu. The Mīrzā of Lahore.

<sup>3</sup> Text Jāh. He was Abul Ḥasan.

elder brother of Nūr Jahān, and Sh. Jahan's father-in-law. B. 369. Mullā Muḥammad, see Maasir III. 34.

entered into disputations with the Mullā and carried them on for a week without interruption. When he became acquainted with Mullā Mustāfa's erudition, he interceded for him and saved him from calamity. The Mullā resolved to go to Mecca, and after that he went to his native country and died.

M. Lahorī was a terrible specimen of the Divine Wrath, and full of wickedness. He had no good quality. He was a hideous lump of flesh, and his pleasure was confined to hearing the sound of the whip. It was necessary that he should hear it all day long. He never paused for an instant in his ill-treatment of God's people. He used to bury his servants alive that they might bring him tidings of Munkir and Nakīr! When they opened the grave afterwards, the victim was found dead. In the lanes and the bazaar he rode over men's shoulders, and on account of his father's high position no one ventured to complain. When his father was governor of Lahore he one day heard there was a wedding in a Hindu's house, and he went there and carried off the bride by force. Whenever her kinsfolk complained to the father, he, in spite of his learning and piety, which made him regard himself as the *itāhid* of the time, was so overcome with fatherly affection that the reply he gave was that "it is just as if you had made a good connection with us." When M. Cīn Qulij was involved in his wickedness, M. Lahorī was seized and brought to court. He was imprisoned for a long time. At last he was released and received a daily allowance. He lived at foot of the *Darsan* (window) of Agra on the bank of the Jumna and kept a number of pigeons. He lived by begging and passed his time in misery and suffered the retribution of his evil deeds until he died.

Of the sons and relatives of Qulij<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad K. there were M. Cīn Qulij, Qulij Ullah, Bālājū Qulij, Bairām Qulij, and Jān Qulij. Most of them had suitable appointments.

<sup>1</sup> Cīn Qulij's father. See B. 354, and 501, and Tūzuk J. 148, where, as remarked by B., the story is told differently. The account of M. Lahorī's character is borne out by Father Pinheiro's letter quoted by General

MacLagan, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 99. Pinheiro says that one of Qulij K.'s sons (doubtless M. Lahorī) ordered a man who was going through the bazaar to be hung merely that he might see how it was done!

CŪRĀMAN<sup>1</sup> JĀT.

The Jāts are a proud and seditious tribe. Plotting is their profession and their hearts are stony. Though they live in the land of Pannah<sup>2</sup> under the pretext of being agriculturists, and have populous habitations and strong<sup>3</sup> forts, yet they have always practised thieving and robbery from the environs of Agra to the borders of the province of Delhi. Repeatedly have the imperial *faujdārs* become the victims of those rioters and have thrown away the coin of their lives. For instance, in the time of Shah Jahan, Murshid<sup>4</sup> Quli K. Turkmān, the *faujdār* of Mathurā, Mahāban and the Kumaon hills, was killed by a musket-shot while attacking one of the strong villages of that country. Those banditti have often been chastised by the imperial troops, and have given their honour and their lives to the winds of destruction. But after some time one of the tribe again raised the hand of violence from out of the skirt of sedition and reared the standards of insolence by plundering the highways. In the time of

<sup>1</sup> The author treats c and j as the same letter.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarzamīn-i-panā*. A variant gives Patna, and M. Ālamgīrī, p. 93, 2nd last line, has sarzamīn-i-Patna. The Jāts belonged neither to Patna in Bihar nor to Pannah in Central India, and it is clear from the passage in the M. Ālamgīrī that some place near Mathurā and in or near pargana Sa'idābād in that district is meant, and it is also clear that that passage is the source of the statement in the text. I have examined two MSS. of the Maasir Ālamgīrī and also two MSS. of the Maasir-i-Umarā, in the B. M., but they do not altogether clear up the difficulty. What they seem to have is Battiah, or Bettiah or Battih. Lieut. Perkins, who translated the Maasir Ālamgīrī for Sir Henry Elliot, has Tabia, but I can find no such place, and I think it is clear that the first letter is a P. or a B. The Maasir A. says that the Kōkila Jāt was a leading

man of the village in question and that he was the cause of the killing of 'Abdu-n-nabī and of the devastation of pargana Sa'idābād. Now 'Abdu-n-nabī was killed at Sahora, a village of the Mahābah pargana, Growse, pp. 36 and 151. See also Maasir A. 83 where it is written Sora or Sahora. Possibly the word intended is pattī, a village or share, for there are many pattis in Mathurā: see Growse, p. 340. It is also possible that the word is Mathurā, there being not much difference in Persian writing between متهرا and پتھرا. It may be noted here that Cūrāman was the son of Bhajja.

Text, *raṣīh*, but *raṣīna* seems to be the true reading.

<sup>4</sup> Bādshāhnāma II. 7 and K. K. I. 552. The occurrence was in the 11th year of the reign, 1667. Apparently the fight was in pargana Jadwār, Sambhal sarkār, J. II. 290 and Supp. Glossary II. 137. For an account of the Jāts see Supp. Glossary I. 130.

Aurangzeb, Kūkla<sup>1</sup> Jāt by name, by his insolence and turbulence became the terror of the countryside. He plundered and burnt the town of S'aidābād<sup>2</sup> near Mathurā. 'Abdu-n-nabī K., a famous *faujdār* of that place, attacked, in the 12th year (of Aurangzeb), the village of Sūra<sup>3</sup>—which was the abode of the miscreants—and sent many of them to annihilation. In the battle a bullet caused his death, and he attained martyrdom. Aurangzeb sent off from the capital Hasan 'Alī K. Bahādur to be *faujdār* of Mathurā and gave him a brave army and a park of artillery. The Khān by his courage and excellent dispositions made that rebel, as well as his companion Sangī (text Sankī), prisoners and sent them to court. The royal wrath caused both of them to be cut to pieces, limb by limb, while the son<sup>4</sup> and daughter of that scoundrel (Kūkla) were made over for their upbringing to Jawāhir K. Nāzīr. The daughter was given in marriage to Shāh Qulī celā, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fāzil and became a ḥāfiẓ (reciter of the Qoran). In Aurangzeb's opinion no other ḥāfiẓ was so much to be relied upon.

When the royal standards went off to take the forts of the Deccan, this seditious tribe seized the opportunity afforded by the sloth of the officers who laid their heads within the collar of comfort, and wrapped their feet in the skirt of perfunctoriness, and at once severed the chain of obedience, and stirred up a tempest of evil, and, under the leadership of one colled Rajah<sup>5</sup> Rām, oppressed many of the parganas and plundered caravans and travellers. Leading members of society were imprisoned and disgraced. The honour of *bahādurs* trickled into the dust of contempt, and *ṣūbahdārs* had to prostrate<sup>6</sup> themselves before this impudent fellow. Of necessity Prince Bīdār Bakht and Khān

<sup>1</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī 93.

<sup>2</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī, pargana S'aidābād. 'Abdu-n-nabī built the Jama' Masjid at Mathurā in 1071 or 1660-61. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 269. According to Tiefenthaler 'Abdu-n-nabī was a convert from Hinduism.

<sup>3</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī 83, where there is the variant Basahrah. It really is

Sahora in pargana Mahābān, E. of the Jumna. See Murray's Handbook to Bengal, 270.

<sup>4</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī, 94. For *dakhtarān* read *dakhtar-i-ān*.

<sup>5</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī, 311.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. Had to draw a line with their noses.

Jahān Bahādur Zāfir Jang were appointed from the Deccan, and they took much trouble and made great exertions. On 15 Ram-zān,<sup>1</sup> 4th July 1688, in the 32nd year, that warlike bandit received a gunshot wound and became a resident in hell, and the countryside was cleansed of his contumacy and violence. His head was sent to court. After that, in the 33rd year, 16 Jamādal-awwal<sup>2</sup> 1100, 26th February 1689, the fort of Sinsinī,<sup>3</sup> which was the residence of that miscreant, was taken from the hand of the infidels by the exertions of the fortunate prince (Bīdār Bakht; nevertheless the crew was not extirpated. Reports of their oppression were continually brought to the emperor. In the 39th year the eldest son of the Caliphate, Bahādur Shah, was appointed to chastise them. And after that, Cūrāman renewed the disturbances. When Shāh 'Ālam and A'ẓim Shāh joined in battle, this evil-minded one collected a number of robbers and kept near the two armies and was prepared to plunder the vanquished. As soon as the defeat of one party was reflected in the mirror of his observation, he opened the hand of plunder and carried off goods and cattle. He also laid<sup>4</sup> hands on the treasure and jewels, and in a moment got possession of what his predecessors had not acquired in a lifetime. When Bahādur Shāh, after returning from the Deccan, came to Ajmere, to punish the Gūrū (the Sikhs), and the line of march passed near their houses, Cūrāman made<sup>5</sup> his appearance and removed the stain of contumacy from his countenance. He was ordered to accompany Muḥammad Amīn K. Cīn Bahādur who had been appointed to proceed in advance against the Sikhs. Afterwards, he bound up the waist of service and accompanied 'Umdatul-mulk the Khān Khānān who was besieging the Gūrū in Lohgarha near the Barfi Koh<sup>6</sup> (snowy mountains) among difficult hills. Afterwards, when the sovereignty was changed, and the ruler became suspicious, he, in his own native

<sup>1</sup> M. 'Ālamgīrī, 311.

<sup>2</sup> do. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Text Sinsinī. "A village situated between Dig and Kumbher." Elliot VIII. 360. It is called Sansi in do. VII. 532.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. II. 668.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi K. II. 669.

<sup>6</sup> See Elliot VII. 424 where it is stated that Barfi Rajah is a name given to the Rajah of Sirmūr. See Khāfi K. II. 673.

country, returned to his old ways and increased more and more in insubordination and contumacy, and by devastation and plunder produced insecurity and ruin up to the capital.

In the time of Farrukh Siyar, Rajah Dhīraj (Rajādhīraj) Jai Singh Siwāī led an army against him, and Saiyid Khān Jahān the maternal uncle of Quṭbu-l-mulk (one of the two Saiyids of Bārha), went off to assist with a proper force. The rebel shut himself up in the fort of Thūn. When after a year's siege and after severe engagements he got into difficulties, he begged pardon from Quṭbu-l-mulk, and asked for an increase of rank, and promised tribute. Though the Emperor was unwilling, yet in spite of his dislike, he (Quṭbu-l-mulk) contrary to the wish of the Rajah (Jai Singh) persisted,<sup>1</sup> and summoned him, and gave him a place beside himself. The emperor was helpless and ordered that he should be received into service. He was not again admitted to an audience, but by the favour of Saiyid 'Abdullah K. he was raised to a high rank and was elevated from the low position of a robber to the zenith of Amīrship. He strengthened the chain of unity and concord with the Saiyids of Bārha and gave himself out as one of the loyal and devoted adherents. At the time when the Amīru-l-umarā removed the sovereign and set off to the Deccan, and Quṭbu-l-mulk hastened to the capital, Cūrāman enrolled himself among the Amīru-l-umarā's companions. After that brave leader was killed, Cūrāman stayed for some days in the Imperial army in a hypocritical manner and wished to set fire to the Imperial powder-magazine, or else to drive off the artillery-bullocks. He did not succeed on account of the carefulness of the officers and the arrangements made by the Head of the Artillery. When Quṭbu-l-mulk approached the Imperial army with the intention of giving battle, the scoundrel stole some sets of camels and three elephants and left the Imperial camp and joined Quṭbu-l-mulk. On the day of the battle he made great attacks upon the Emperor's baggage, and as his men held possession of the river-bank, he allowed neither friend nor foe to quench their thirst. Whoever approached the water was destroyed. The men who were assembled on a

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<sup>1</sup> Siyar M. I. 106, 107 and Elliot VII. 533.

sandy hill by the bank of the Jumna were all plundered by him, so that even the office-papers<sup>1</sup> (*daftar qadārat*) were looted. His activity and insolence were such that the Emperor himself took a bow into his hand and shot arrows at him twice or thrice. The special musketeers also discharged their muskets at him. When signs of defeat showed themselves, he went round and round in the neighbourhood of the camp by the route of Delhi, and fell upon the vanquished. Wherever his hand could reach he took what was left. After the rope of his life was severed<sup>2</sup> by the traction of death, Muḥakam Singh and others of his sons made disturbances by means of their strong forts. With the fire of injustice and oppression they burnt up everything (lit. the dry and the wet). S'ādat K. Burhānu-l-mulk the governor of Agra used all his energies to chastise them, but his sword did not cut, and the strength of his arm could not uproot the thorn. The Emperor sent Rajah Dhirāj<sup>3</sup> with officers and artillery against them. The Rajah first attended to cutting the jungle, and with the help of the Moghul and Afghan heroes took two or three fortlets. In less than two months—during which there were many fights and night-attacks on both sides—he made the position of the besieged difficult. At this<sup>4</sup> time Badan Singh, one of their cousins, on account of quarrels and disputes about property, separated himself and joined the Rajah. He showed him the way to take the fort, and they at once lost confidence, and set fire to their own powder-magazine. The fort was taken possession of. But no trace was found of the treasures which were everywhere famous. When the zamindārī was by the Rajah's recommendation given to Badan Singh, Muḥakam Singh also chose submission, and by the instrumentality of Mozaffar K. the brother of Khān Daurān came to Court and made many efforts. As he did not succeed, he from that time made his castle (*badnā*) and his home at Deeg. Up till now he has not withdrawn his foot from the circle of obedience, and he makes a

<sup>1</sup> Elliot VII. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Beale says Cūrman was killed in battle between 'Abdullah and Muḥ. Shāh, but this seems a mistake. Apparently he eventually committed sui-

cide. See Elliot VIII. 360, and Siyar M. 239, also Elphinstone 614.

<sup>3</sup> That is Jai Singh Siwāī the founder of Jaipur. See Beale, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. II. 945. Elliot VII. 521.

show of service. Accordingly, in 1150, 1737-38, when Āṣaf Jāh Bahādūr went forth to punish Bājī Rāo, he (Muḥakam) sent one of his relatives together with a suitable force. His men fought well in the Bhopal-Mālwa battle. Though in order to preserve their rank and name as royal servants they have left off their old habits of robbing and stealing, yet they have carried violence so far that the territory from within five *kos* of the capital (Delhi) to one fourth of the province of Agra belongs to them as zamindari and *jagir* and as farm. When they relinquish them (the farms) they give them to *tiyūldārs*, and they take without any subterfuge, abundant toll (*rāhdārī*) from comers and goers. No one ventures to complain. Good God! the subahdārs do not impute all this bad management and disgrace to themselves. The business of the sovereignty of India has come to a standstill.

When Badan Singh went to his place (i.e. died) in the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, his son Sūraj Mal surpassed<sup>1</sup> his ancestors in violence and proceeded to lay hold of the estates in the environs (of the capital) and seized the exchequer lands, and people's jagirs. From the city of Shahjahanabad to Bhadāwar,<sup>2</sup> and from the estates of the Kacwāhas to the bank of the Ganges—which on the other side belonged to the Rohillas—he passed by nothing, and took most of the parganas in the Doāb, and in the year 1174, 1761, he also took possession of the fort of Agra. At the time when the reigning sovereign Shah 'Ālam was obliged to stay in the provinces of Bihar and Allahabad, Sūraj Mal became offended with Najib K. (Rohilla) on account of estates on the borders and led an army against him. A battle took place near Shahjahanabad, and although the *Khān* had but a small force, yet the arrogance and presumption of Sūraj Mal worked for him, and he suddenly stretched<sup>3</sup> him on the dust of destruction. The short account of this affair is that Sūraj Mal came forth with a small party to watch his own men who had been appointed to surround Najib K., and was going along incognito. At this time a jam'adār of the *Khān*'s companions, who recognized Sūraj Mal, fell upon him with a hun-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, advanced beyond his ancestors' pillow.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Bhadaurā a native State in Gwalior, I.G. VIII. 21.

<sup>3</sup> In December 1763.



dred young men of his brethren and put an end<sup>1</sup> to him. After him, his son Jawāhir Singh took his place, and in order to redress matters led a force against Delhi and made a commotion for a time. At last peace was made through the instrumentality of Mulhār Rāo Mahratta. In the year<sup>2</sup>—he began to behave ill to Rajah Ānir,<sup>3</sup> and a battle ensued in which he was defeated. After him, his brothers took the place of their ancestors. M. Najaf K. Bahādur prevailed over them and rooted them out. One of their descendants holds a small property.

### (RAO) DALPAT BUNDĪLA.

S. Rāo Subh Karn s. Bhagwān<sup>4</sup> Rai s. Rajah Bir Singh Deo. They say that Benares is the native place of this clan, and that an ancestor came from there and took up his abode in Khairagarha Katak and received the title of Khairwār. A long time ago, one Kāsī Rāj—the 24th ancestor of Rāo Dalpat—lived in the tract now known as Bundilkhand, and paid his devotions to Bindeshwari<sup>5</sup> Devī. On this account he received the name of Bundila. When in the reign of Shah Jahan, the headship of the clan came to Rajah Pahār Singh, Aurangzeb at the time he was prince, and had charge of the Deccan, sent a letter (*nishān*) to Subhakarn along with money and summoned him, and gave him the rank of 1000. In company<sup>6</sup> with Saiyid ‘Abdul Wahāb of

<sup>1</sup> Siyar Mutākharīn IV. 32, Elliot VIII. 363.

<sup>2</sup> The year is left blank but is 1182, or 1768. Elliot VIII. 364-65.

<sup>3</sup> He is called Rajah Mādhu Singh: s. Rajah Jai Singh in Elliot VIII. 364. After his defeat Jawāhir was assassinated in Agra. Jawāhir's brother Ratan Singh succeeded him, and he too was assassinated by a Hindu impostor who pretended that he was an alchemist. The victories of Najaf K. over Sūraj Mal's descendants are recorded in Elliot VIII. 366, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Third s. Bir Singh, J.A.S.B. for 1902, p. 115, where the name is spelt Bhagwān. At p. 103 *id.* it is stated that before the rule of the Bundilas

there were Gharwar Kshattris who were Sūraj-bansis by descent, who ruled in Kāshī, that is Benares.

<sup>5</sup> The Bindhāsni or Durg of the J.A.S.B. article, p. 104, where see the legend. Kāsī Rāj is there called Jagdās or Pancham (the fifth son). See also Pogson's Hist. of the Bundelas, pp. 6-8. Apparently Khairagarha Katak is Khairgarh in the Central Provinces, I.G. XV. 207, and the title Khairwār is Gaharwār. See V. A. Smith, J.A.S.B. for 1881, pp. 1 and 3.

<sup>6</sup> The text omits the words *ba im-fāq* "together with" and so makes the introduction of ‘Abdu-l-Wahāb's name here unintelligible.

Jūnagarh—who for some time had taken up his abode in Burhanpur—he was engaged in the conquest of Baglāna, and that country came into the imperial possession. In the beginning of the 32nd year of Shah Jahan, the prince (Aurangzeb) proceeded to the capital to inquire after his father's health, and when he came to Ujjain, he fought a battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh.

In it Subha Karn performed feats of valour and was wounded. He also behaved equally well in the battle with Dārā Shikoh. After the battle with Shujā' he was sent away to pursue and chastise Campat Bandila. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and in the affair of Bijapur he was in the Mirzā Rajah's left wing. In the 10th year he quarrelled with the Mirzā Rajah and came to court, and was appointed to serve along with Muḥammad Amīn K., the governor of Kābul. But as his companionship with the Khān was not agreeable to him, he in the 11th year, was summoned to court and appointed to the Deccan army. He always did good service in battle, and in the 19th year, when the army, under Diler K., had an engagement with the Deccanis, he and his son Dalpat were in the rearguard. In the 20th year he fell ill, and he left Diler K. and went to Bahādurgarha—where his quarters were—and died in the 21st year. Rāo Dalpat attained in the 11th year to the rank of 250 with 80 horse, and after some time he got 300 *zāt* and horse, and after his father's death obtained 500 *zāt* and horse. He conciliated his father's servants by good treatment. In the 22nd year he quarrelled with Khān Jahān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, and came to court, and afterwards he went back to the Deccan with Ā'zim Shah. In company with Ḥasan 'Alī K. 'Ālamgīrshāhī he went into the Konkan and did good service in battles. In the 23rd year his rank was 600 with 600 horse *duāsā* (two horse), and in the 24th year he had the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and in the 27th year when he, along with Ghāzī-u-d-dīn K., was bringing grass to the army of Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah which was besieging Bijapur, he displayed courage in resisting the enemy, and his rank was raised to 1500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Rāo. In the 30th year when Imtiyāzgarha *alias* Ūdnī (Adoni) fell into the royal possession, his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and

he received the gift of a drum and was made governor of the fort of Ūdnī (Adonī). In the 33rd year he resigned this charge and came to court. After this, he was sometimes employed in bringing treasure from Aurangabad and sometimes in convoying caravans from that city to the camp. On the route he frequently chastised the foe. In the 34th year he was appointed to the contingent of Prince Kām Bakhsh, and when this prince attacked Wakinkera he took excellent charge of the rearguard and with the prince he in accordance with orders hastened to Ginjī—where Zūl-fiqār K. was, and where corn was scarce—with corn and other stores. Zūl-fiqār K. placed him on the right wing. In the 44th year his rank was 2500 with 2500 horse, and in the 47th year it was 3000 with 2700 horse, and in the 49th year it was 3000 with 3000 horse. After Aurangzeb's death he came to Upper India in company with Muḥammad Ā'zīm Shah and attained to the rank of 5000. In the battle which took place with Sultan Ā'zīmu-sh-shān he fell<sup>1</sup> in the vanguard. After his death Bihārī Cand and Prithī Singh, his sons, disputed in their native country the possession of the property. Meanwhile Rām Cand, his eldest son, who was in Satara, arrived. When the army of Bihārī Cand also came forward, he retreated and went to court, and joined when Bahādur Shah had halted near Ajmere. When no one attended to him, he hastened to his native country and prevailed over his brothers. Afterwards he came to Lahore and waited upon Bahādur Shah. In the time of Muḥammad Shah he was appointed to go with the royal army against Bhagwant Singh the Zamindar of Karra Jahanābād, and fell bravely in that battle. The remainder of the clan entered into the royal service, but the Mahrattas took possession of most of their estates. At the time<sup>2</sup> of writing, an army of the hat-wearers (English)—who came from Bengal with the design of reaching the port of Surat—had stayed for some time in their country and worked much havoc there.

As mention<sup>3</sup> has been made of the Feringhī hat-wearers, it is

<sup>1</sup> Rieu Cat. I., 271 b.

<sup>2</sup> This biography is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy. The expedition referred to

must be that of Colonel Goddard in 1779.

<sup>3</sup> Much of this account has been

necessary to give some account of the doings of this tribe. Formerly, they, with the permission of the rulers, inhabited the sea-shore and lived like subjects. The port of Goa was their seat of government. In the time of Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat they got a permit (*qaul*) by wiles and made two strong forts called Damān and Basī (Bassein). They brought a tract of country into cultivation. Though its length was 40 or 50 *kos*, yet the breadth was not more than a *kos* or half a *kos*. They cultivated the skirt of the hills and raised valuable products such as sugarcane, pineapple, and rice. They also made much money by planting many cocoanut and betel-nut trees. Their current coins were *ashrafs*,<sup>1</sup> which were silver pieces of the value of nine annas and struck after the European fashion, and lumps of copper which they called *buzurg*. One *jalūs* is four *buzurgs*. They do not do any harm to the peasantry, and they have assigned a separate quarter for the Muhammadans. But if any of the latter die, they educate<sup>2</sup> his children in their religion.

When these facts came to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, M'aatbar K. the Fanjdār of Gulshanābād<sup>3</sup> and son-in-law of Mullā Aḥmad Naitha, in accordance with orders, attacked them (the Portuguese) and made some of their men and women prisoners. Upon this, the Captain of Goa made a petition<sup>4</sup> with all humility to the King and his courtiers to this effect: "We are your unpaid servants for preventing the wickedness of the pirates of the sea; if you do not approve, we shall leave the land, and live upon the

abridged from *Khāfi K.* II. 400 *et seq.* See also vol. I. *il.*, p. 468. See Elliot VII. 344. Bassein appears to have at one time belonged to Gujarat. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 20.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Portuguese coinage see Whiteway's Rise of Portuguese power, p. 67, etc. *Ashrafs* which were five-sevenths silver and two-sevenths copper were coined by D. Luis d'Ataide in 1578. *Buzurg* is perhaps a corruption of *bazaruco*: see Whiteway l. c. 68 and Hobson-Jobson, art. Budbrook. But it is not improbable that the word is *bazarg* "lin-

seed." *Buzurg* has been corrupted in Mahratta into Budruk, so it or *bazarg* may have become in English Budbrook.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfi K.* I. 469.

<sup>3</sup> "In Baglāna near Junair," Elliot VII. 337. It is frequently mentioned in *Khāfi K.* M'aatbar is mentioned in *Khāfi K.* II. 402. He was of the Naitha clan.

<sup>4</sup> Goa is a long way to the south of Junair. It was the Portuguese of Damān, etc., that were attacked by M'aatbar. See *Khāfi K.* II. 403. The date was 1103-1691-92.

ocean." Their offences were thereupon forgiven, and an order was given to M'aatbar K. to release the Feringhī prisoners. Afterwards the King was offended by the Feringhīs' plundering the ship Ganj<sup>1</sup> Siwāl—which was the largest ship belonging to the port of Surat,—and again an order was issued for chastising them. But owing to the subterfuges of the officials this was not carried out. They (the English) inflicted injuries<sup>2</sup> (*rag-u-resha dawānīda*) and girded up their loins to extirpate the French, who after the time of Nāṣir Jang the martyr appointed one of their leaders to accompany Mozaffar Jang and were in the Deccan till the time of Āsafu-d-daulah Amīru-l-Mamālik (Ṣalābat Jang, 3rd s. of the Nizām-ul-Mulk). The English took possession of the Haidarabad Carnatic (Arcot), and afterwards they abolished the emperor's sway in Bengal, and also got possession of the province of Bihar. By degrees they have now become the predominant partners in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. They have established ports<sup>3</sup> from Bengal to Arcot and the Tūl Konkan<sup>4</sup> of the Deccan, and have also seized the port of Surat. They have taken possession of Sikākul (Chicacole) and other Sarkārs of Haidarabad. At this time they have, at the instigation of Raghū Nāth Rāo, become involved in a quarrel with the Mahrattas and are making a disturbance in Gujarat. O God, assist the followers of Muḥammad. May the peace of God be upon him and on his family!

#### DĀNISHMAND<sup>5</sup> KHĀN.

He was Mullā Shafiā of Yezd. He spent a long time in Persia in acquiring knowledge and excellence. After he had acquired

<sup>1</sup> Text Ganj Siwāl. But it is Ganj Siwāl in Khāfi K. II. 421, where there is an account of the taking of the ship. It had sailed to within 8 or 9 days of Surat when it was attacked and taken by an English ship. The Portuguese had nothing to do with this. The year according to Khāfi K. was 1105-1693-94. See Elliot VII. 360.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is obscure. The account agrees in its wording with

Elliot VIII. 392. Perhaps the phrase there "who are ever in thirst for their blood" is the *rag-u-resha dawānīda* of text. For this phrase see Vullers II. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Banādar. Perhaps here means "factories."

<sup>4</sup> The Tūl Konkan is described in Khāfi K. II. 113 as the part of the Konkan which belonged to the 'Adil Shah of Bijapur.

<sup>5</sup> Bernier's patron.

the current sciences both rational and traditional, he in order to obtain a maintenance in an honourable way took a sum of money from Persian merchants on the arrangement of a participation in profits, and came<sup>1</sup> to the spacious land of India which is the capital of profits for the owners of hopes, and the possessors of desires. He stayed for some time in the Imperial camp, and accompanied it from Agra to Lahore and from thence to Kabul. On the return of the Royal retinue from Kabul he went to the port of Surat with the intention of returning to his native country. As his star was rising, and his fortune advancing, the extent of his wisdom and excellence became known to Shah Jahan. An order was issued directing the officers of the port to send him to court. He by the guidance of fortune donned the garb of pilgrimage to the world's throne and on 9 Zi-l-hajja of the 24th year, 23 November 1650, opened the gates of his own success by kissing the threshold of dominion.

As the merit and ability of this man who was worthy of the royal favour again became impressed on H. M., who was a patron of the wise, he was raised to the rank of 1000 with 100 horse, and an order was given that the *peshkash* of Sunday<sup>2</sup> for a year should be given to him. Afterwards his rank was increased, and in the 29th year he was made 2nd bakhshi in succession to Lashkar K., and he received the title of Dānishmand K., and an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so received the rank of 2500 with 600 horse. In the 31st year his rank was raised to 3000 with 800 horse, and in succession to I'tiqād K. he was made Mīr Bakhshī. In the same year he resigned<sup>3</sup> the office, and lived retired in Shahjahanabad (Delhi). In the 2nd year of Aurangzeb he was again encompassed by royal favours and received the rank of 4000 with 2000 horse. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was raised to 5000, and in the 8th year he was Sūbadār<sup>4</sup> and guardian of the fort of Shahjahanabad. In the 10th year he was made Mīr Bakhshī in succession to Muḥammad Amin K., and received a

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Ālamgiri 257 he was for a long time at Ahmadnagar as a trader.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. I. 703.

<sup>3</sup> Bernier I. 67. He resigned because he did not approve of Dārā Shikoh.

<sup>4</sup> Bernier I. 249 and also 289.

decorated writing case. When in the 12th year the victorious standards of Aurangzeb went to Agra (*mastaqarru-l- khilāfa*) the charge of the capital (*dāru-l-khilāfa*, i.e. Delhi) was added to his office of Mir Bakhshi, and he was sent to perform this work. In the 13th year 10 Rabi'-al-awal 1081, 18 July 1670, he died.

This excellent Amir was one of the learned men of the age and was distinguished for his good sense and right thinking. After him, up to the present day, no one has been found who united learning with Amīrship. They say that when he entered the royal service he was directed to argue and dispute on scientific subjects with Mullā 'Abdu-l-ḥakīm of Sialkot, who for learning and wisdom surpassed the wise men of old. A better scholar than he was not to be found in India, and his wise comments on a number of influential books are a clear proof of this. There was a long discussion between these two learned men about the conjunction *van* (in the phrase<sup>2</sup>) "Thee do we worship, *and* of Thee do we beg assistance." The very learned S'aad Ullah K., who was in learning a master (*dar'ilm 'alam būd* "in erudition an ensign") was the umpire, and in the end the two were adjudged equal. From that day he was a favourite with the emperor and became an Amīr. As to what they say that in the end of his life he became inclined to the learning of the Franks, and repeated many of the paradoxes<sup>3</sup> of that set, it is improbable, when we consider his learning and excellence.

#### DĀRĀB KHĀN.

S. Mukhtār K. of Sabzawār. Younger brother of Shamsu-d-din Mukhtār K. At the time when Prince Aurangzeb proceeded from

<sup>1</sup> M. Ālamgīri, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Koran I. 4. I do not know the point of the dispute. There is an account of 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm in the *Pādshāhnāma* I, Part II, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bernier II, 134, who says that he used to discourse with Dānishmand about the discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet, and the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes. See also *id.* II. 209. These discussions took place early in the sixties and nearly twenty years before Dānishmand's death.

There is a portrait of Dānishmand in an album in the B. M., Rieu II. 779, No. 33. Even Aurangzeb grew tired of Muhammadan learning and administered a striking rebuke to his old preceptor Mullā Šālih: see Bernier and Manucci II. 29. Apparently the Mullā Šālih, referred to by Bernier, is the man mentioned in *Pādshāhnāma* II. 624 and described as belonging to Badakhshān. He also may be the Ḥakīm Šālih K. of Maasir A. 130.

the Deccan towards the capital in order to seize the sovereignty and to overthrow Dārā Shikoh, who on account of the illness of Shah Jahan had taken possession of the affairs of the empire, Dārāb received leave to depart as one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan. When Aurangzeb became successful, Dārāb in the very first, and before the accession, received the title of Khān and was appointed to the charge of the fort of Ahmadnagar. In the end of the second year he was relieved and came to court, and in the 9th year he was made Qarāwal Beg (chief huntsman) in succession to Faiz Ullah K. After that, he was also made superintendent of the special gun-room. In the 13th year he was made superintendent of the Ghushkhāna in succession to 'Abdulla Khān, and after that he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Rūh Ullah. After that he was made governor of Ajmere. In the 19th year he came to court from there, and in succession to Multafat K. was made Head of the Artillery. He was also made 1st Mīr Tūzuk. In the 22nd year he was sent with a suitable force to chastise the Rajputs of Khandīla and to throw down the idol temples there. When the Emperor came to Ajmere, Dārāb attacked that abode of disturbance and destroyed the idol temples of Khandīla, Sanaula, etc. Three hundred odd Rajputs stood firm in their obstinacy, and not one of them escaped. In the same year the 25th Jamāda-al-awal 1090, 24th June 1697, he died. He had three sons and one daughter. The eldest, Muḥammad Khālīl, had the title of Tarbiyat K. and of him a separate account has been given. The second, Muḥammad Taqī, married<sup>1</sup> the daughter of Bahramand K. bakhshī. His son was known as Mīn (or Mubīn), and after his father's death received the title of Muḥammad Taqī K., and in the 48th year was married<sup>2</sup> to the daughter of Shaista K., the son of Shaista K. (the Amīru-l-Umarā). Aurangzeb was very fond of him. In the time of Bahādūr Shah he received the title of his maternal grandfather Bahramand K. In the time of Jahāndār Shah when the office of vizier came to Zū-l-fiqār the Amīru-umarā, and the management of all affairs was in his hands, Muḥammad Taqī, on account of his relationship, was made a Panj hazārī (5000). Some

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 221, Maasir U. I. 457.<sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 480.



of the business of the viziership was transacted by him. When by the bad trading of the old workmen of the sky in the market of the world, the shop of Jahāndār Shah's power went to pieces, and another kind of goods came into use, the said Khān was chastened by having his wealth and property seized and his *manṣab* and jagir taken from him. But again by the help of the Amīr-l-umarā Ḥusain 'Alī K., he was saved from these enveloping waves of calamity and brought to the safe shore of the Deccan. In Aurangabad he lived for a time in the dwelling (*havelī*) of Sultan Mahmūd (Aurangzeb's son), near the 'Ambarī tank, which Aurangzeb had given to the deceased Bahramand.

When the government of the Deccan came to Āṣaf Jāh, he respected the Khān's family and spoke to him with much consideration, and gave him the government of citadel which yielded nothing except retirement. For 15 or 16 years he lived there. At present, a son occupies his place, and lives in the fort which is but a ruin. The aforesaid Khān was even in this position a pleasant companion (*khūshī'āām*). The third son is Kāmyāb K. who was married to the daughter of Maṭlib K. He left a daughter who in the time of Farrukh Siyar was married to Ḥusain 'Alī K. But the daughter of Dārāb was married to Mīr Lashkar who was a descendant of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Ṣafavī. Her eldest son, Askhar 'Alī K., was for a long time governor of the fort of Dharap (Dharab) in the Deccan, which for strength and solidity has been called Daulatabad the 2nd. Āṣaf Jāh, out of regard to his family, kept him in his presence and made him clerk of his jagirs and *diwānī*. At present he has some government work. He is an old man; may God forgive him!

#### DĀRĀB KHĀN MĪRZĀ DĀRĀB.<sup>1</sup>

Second son of the Khān-Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm. He was always with his father and distinguished himself in the campaigns. Especially did he distinguish himself in the famous battle of Khirkī when he assisted his elder brother Shah Newāz K., and was honoured by obtaining increased rank. When in the 14th year of Jahangir his brother Shah Newāz died, he received

<sup>1</sup> B. 339. There is a portrait of Dārāb in the B. M., Rieu II. 780.

the rank of 5000 *zāt* and horse and in the place of his brother became governor of Berar and Aḥmadnagar. In the 15th year when Malik 'Ambar broke his promises and treaty, and stretched out his arm against the Imperial territories, thinking the expedition of the Emperor to the distant country of Kashmir a good opportunity, most of the officers left their stations (*thānahs*) and collected near Dārāb. Khanjar K., the governor of Aḥmadnagar, took refuge in the fort, and Dārāb having equipped his forces proceeded towards the Bālāghāt. 'Ambar's banditti (*bargiān*) every day prowled round him and there were repeated fights, in all of which the evil-fated foe was defeated and slain.

One day Dārāb took with him well-mounted cavaliers and attacked the enemy's quarters, and a great fight ensued. He was victorious and returned to camp with much booty. After that, the enemy so barred the coming in of corn that the troops were reduced to distress, and Dārāb was compelled to leave the defiles of Rohankhera and to come down to Bālāpūr to encamp. When the tyranny of the Cossacks of the Deccan proceeded so far that they crossed the Narbada and plundered the estates in Mālwa, Prince Shah Jahan again was sent to the Deccan, and in the 16th year halted at Burhanpur. The victorious army attacked and devastated the Nizām Shāhī territory up to the Godavery, and sacked Khirkī which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. One day before the army arrived, he had crept into the fort of Daulatabad along with the Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Malik 'Ambar was compelled to sue for peace and agreed to pay fourteen *krors* of dāms for the estates adjoining the imperial territories, and fifty laos of rupees as tribute. In the 17th year the Prince in accordance with his father's summons left the Deccan for the Qandahar campaign in company with the Khān-Khānān and Dārāb.

When juggling Time started another game and there occurred a cloud between the Emperor and the Prince to such an extent that there was marshalling of forces and contention, the Prince, from a recognition of duty, did not confront the Imperial army and turned aside. Rajah Bikramājī—who was his chief supporter—faced the Imperial army along with Dārāb. As it chanced, in the *melée* the Rajah was killed by a musket-shot, and the army

became disorganized. Dārāb could not maintain his ground, turned back and joined the Prince.

When Shah Jahan was constrained to send the Khān-Khānān from Burhanpur to Mahābat K. for the purpose of coming to terms, and that old man washed the roll of loyalty and fidelity in the waters of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy, Dārāb with the children and grandchildren of the Khān-Khānān were imprisoned. When Bengal came into Shah Jahan's possession and he aimed at the conquest of Bihar, he again received Dārāb into favour and made him Governor of Bengal, but kept with himself as hostages Dārāb's wife, one daughter and one son, and his nephew. When the prince after the battle of the Tons<sup>1</sup> (near) Benares proceeded by the same route back to the Deccan, he sent an order to Dārāb to proceed quickly to Garhī (Teliagarhi)—which is the gate of Bengal—and to join him. Dārāb, from want of rectitude, saw the affair in another light, and wrote in reply that the land-holders had combined and were besieging him, and that he could not come. Though the misbehaviour and oppression of the land-holders were true, yet he by not joining acted with dilatoriness and contrary to loyalty. The prince was compelled to withhold his hand from him, but in his displeasure he made over his young son and his nephew to 'Abdullah K. To a madman a suggestion is enough (?) and so 'Abdullah cruelly put both of these innocent ones to death. Afterwards, when Sultan Parvez and Mahābat K. heard of this they sent strict orders to the zamindars of Bengal to refrain from interfering with him and to send him to them. When in the end of the 19th year Dārāb joined Sultan Parvez's army, an order of Jahangir came to Mahābat to the effect that there was no sense in keeping such a worthless fellow alive, and that he should quickly send his head to court. Mahābat was bound by the order and immediately had his head cut off and dispatched.

*Shahīd pāk shud Dārāb miskīn.*

"The wretched Dārāb became a pure martyr" is the chrono-

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<sup>1</sup> The Tons is a tributary of the Ganges. It flows northwards and

joins the Ganges on the right bank and in the Allahabad district.

gram (1034, 1625). They say that Mahābat K. had the head wrapped in a napkin and sent it to the Khān-Khānān—who was his prisoner—as a melon. The Khān-Khānān on seeing it said, “True; a beautiful<sup>1</sup> melon.” Dārāb was a young man of excellent qualities, a prudent leader, and a brave man. No other did such feats as he in the Deccan. But his horoscope was unfortunate. He left the side of Shah Jahan, and was driven out by the Imperial side, so that his end was miserable.

### DARBĀR K.

His name was ‘Īnayāt, and he was the son of Taklū<sup>2</sup> K., the storyteller (*giṣṣa-khwān*), who was distinguished in the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī as a storyteller, and was a favourite with him. When his son came to India, he entered the service of Akbar in his hereditary capacity and became a companion. He received the rank of 700 and the title of Darbār K. In the 14th year, after the taking of Ranthambhor, and when the king had gone to Ajmere to visit the shrine of M’uīnu-d-dīn, Darbār K. took leave on account of sickness and came to Agra. He died<sup>3</sup> after arriving there. As Akbar liked him much, he was greatly grieved at his death. Darbār K., from excessive fidelity and worship of his master, made a deathbed will to the effect that they should bury him at the feet of the king’s dog:—over which a dome had been erected—because in former times this dog had, from perfect fidelity, always abode at the king’s threshold. The king too used occasionally to take notice of this dog. When the dog died, the king lamented the circumstance, and Darbār K. erected<sup>4</sup> a building and buried the dog under the dome. In accordance with his will he was buried under the dome.

Good God! How far affection for the world carries us! And how many efforts and flatteries are used in such matters! To speak of the king’s dog and to admit into one’s mind thoughts of

<sup>1</sup> *tarbuz shahidī*. There is a play on *shahidī* which means both martyred and beautiful.

<sup>2</sup> B. 464 where, and also in Persian text of *Ain* I. 227, it is *Takaltū*.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma* II. 339.

<sup>4</sup> A. F. does not say that Darbār erected the tomb; i.e. 339.

world-worship at such a time when one should be occupied with one's God, and concentrate one's thoughts on Him! If it was hypocrisy, woe for him when they show him at the Resurrection along with the dog, and if it was devotion—God forbid that it should be so. Yet the end of things is obscure and God's mercy is wide!<sup>1</sup>

Though Akbar did not possess fully<sup>2</sup> the arts of reading and writing, yet he occasionally composed verses, and was versed in history; especially was he well acquainted with the history of India. He was very fond of the story of Amīr Ḥamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that he in the female apartments used to recite them like a storyteller. He had the wonderful incidents of that story illustrated<sup>3</sup> from beginning to end of the book and set up in twelve volumes.

Each volume contained one hundred folios, and each folio was a cubit (zīrā) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwāja<sup>4</sup> 'Aṭā Ullah Munshī of Qazwīn. Fifty painters of Bihzād-like pencil were engaged, at first under the superintendence of the Nādiru-l-mulk Humāyūnshāhī Saiyid 'Alī Judāī<sup>5</sup> of Tabriz, and afterwards under the superintendence of Khwāja

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's remarks on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Khatt u sawād kāmāl nadāsh*. Perhaps the meaning is "did not at all possess these arts."

<sup>3</sup> The illustrations are referred to in the *Ain* B. 108. It is said that there were 1400 illustrations, but if there were twelve books each of 100 folios and two pictures on each, there would be 2400. Ḥamza was Muḥammad's uncle. For an account of the "Story of Ḥamza" see *Rieu* II. 760b. Both Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abdu-ḡ-Ṣamad are mentioned in B. 107. The word in A.F. and in the *Maasir* for illustration is *maḡlis*. The *Ain* also uses the word *moza*. Perhaps *maḡlis* is pleonastic for it is followed in the *Maasir* by the word *taswīr*. There is a specimen of 'Abdu-ḡ-Ṣamad's work

in the Bodleian. The reference to Akbar's listening to the story of Ḥamza is A.N. II. 223.

It would seem from A.N. II. 349 that Akbar was in the habit of passing by or visiting Darbār's tomb and that the latter's son Deo Sultan—who presumably was mad or violent—was found lurking there with an evil design. He was seized and imprisoned, and died in confinement.

At p. 332 of *Elliot* V. it is stated that Akbar went into Darbār K.'s dining-hall after his death. Apparently the correct translation is that he attended the funeral-feast (*majlis-i-ḡ'aam*).

<sup>4</sup> Author of a history of Akbar. *Rieu* 922b.

<sup>5</sup> Text has *khudāmī*, but the variant Judāī is right. See B. 590.

'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shiraz. No one has seen such another gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library.

### DARYĀ KHĀN ROHILLA.

Of the Daudzai tribe. At first he was a servant of Murtaṣa K. Shaikh Farid. Afterwards he became the servant of Shah Jahan during the time when he was prince. In the fight at Dholpūr with Sharifu-l-mulk the servant of Sultan Shahriyar he distinguished himself, and acquired reputation. When Ibrāhīm K. Faṭḥ Jang, the Governor of Bengal, opposed the prince and was besieged in his son's tomb one *kos* from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), the fleet was in Ibrāhīm's hands, and without boats the Ganges could not be crossed. Daryā K. and 500 Afghans crossed by an unknown ford pointed out by the Teliya (the oilman) Rajah, and when some ten or twelve horses had not reached the other side, Ibrāhīm came to oppose them. Darya K. stood firm and fought. When 'Abdullah K.—who wished to cross at the same place—saw this, he drew rein and went off to another ford. Ibrāhīm K. sent off Aḥmad Beg K. after him to help his men, and when the prince learnt this, he directed Rajah Bhīm to take 'Abdullah K. with him and join Daryā K. But before they arrived Daryā K. had twice attacked and defeated the enemy. But as he was on foot he could not pursue them.

When Ibrāhīm K. learnt that Aḥmad Beg had been defeated, and that Rajah Bhīm and 'Abdullah K. had joined, he drew up his forces and opposed. When his companions could not resist the shock of the brave men and fled, Ibrāhīm and a few more were killed. The prince rewarded Daryā K. with a lac of rupees and some elephants out of the spoils of Bengal, and when he left, Bengal and Bihar came into his possession. 'Abdullah K. and Daryā K. went off to Allahabad in advance, and in the first place surrounded the fort, and afterwards encamped at Mānikpūr on the bank of the Ganges. 'Abdullah K. summoned Daryā K. to assist him. Daryā K. delayed to do so, and a disagreement arose between them. Meanwhile Mahābat K. and Sultan Parvez arrived at the bank of the Ganges. Daryā K. asked 'Abdullah for the

fleet and the artillery in order that he might strengthen the fords and prevent the Imperial army from crossing. 'Abdullah purposely delayed compliance, and their mutual disagreement injured their master's business. Daryā K., who in addition to the arrogance produced by victories was a continual drunkard, did not properly secure the fords, and Mahābat procured boats and crossed elsewhere. Daryā K. was obliged to join 'Abdullah and Rajah Bhīm who had assembled in Jaunpūr, and from there they went to the prince's camp at Benares. There it was agreed that they should give battle at Kankerā,<sup>1</sup>—which was not devoid of strength—and keep the river Tons<sup>2</sup> in front of them. After a fight, when victory was declaring itself on the side of the Imperialists, the new servants of Daryā K.—who were disgusted with his ways—fled without fighting, and Daryā K.—who was the leader of the right wing of the vanguard—also withdrew. After that he in Junair unfaithfully left the prince's service and joined Khān Jahān Lodī, who was the governor of the Deccan. He was not contented with this infidelity, but also stirred up Khān Jahān Lodī to rebellious thoughts. After the accession, he by a thousand supplications and submissions, obtained service and received<sup>3</sup> the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. His fief was assigned to him in Bengal, and he was appointed to go with Qāsim K. the governor of that province. Afterwards he received<sup>4</sup> in fief the pargana of Banādar (?) etc. in Khandes, and was ordered to the Deccan campaign.

At the time when Sāhū Bhonsla, at the instigation of the Nizām Shah, was stirring up strife in Khandes because the Khān Zamān, the governor of that territory, had gone off to take the

<sup>1</sup> *Sarzamīn Kankerā*. Possibly it means rocky ground but more probably it is a misreading. The *Iqbāl-nāma* which is apparently the source has, p. 232, "the jungle of Kanpat," and there is the variant *Kantit* for which see B. 425. Probably *Kantit* is right.

<sup>2</sup> A tributary of the Ganges. It flows N.E. and joins the Ganges in the Allahabad district on the right bank.

I.G. There is also a Tons which is a tributary of the Jumna, but this is not the one here meant.

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi* K. I. 401. He afterwards had an increase of 1000 horse. *Pādshāh-nāma* I. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Pādshāh-nāma* I. 226. It is mentioned there that he got a fief in the Deccan, but the name is not given. At p. 251 *id.* his fief is called *Bashāwada*.

fort of Bīr from Saiyid Kamāl the Nizām Shāhi, Daryā K. came from his fief with lightning-speed to Sāhū and chastised<sup>1</sup> him and drove him out of the country. When in the 3rd year the city of Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan in order that he might uproot Khān Jahān Lodī, Daryā K. came from his fief and did homage. At that very time, he remembered friendship and tribal connection and fled, and joined Khān Jahān. When Khān Jahān was defeated by A'zim K. the Viceroy of the Deccan, and went off to Daulatabad, Daryā K. came by the Pass of Chālīsgaon<sup>2</sup> to Khandes and lighted the flames of devastation. When 'Abdullah K. was appointed to chastise him, he returned to Daulatabad, and at the same time he went off with Khān Jahān with the intention of stirring up strife in Upper India, and came to Mālwa. As he could not stay there on account of the pursuit by the imperialists, he went off, and when he came to the Bundīla country, he had a fight with Bikramājīt the son of Rajah Jujhār Singh. Daryā K. was in the rear, and in the madness of drunkenness he took no account of Bikramājīt and unhesitatingly attacked him. In the melée a bullet reached him and he was killed. His son and about 400 Afghans were also killed. In the 4th year, 1040, 1630-31, his head was brought to court at Burhanpur.

#### DASTAM KHAN.<sup>3</sup>

Son of Rustam of Turkestan, and one of the Sih hazārī (holders of *manṣab* of 3000) of Akbar. His mother Bibi Bakhiyah Begī was connected with Māham Anaga, and had access to the seraglio. Dastam was brought up in the service of Akbar. In the 9th year he was appointed, along with Mir M'uizzu-l-mulk to pursue 'Abdullah K. Uzbek, and in the 17th year he was among the auxiliaries of Khān A'zim Koka and was appointed to Gujarat. In the battle with Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā he did good service and be-

<sup>1</sup> Pādshahnāma I. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Chālīsgaon is a subdivision of the Khandesh district. It was at the foot of the Sātmālā range. I.G. X. 127.

<sup>3</sup> B. 398 and 620. It would appear from Bayāzid Biyāt's Memoirs, A.S.B.J. for 1898, that Dastam's

mother's name was Takhta. Dastam is mentioned in the 7th year as having accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Paronkha, A.N. II. 164. At p. 177 of do. his mother is called Najiba Begam.



came distinguished. Afterwards he came with the Khān A'zim and waited upon the Emperor. In the 22nd year the sarkār of Rantambhor was put into his fief and he was made governor of Ajmere. After being for some time there he turned his attention to putting down the rebellious and to heartening the oppressed. In the 25th year Ūchlā, the son of Balbhadar, and Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tilūksī, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihāra Mal, came without the Rajah's<sup>1</sup> permission from the Panjab to the town of Lūnī, their native place, and took to evil courses. Dastam, in order to observe the respect due to the family of the Kachwāhas, engaged in giving them advice. His mildness increased their turbulence. At this time an order came from Court to treat those recalcitrants with a mixture of promises and threats, but if they did not listen, Dastam was to punish them. He in his haste cast aside the thread of plan and went forth to fight with them without having gathered an army. The three nephews were killed, but Ūchlā—who was the leader of the malcontents—took refuge in a field of millet (? jawar). Suddenly he came out, calling "Dastam Khān," and engaging him wounded him severely with a spear. Dastam, in spite of such a wound, killed him with his sword, and then fell to the ground. His men set him on horseback, and as long as the fight endured he continued encouraging them, until at last the rest of the wicked fellows took to flight. Their houses were plundered. Two days (*rūz duwam*) afterwards he died in 988, 1580. As he was energetic, disinterested, and tactful, Akbar regretted his death, and in comforting his mother said,<sup>2</sup> "He was (only) separated from us for three years of his life; from you he was separated for many years. Consequently his departure is harder upon us."

#### D'AUD KHAN.

He, Bahādur K. and Sulaimān K. were sons of Khizr K. Panī. At first he (Khizr) was a merchant, and afterwards by the

<sup>1</sup> The A.N. III. 326 says nothing about the Rajah's leave.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Dastam and Akbar had met when the latter was only three years of age, and presumably

therefore when he was at Qandahar or Kabul with his uncles, and the two must have been together ever since. His mother perhaps ceased to attend Court when Māham Anaga died. There

influence of Bahlol K. 'Abdū-l-Karīm he became a sirdar. He took part with Bahlol in the imprisonment of Khwāṣ K. Afterwards Bahlol nominally appointed him to assist Shaikh Manhāj—who along with the Deccanis had gone off before this to chastise Sivā, but in reality in order that he might arrange for the killing of the said Shaikh. After Khiz̄r K. had joined him, he one day invited him to a feast. When the Shaikh came near Khiz̄r's tent, the latter came out to welcome him, and the Shaikh, who knew his design, was beforehand with him and killed him, and then joined the army. Bahlol, on hearing this, brought an army against the Deccanis and there was a great battle. At last the Deccanis made an alliance with the ruler of Haidarabad and joined him. D'aūd K. was then in the fort of Naldrug. The Khān-Khānān Koka, the governor of the Deccan, conciliated him, and in the 18th<sup>1</sup> year of Aurangzeb he became a servant of the king and received the rank of 4000 and the title of Khān. His brothers and other relatives received suitable rank and Naldrug was taken for the government, and Zafarnagar in Berar was assigned to him as a residence.

In the 26th year, after the imperial army had reached the Deccan, he with his brother Sulaimān and his uncle Ranmast—who was called 'Alī and in the 7th year of Aurangzeb had entered the imperial service and obtained the rank of 1500 and gradually risen to the rank of 5000 and the title of Ranmast Khān—had the good fortune to do homage. In company with the other two he was attached to the retinue of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-dīn and was sent off to chastise the Mahrattas. Ranmast K. got the title of Bahādur K., and became famous. He was appointed, along with Rūḥ Ullah K. to the siege of Wakinkera, and in the 34th year was killed in the batteries by a musket-ball from the fort. His son Umr K., who afterwards had the title of Ranmast K., took up his abode in Ranmastpūra in Aurangabad. On his death several sons remained, but at the time of writing none of them is alive. D'aūd K. obtained distinction by being attached to Zū-l-fiqār K. and performed

is a reference to Dastam in Jahangir's Tūzūk, p. 256.

<sup>1</sup> This apparently should be the

20th. See Maasir Umārā I. 802 which gives 1677 as the date.

feats in the seige of Ginji and in battles with the foe. In the 43rd year he was made Naib-faujdar of the Carnatic-Haidarabad—which was substantively held by Zū-l-fiqār, and in the 45th year the faujdari of Carnatic-Bijapur was added to this. In the 48th year he as deputy for Muḥammad Kām Bak<sup>hsh</sup> was made governor of Haidarabad, and in the 49th year—when the king came in person against the fort of Wakinkera—he was summoned from Ginji and did good service in the seige of the said fort (Wakin-kera). He behaved bravely and was treated with favour in consequence. After Aurangzeb's death he took part with Zū-l-fiqār in the battle against Kām Bak<sup>hsh</sup>. In the 3rd year of Bahādur Shah, he as Zū-l-fiqār's deputy held the government of the Deccan with the exception of Khandes, Berar and the Payānghāt. On the death of the Khān-Khānan he was made governor of Burhanpur and the Berar-Payānghāt. In Burhanpur his sister's son Bay-āzīd K. was Naib, Hirāman Bakseria was the manager, and in Berar another sister's son, who was called 'Alāwal K., had the deputyship.

When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar became sovereign, D'aūd K. was appointed to the government of Gujarat. When the government of the Deccan came into the hands of Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amirul-Umarā, he proceeded thither (the Deccan). At this time D'aūd K., in accordance with the king's directions, came from Gujarat to Burhanpur, and though after crossing the Narbada the Amirul-Umarā proposed an amicable arrangement, it did not take place. Outside the city of Burhanpur, in the 3rd year, D'aūd K. with a small force proceeded to oppose and behaved with Rustum-like courage, and drove on his elephant and broke the ranks. In that battle, in the year 1127, 1715, he was killed by a bullet from a *Zambarak* (camel-gun) and died without offspring. But Bahādur K. and Sulaiman K.—who were his full brothers—did imperial service along with their elder brother. The second one in the 51st year obtained the rank of 2000, and after the death of Aurangzeb was a companion of Muḥammad A'zim Shah. Afterwards, when Bahādur Shah sat on the throne, he was made, in the 1st year, governor of Burhanpur, and in the 2nd year, after the king came to Burhanpur, as the ryots complained of his oppres-

sion, he was set aside. After Bahādur Shah's death he joined Azimu-sh-shān, and on the day of the battle with the other princes in 1123, 1711, he was killed. Except daughters' sons he left no offspring. The eldest of these was Ibrāhīm K. After his uncle's death he had the title of Bahādur K., and in the 49th year he received suitable rank and the gift of a drum. When in the time of Aurangzeb the deputyship of the government of the Deccan came to Dāūd K., he (Bahādur) became Naib of Haidarabad, and in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar—when Haidar 'Alī K. became Dewan of the Deccan—he was made faujdār of Qamarnagar *alias* Karnūl. In the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shah he, in accordance with orders of H.M., came with Mubārīk K. and was killed in 1136, 1774, in the battle against Nizām-ul-mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His sons were Alif K. and Randaula K. The former was made faujdār of Qamarnagar, and the latter got a jāgir and lived with Āṣaf Jāh. Both died, and Bahādur the son of Alif was made faujdār of Karnūl, an appointment which he held for a long time. When the hat-wearers of Pondicherry made a night attack on the camp of the martyred Nāṣir Jang, and discipline got out of hand, the said martyr, thinking that Bahādur was on his side, went towards his detachment (*miṣl*) which was the left wing. As Bahādur K. was in league with the enemy he knowingly and intentionally martyred him by shooting him, in 1164, 1750. He then formed an intimacy (*ṣahbat kok*) with Hedayat Maḥīū-d-dīn K. (Moẓaffar Jang, grandson of Nizām-ul-mulk) and assumed triumphant ways. Though the leader, on account of prudence, temporised, yet after the army had reached Raicor near Cuddapah he became impatient and the dislike became public. In the end there was fighting and the leader was wounded by an arrow and Bahādur was killed by a bullet. The verse is excellent.

*Verse.*

Everything that succeeds in the world  
 When it comes to the top, it fails :  
 No success remains in perfection,  
 When the book is finished, the page is turned.

At the time of this writing Ranmast K. *alias* Manawar K. the half-brother of Bahādur K. is faujdār of Karnūl. He is a friend of the writer.<sup>1</sup>

### D'AUD KHAN QORESHI.

S. Bhikan K., who was one of the Shaikhzādas of Ḥiṣār Firūzā and was a chief and confidential servant of Khān Jahān Lodī. In the fight at Dholpūr, which took place between Khān Jahān and the royal troops, Bhikan flung away the coin of his life. Shaikh D'aūd entered into the service of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and obtained influence with him by his courage and good qualities. In the 30th year he was made faujdār of Mathūra, Mahāban, Jalesar and other estates which on the death of S'adullah K. became the prince's fief. He also had charge of the road between Agra and Delhi with 2000 horse. In the same year he at the request of the prince received the title of Khān. In Dārā Shikoh's first battle he was in the vanguard with Satarsāl Hārā. His brother S. Jān Muḥammad was killed. Afterwards, when Dārā Shikoh fled before Aurangzeb, he left D'aūd on the bank of the Sutlej at the ferry of Talwan<sup>2</sup> which is a well-known crossing. Afterwards he fortified the further bank of the Beas in order to hinder the pursuit. At last when Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled from Lahore towards Multan, D'aūd K., in accordance with orders, burnt and sunk the boats, and then joined Dārā. He went with him everywhere till he separated from him at Bhakar and went off by Jasalmīr to his native country of Ḥiṣār Firūzā. As his experience and ability were well-known he received from Aurangzeb a robe of honour. On the return of the royal standards from Multan to Delhi he came and did homage and received the rank of 4000 with 3000 horse. In the battle with Shujā' he had command of the right wing of the reserve. After Shujā''s defeat he was sent off with Muazzam K. (Mīr Jumla) to pursue him towards Bengal. When he came to

<sup>1</sup> This life was written by 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy. In the life of Nāṣir Jang in the 3rd vol. it is stated, p. 855, that the Nawab was shot by Himmat K. and another person who is not named. The occurrence was on the 19th

November 1750. Elliot VIII. 391. There is an account of Nāṣir Jang's death in the first vol. of Orme's History.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett II. 316, in Sarḡār Lahore.

Patna he was made governor thereof, and his rank was increased by 1000 horse, *duāspa* and *sihāspa* (two horse and three horse). When M'uaẓẓam K. in his pursuit of Shujā' had gone from the direction of Makhṣūṣābād (Murshedābād) to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) D'aūd was ordered to cross the river Ganges with his contingent and the auxiliaries, and to proceed to Tānda, which was the residence of the enemy, so that Shujā' might be pressed on two sides. D'aūd left his brother's son as his deputy in Patna and went off. He afterwards joined M'uaẓẓam K. and assisted in disposing of the business. When Shujā' left the imperial domains D'aūd returned to Patna and addressed himself to chastising the sedition-mongers there. The zamindar of Palāwan (Palamow)—which is forty *kos* to the south of Patna, and the confines of which are 25 *kos* distant from that city—was always insolent, and the territory had strong forts, difficult roads and much jungle. Relying upon these features he behaved presumptuously, and at this time he raised the standard of obstinacy and delayed to pay tribute. The Khān, in accordance with orders, proceeded to conquer the country. He began by taking the forts on the borders, by relying upon which the zamindar used to oppress the imperial territories. Though the ruler was overcome with fear, and begged with contrition that the amount of the tribute should be fixed, and that he might be pardoned, D'aūd did not listen to him, and in the 4th year marched to the territory with a well-equipped force. Batteries were erected near the fort of Palāwan and there was hot fighting. An order came from the Emperor to give the ruler quarter, and to make over the territory to him on condition of his submission and of his embracing Islam. The miserable fellow stubbornly adhered to his paganism and D'aūd by successive engagements arrived at the wall of the fort. Though from the great strength of the place it was not thought that it could soon be taken, yet by secret (Divine) aid the heroes reached the fortification<sup>1</sup> of the wall and carried it. The position of the garrison became difficult, and the zamindar fled by night. After this victory, the Khān stayed some time in the

<sup>1</sup> *Hizār-i-shahband*. The expression comes from the 'Alamgirnāma, pp. 658 and 659.

country to settle it and to strengthen the forts. He then left Mankli K. there—who had, by the Emperor's orders, been made faujdār of Palāwan—and returned to Patna.<sup>1</sup> After that he came to court and was appointed to the Deccan along with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh to punish Sīvā Bhonsla. His rank was made 5000 with 4000 horse, of which 3000 were two-horse and three-horse. At the same time he was made governor of Khandes, and an order was sent that he should leave one of his relatives with a body of troops in Burhanpur and address himself to the duty assigned to him. After taking the fort of Rormāl he, during the siege of Purandhar, was sent by the Mirzā Rajah with 7000 horse to devastate Sīvā's country. He burnt the villages and hamlets appertaining to Rājgarha, and the dependencies of Kundāna, and devastated many towns and then returned with his victorious troops. Afterwards he, with the right wing of the Mirzā Rajah's army, ravaged the territory of Bijapur and fought several battles with the 'Adil Shāhī troops. In the 9th year he was removed from the government of Khandes and was summoned to court. In the 10th year he was sent off as governor of Berar, and after that he was again governor of Burhanpur. In the 14th year he waited on the Emperor and was made governor of Allahabad. The date of his death is unknown. Hamid K. his son had a great name for courage and always served the Emperor. He died in the 25th year of Aurangzeb.

#### DAULAT<sup>2</sup> KHĀN LODĪ.

He belonged to the Shāhū tribe, and at first was in the service of Khān A'zim M. 'Aziz Koka. As he had an abundant share

<sup>1</sup> There is a full account of D'aūd's campaign in Palamow in the 'Ālamgirnāma 648 *et seq.* There is a notice of D'aūd K. in Manucci I. 308 and 317. The campaign of Palamow is also referred to in the Maasir A. 37, and in Khāfi K. II. 129. The campaign began in the third year of Aurangzeb, 1070. D'aūd having begun his march against Palamow on the 22nd Sh'abān of that year (23rd April 1660), 'Ālamgirnāma 649 last line: but Palamow

was not taken till the 4th year, 1071, December 1660. There is an abstract by Blochmann of the account in the 'Ālamgirnāma in the A.S.B.J. for 1871, p. 124, etc., and in the same journal for 1874, p. 240, there is a letter from Colonel Dalton describing a large picture of the taking of Palamow. It is preserved at D'aūdnagar in the Gya district.

<sup>2</sup> B. 502.

of bravery and skill, the Khān A'zim, at the time of the marriage of his sister to 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm s. Bairam K., made over Daulat to him and said that if he wished to rise high and to get his father's title he should keep this man near him and cherish him. For a long time Daulat accompanied M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and did excellent service. He was a predominant partner in the Gujarat victory, in reward of which the Mirzā got the title of Khān-Khānān. He did famous things in the Tatta and Deccan campaigns. He had attained the rank of 1000 in the Khān-Khānān's contingent, when Prince Sultan Daniel made him his own servant and gave him the rank of 2000. When that Prince went from Aḥmadnagar to congratulate his father on the taking of Asīr, he left Daulat to help M. Shah-Rukh who had been appointed to guard that territory (Aḥmadnagar). In the end of the 45th year, 1009, 1600-01, he died<sup>1</sup> of colic in Aḥmadnagar. He was one of the bravest men of the age. Akbar was always apprehensive of his courage and daring, and they say that when the news of his death came he said, "This day Sher Khān Sūr has departed from the world." There are wonderful stories told of Daulat K.

They say that when Shahbāz K. Kambū in the year 986, 1578, in the 24th year of the reign, was appointed to chastise the Rānā, he made very strict arrangements about the order of march. He and some of his servants went ahead, and all the *manṣabdārs* and servants came along with the *gūr*.<sup>2</sup> The *yesāwalān* (lictors) were so strict that they would not allow one horse to be in front of another by so much as an ear. One day, the Khān-Khānān—who was also among the auxiliaries—was riding alongside of Daulat K. Daulat came out of the line and did not heed the prohibition of the *yesāwals*. At a sign from Shahbāz K.—who had many hastinences—his brother 'Abdal K. spurred on his horse and struck Daulat's horse on the nose with a stick. The latter drew his sword and struck such a blow on the buttocks of Abdal's horse that it fell to the ground. Shahbāz told his men to seize Daulat. They say that on that day Daulat Khān showed great activity, and did wonders, and boldly went ahead of the troops. The Afghans,

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III. 785.<sup>2</sup> B. 50 note.



however, joined (with him) in making an onset. The Khān-Khānān in order to discharge himself of his obligation (to produce Daulat K.?) sate at the entrance to Shahbāz K.'s quarters till evening. Shahbāz came out and embraced the Mīrzā, and permitted him to go to his lodging. Next day the Khān-Khānān brought Daulat K. to Shahbāz's quarters and apologized for him. Shahbāz gave Daulat a horse and a robe of honour and said, "Be you the protagonist (Imām "fugleman") of the army and ever lead the way."<sup>1</sup>

They say that when Shaikh Abu-l-faḍl came to the Deccan as general manager, he one day in an assembly where the Khān-Khānān was, said apropos of something, that the Indian sword was written about in books, but that he had never seen it. Daulat suspected an allusion, and flourished his sword and said, "This is an Indian sword, if I strike your head with it, it will go through." The Khān-Khānān laid hold of his arm and put him out. The Shaikh was much disconcerted, and afterwards the Khān-Khānān by much importunity brought Daulat to the Shaikh's quarters and begged pardon for Daulat. The Shaikh rose up and embraced him, and gave him an elephant and a robe of honour and said that he had no allusion in his mind.

Stranger still is the story told in the Zakhīra-ul-Khwanīn that when prince Daniel was displeased with the Khān-Khānān, he in the heat of youth hinted to one of his blackguard-intimates that when the Khān-Khānān came, he should give him a push in the side so that he should fall from the fort of Burhanpur, which lies on the Tapti. Accordingly, one day they did this to the Khān-Khānān, but he kept his footing. His turban however fell off. The prince

<sup>1</sup> The story is not well told, there being too great an effort at brevity. Apparently Daulat K. broke his arrest and distinguished himself in the battle. He was an Afghan, and the Afghans supported him. As he was the Khān-Khānān's servant, the latter was responsible for him, and so sate at Shāhbāz's gate in order to get pardon for Daulat. Perhaps, however, there was

no fighting on the first day, and the meaning is merely that Daulat insisted on going on in front and that his brethren—the Afghans—made a tumult and prevented the ushers or lictors from arresting him. Apparently the incident belongs to the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, 986, 1578. See Blochmann, 400, and Maasir, II. 592.

rose and took the Khān-Khānān's hand and begged his pardon, on the ground that it was the result of drunkenness. Daulat put out his hand and took off the prince's turban and put it on the Khān-Khānān's head and took him home. But the story is improbable and is not consonant with facts, for at that time Daulat was in attendance on the prince, and not a companion of the Khān-Khānān. So it cannot be accepted by those who investigate.

Among Daulat's sons Maḥmūd became melancholy and eventually mad. Remedies made him a little better. In the 46th year he went out to hunt and got separated from his companions. Near the town of Pāl<sup>1</sup> he had a fight with the Kolis and was killed. Another of his sons was Pirai who had the title of Khān Jahān Lodi. A full account of him has been given elsewhere.

#### DAULAT KHAN MAYĪ.

He is commonly known as Khwaṣ Khān. Mayī is a section of the Bhatti<sup>2</sup> tribe which make their livelihood in the Panjab by zamindari, and by robbery. He was the servant—*rūmālbandār* (handkerchief-holder)—of Shaikh Farīd Murtaṣa K. As in early youth he was very beautiful, whenever he came into the presence of Jahangir, the latter looked favourably upon him. After the Shaikh's death he received a suitable rank, and as his horoscope contained advancement, he in a short time attained to greater intimacy and to the title of Khwaṣ Khān, and was made superintendent of the *manṣabdars* of the Jilau (retinue) who are trusted houseborn servants; such an office as his is only given to confidential men. When Shah Jahan became king, he, in the year of the accession, received the rank of 2500 with 1500 horse, and as he was not devoid of energy and courage, he distinguished himself in the fight at Dhohpūr with Khān Jahān Lodi and fell wounded on the field. His courage and alacrity were impressed on the mind of Shah Jahan, and his rank was increased. In the

<sup>1</sup> There was a Pāl in Khandes on the borders of Malwa, J. II. 222, but probably this is the Pāl in Kathiawar. A. N. III. 802 wrongly has Māl

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I, 37. Mayī is

the Mavi of Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 99, who makes it a section of the Gujar tribe. A note to text suggests that the word is Mati. There was such an Afghan tribe. See J. II. 403, n. 2.

6th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse, and he received the title of Daulat Khān. In the same year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shujā' to the siege of Parenda. When he had advanced beyond Burhanpur, he was by Mahābat, the commander-in-chief's arrangement, appointed<sup>1</sup> to Aḥmadnagar with 3000 horse, in order that he might chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and attack his native country of Chamārkūnda.

In the 8th year in Muḥarram 1045, 1635, he was made<sup>2</sup> governor of Sind in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad of Tāshkend. In the 9th year he arrested<sup>3</sup> the false Bāisanqar and brought him to court. That trickster was an obscure person who gave himself out as the Bāisanqar who in Shahriyar's battle was the leader of the latter's army, and who after fleeing to the fort of Kaulās in Telingana died a natural death. The pretended Bāisanqar went to Balkh. Naṣr Muḥammad K. the ruler there wanted to make him a relation by marriage (*khweshi*, son-in-law?), but as his claims did not prove to be true the connection did not take place. Then he went to Persia, and though Shah Ṣafī did not admit him to his presence, he showed him some favour. From thence he went to Bagdad and Asia Minor (Rūm). After a long time, willingly and unwillingly, the hand of death seized his collar and brought<sup>5</sup> him to Tatta. Daulat K. arrested him and sent him to court and he was put to death. In the 20th year, Daulat received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse, and was appointed in succession to S'aīd K. to the government of Qandahar. In the end of the same year he received the high rank of 5000 *zāt* and horse; suddenly evil fate became unkind and prepared for him the materials of ruin.

In Zi-l-ḥajja<sup>6</sup> of the 22nd year, December 1648, Shah 'Abbās the 2nd, ruler of Persia, addressed himself to the siege of Qandahar. It was the depth of winter so that on account of the quantity of snow it was unlikely that help could arrive from India. Though

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Do. 206.

<sup>4</sup> N. N. W. Haiderabad N. Bidar. Abdu-l-Hayy, the second author of the Maasir, died there.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II. 207.

Can this be the man whom Olearius and Tavernier saw in Persia and took to be Bolāqī?

<sup>6</sup> Elliot VII. 88 *et seq.*

the governor of the fort was vigilant in the matter of receipts and expenditure, yet he, from a confused mind, so neglected prudence that he did not make secure the towers which Qulij K. had made. For Qulij K. had in the time of his government the foresight to build towers on the top of the hill Cahal Zina (forty steps) from which guns and matchlocks could be fired into the fortifications of Daulatabad<sup>1</sup> and Mändü. The Persian musketeers took possession of them, and proceeded to fire from them. One day the Shah rode out in person and animated the fight. For three watches the flames of contest blazed, but he was not successful and turned back. But a number of liverless men threw the dust of disloyalty on the head of fidelity and shamelessly said to the governor that as the roads were closed, on account of the quantity of snow, there was no hope of speedy help arriving, and that it was evident from the energy of the Persians that the fort would soon be taken. After the taking, they would lose their lives and their children would be made prisoners. Daulat K., who should have quenched these flames by the water (*ab*, lustre) of the sword, from want of heart and worthlessness did not remember the verse

*Verse.*

Whenever it is right for you to inflict a wound (i.e. an operation),

You'll do no good by laying on a plaster.

and replied by counsel and admonition. Naturally this had no effect. But Shādī K. Uzbeg was the forerunner of all in the path of disloyalty and sent messages to the Shah.

When at this time the fort of Bast was taken from Pur Dil K., and he was covered with contempt, Daulat K. lost still more of the courage in which he was deficient and sent 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, the diwān of Qandahar, to get a safe-conduct (*amān-nāma*) which

<sup>1</sup> Tieffenthaler I. 75 says that Shah Jahan surrounded Qandahar with an earthen wall and also put walls to the forts of Doltabad and Mandui (evidently these were names of forts near Qandahar). The passage in text is

taken from Wāris's continuation of the Pādshāhnāma. B.M. M.S. Add. 6556, p. 413b. Daulat left the towers or forts unoccupied, and the Persians took possession of them. See Elliot, *id.* 90.

was the seal of his condemnation, along with 'Ali Quli K. the brother of Rustum K., the Persian commander-in-chief. 'Ali Quli had brought a message from the Shah to the effect that he should not labour to cause more bloodshed and disgrace to himself and others. Daulat K. himself made a pretence of sending men to clear out<sup>1</sup> the fort on the top of the hill, but as his heart was not in it, there was no good result.

Though they say that if this spiritless man had by the guidance of right-thinking gone with a body of men to that strong position and waited there till the arrival of help, no harm would have come to him or his men, yet in the opinion of good judges it would have been impossible for him to hold out there<sup>2</sup> for three months—when Prince Aurangzeb arrived with the learned S'aad Ullah K. on 12 Jumāda-al-awal, 14 May 1649, at the foot of the fort. I admit this, but he from cowardice did not regard his honour which men regard as above price, and to keep which they sacrifice property and life. Daulat K. chose the perpetual disgrace of disloyalty and want of spirit which would not be removed from him till the day of judgment. On 9 Šafr 1059, 12 February 1649, he came out with his goods and his companions and much importuned 'Ali Quli K. to relieve him of the burden of doing homage to the Shah. If this was inevitable, he begged that there might be no delay in his dismissal. 'Ali Quli having learnt both his wishes introduced him to the Shah in the garden of Ganj 'Ali K. known as Bāgh Ganj, and at the same hour he got permission to go to India. He came there with a world of shame and loss. As his faithlessness and ingratitude left no room for excuses, he saw that the door of intercession was shut in his face, and with a sad heart chose the corner of contempt, until the rest of his life was completed.

In truth there is no question about his want of leadership and littleness of courage, for he surrendered a strong fort—which had five powerful defences to it, 4000 swordsmen and archers, 3000 skilled musketeers and two years' supply of materials, includ-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the word is *baruftan* and not *baraftan*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this refers to the occupation of the Cabal Zina hill.

ing money, provisions, lead, gunpowder, etc.—after a siege of two months. He preferred a fleeting life to eternal fame, though a number<sup>1</sup> of persons threw in at night arrows bearing information to the effect that the Persian army was in great distress from the want of hay and corn; and that their cattle were dying and that help would soon come from India. If he stood firm for another month, the enemy would retreat without gaining their object. But this lost one had no fortitude. By the strength of misfortune (*bedaulat*) he gave to the winds the fortune<sup>2</sup> (*daulat*) of many years of his life.

#### (RAJAH) DEBĪ SINGH BANDĪLA.

Son of Rajah Bhāratha. After his father's death in the 7th year of Shah Jahan he attained the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. In the 8th year he was appointed, along with Khān Daurān, to punish Jujhār Singh, and received a drum. After Undcha (Orcha) was taken—which formerly had belonged to his ancestors, and in Jahangir's time had, in order to please Bir Singh Deo, been taken from them, and given to him—it was given to Raja Debī Singh, and he remained there. He also became the head of the Bandīla clan. Afterwards, when the king came to Undcha (Orcha) and proceeded towards the Deccan, he, in the 9th year, came to court and was sent to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārha who had been appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory. He did good service there. In the 10th year he, at the request of Khān Daurān, received a flag and a drum. In the 19th year he in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh went on the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshan, and repeatedly performed brave actions, and on many occasions had hand to hand combats with the Almānān. In the 22nd year—when the fort of Qandahar came into the possession of the Persians—he again went, with Prince Aurangzeb, to take that fort. In the battle with the Persians he stood firm, and fought bravely. A third time he went to the same quarter with Dāra Shikoh. When he returned in the 28th year he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. I. 6 8, who only speaks of one man's having given such information and of one arrow having been shot in.

<sup>2</sup> The writer puns on his name.

Malwa, and in the 30th year he went with Muazzam K. Mīr Jumla to Aurangzeb in the Deccan. In the 31st year he was summoned to court and was sent off with Maharaja Jaswant Singh—who was appointed to Malwa—to hold Aurangzeb in check. As the Divine decree had gone forth for his preservation, the Maharaja appointed him on the day of the battle to protect the camp. In the course of the battle when Sultan Murād Bakhsh rushed upon the royal (i. e. Shah Jahan's) camp and this caused agitation and confusion, he out of foresight submitted to the prince and joined him. Through the prince's recommendation he entered Aurangzeb's service, and after Murād Bakhsh's arrest he received a robe of honour. Afterwards when his zeal was made known through the Khān Daurān Saiyid Muḥammad, his rank became 2500 with 2500 horse. After the second battle with Dārā Shikoh he was made faujdār of Bhilsa in succession to Rajah 'Ālam. In the 3rd year he was appointed to chastise Campat Bandila—who was being rebellious in the province of Malwa—and in the 10th year he was sent off to assist Shamsher K. who had been appointed to chastise the Yūsufzais. In the 13th year he was appointed<sup>1</sup> to the contingent of Muḥammad Amīn K., the governor of Kabul. When he came to the Khyber, that Khān was defeated. After that, there is no further account of Debī Singh. Outside of Aurangabad to the westward inclining to the south is a quarter which bears his name.

#### DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

He was Mir 'Abdu-l-Qādir and the eldest son of Amānat K. Khawāfi. He was a man straight in conduct, weighty of speech, magnanimous and sedate. He was distinguished for honesty and truthfulness, and for soundness of judgment and prudence. He became known during his father's lifetime, in the reign of Aurangzeb, and his ability and justice adorned the age. When his father was conducting the affairs of the Deccan, he had charge of the buildings of the city of Aurangabad. When Aurangzeb came there, an order was given for renewal of the city-wall, the circuit of which

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 104. There is an account of M. Amīn's defeat in the Khyber in Manucci II. 199.

was a thousand yards which is equal to two royal *kos*. The work was undertaken under the superintendence<sup>1</sup> of Ihtimām K., the Kotwal of the army. As the king was anxious that the work should be done quickly, Dīānat undertook to do it in four months, and finished it by an expenditure of three lacs. After his father's death, the king having been impressed by the excellent services of the deceased, took into consideration the position of all those who were connected with him, and especially provided for Dīānat, who was the eldest and best of the sons, and increased his allowances. As his younger brother Mīr Husain had chiefly come under the notice of the king, he had his father's title, and the other was styled Dīānat. In the 34th year he was made diwān of the Deccan on the death of Mūsāvi K. Mirzā M'uizz. When in the 43rd year his brother Amānat K. the 2nd, who was the superintendent of the port of Surat, died, Dīānat was appointed to the office. He received an increase of 500 and had the rank of 2000. But the management of the affairs of the port was not approved of by the king, and he on account of his dissatisfaction summoned him to court. Afterwards he was made diwān of the Deccan, and the water that had flowed away returned to its old channel (i.e. he was received again into favour). After Aurangzeb's death, Muḥammad A'zim Shāh confirmed him in the same appointment, and left him in Aurangabad.

How can the power and influence of the Diwāns of those days be described? They could make grants (*tankh wāh*) up to 99000 dāms (rs. 2475) under their own signature, and whenever they

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 224. It was in the 26th year. The text and apparently all the MSS. have "one thousand *gar'a*," i.e. cubits, but surely the words *daura ash* "its circumference" are a mistake for *daura shash* and the number of cubits should be 6000, which would more nearly approach to two *kos*, though even this falls far short of the number of cubits required, for according to the Mirāt-ul-Ālam a royal *kos* contains 5000 *zara*' or cubits. We ought, therefore, to have 10,000 *gar'a*. Ac-

cording to the Mirāt two royal *kos* were equal to 3½ ordinary ones. Compare Khāfi K. I. 488 where a description of the Daulatabad fort is given, and is stated that the circumference of the hill is 5500 *dara* Shah-jahani which are equal to 1 *kos*, 10 *jarib* (bigas).

According to Rosen's Persian grammar *zira*' and *zar* are different, the first meaning a cubit, and the second a yard. The Maasir here then may be taken to mean yards.



wanted they could from time to time add to such grants. As the grants<sup>1</sup> of jagirs were not valid without the signature of the emperor or the prime minister (*Nāẓim-i-kull*) and as with the exception of *Khān Firūz Jang*—who was stationed in Berar—there was no higher officer in the Deccan (than *Diānat* the Diwan), whenever a necessity arose, the lists of the grants of fiefs were brought to him (*Diānat*)<sup>2</sup> and that high officer entered the word “unexpectedly presented” on the deeds and signed them.

When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan, the diwānī thereof was nominally assigned to Murshid Qulī K., and Musāvj<sup>3</sup> K. Mirzā Mahdī was appointed his deputy until he should arrive from Bengal. Afterwards, when *Diānat* waited upon the king, he was received with much favour, and as the king designed to visit Haidarabad and the overthrow of *Kām Bakhsh*, he left some revenue-debtors<sup>4</sup> (?) in the strong fortress of Bīdar, and appointed *Diānat* to guard that territory. When Bahadur Shah returned from the Deccan to Upper India, *Diānat*,—who had chosen Aurangabad as his home—was put in charge of the fort and citadel thereof and spent his days in ease and comfort. Afterwards, when Murshid Qulī came into the Presence from Bengal, he did not wish to undertake the duty (of Diwan of the Deccan) as his heart was in Bengal. On account of former good offices, the deceased *Khān*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grants were made both of money and of land. Compare Bernier who says his patron's grant was *nagdi* (cash).

<sup>2</sup> The whole paragraph is obscure, and I am not sure of the meaning in several places. I think that it must be *Diānat*, the diwan to whom the grants were brought, and not *Khān Firūz Jang*, i.e. Ghāziu-d-dīn K. Firūz Jang, the father of the famous Nizām-ī-Mulk Asaf Jāh of the Deccan, for he was at a distance and moreover he was not the prime minister. The expression *ghair mutaragqab* occurs at vol. III, p. 853, and that of *nā mutaragqab* at I, p. 6, and I think that the words after it are *ba sanad*

*namūda* “showing on the grant” but it may be that they are *basand namūda* “contenting himself with this.” There is a biography of *Firūz Jang* at II, 872. I should mention, however, that my friend Mr. Irvine is of opinion that the grants were submitted to Ghāziu-d-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> He is mentioned in *Khāfi* K. II, 396.

<sup>4</sup> *Asāmi Mahal*. The expression is a curious one and I am not sure of the meaning. Perhaps it means “ladies of the harem.”

<sup>5</sup> The words “deceased *Khān*” are obscure and I am not certain that they refer to Murshid Qulī. From the biography of *Diānat* K. the son it ap-

(Murshid Quli?) exerted himself to have the diwani conferred again upon Dīānat.

When the sovereignty accrued to Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, the Diwānī of the Deccan was given to Haidar Quli K. Khurāsānī. Before he arrived, Dīānat had died. He had a share of learning and excellence. The great book of the spiritual Magnavī (by Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī) was read in his assemblies as a blessed thing. His son was Dīānat K. the 2nd, of whom a separate account has been given. Among his daughter's sons, the one whom he loved most was Saiyid Amānat K., the son of his eldest daughter, who was known as Arjmand K. His father was Saiyid Atāi. Mir Aḥmad his father was from Tūrān. Saiyid Aḥmad was of high genius and was associated with poetry and eloquence. For some days he was his grandfather's deputy. After that he became acquainted with Haidar Quli K.<sup>1</sup> and held the faujdārī of Bīr. In Gujarat he held the government of Pitlād,<sup>2</sup> on behalf of Haidar Quli. Some time before this he was appointed by Aṣaf Jāh to the collectorship of Andūr<sup>3</sup> which is one of the known estates of Bidar. From misfortune and the disease of cataract (*nazūl mā*,<sup>4</sup> lit. descent of water) which prevents one from seeing without spectacles, he was confined to his house. In this unemployment and idleness he became fond of alchemy and acquired a good knowledge of its technicalities from reliable books. But success in it is a hidden treasure and is not to be found in druggists' shops, and it is a matter of hope. "The bounty of God He causeth to come to whom He chooseth."

#### DĪĀNAT KHĀN (son of the above).

His name was Mir 'Alī Naqī, and he was the worthy son of Mir 'Abdu-l-Qādir Dīānat K. By his straightness and honesty he was the equal (lit. the second of two) of his honoured father. In

pears that it was Zūl fiqār who procured the reappointments of father and son.

<sup>1</sup> Text 'Alī but the variant is right.

<sup>2</sup> J. II, 235.

<sup>3</sup> Qu ? Indūr in Sarkār Talingāna,

J. II, 237; or perhaps Indūri in Sarkār Kalam, J. II, 235.

<sup>4</sup> *Nazūl-i-āb* means hydrocele, but here *nazūl-i-mā* must mean cataract. Apparently Dīānat had not access to spectacles. He was the author's grand-uncle.

the discharge of his duties in the king's service he did not take the road of hypocrisy or connivance. From the beginning of his years of discretion he was his father's deputy and acted as Diwan of the province of Aurangabad. His father was Diwan of the Deccan and so abode in the royal camp. Diānat also held the substantive office of the Biyūtāt of the city (charge of the public buildings). In the time of his youth he experienced an awakening and had a desire for devotion. By a fortunate guidance he embraced the service of that knower of spiritual and temporal mysteries Miyān Shah Nūr,<sup>1</sup> who was a dervish without vanity and who passed his time in asceticism and in trust in God. Diānat was his devoted follower. At the same age, he by the virtue of his association with that saint kept free of forbidden pleasures, and followed some of the pure ways of the sect. When that illuminated (nūrānī) Pīr died, Diānat spent a large sum in the building and repairing his tomb, and made endowments of land, etc. At the present day, in the decay of the once flourishing city, there is no other shrine which is visited by far and near. Besides the days of his and his successors' anniversaries, and on other days also, there is an assemblage of high and low, like what occurs on the *Ākhir Chār Shambah*<sup>2</sup> of the month of Šafr. When any poor person came to visit the shrine he (Diānat?)<sup>3</sup> used to put two *falūses* into his hand in order that he might go and bathe at the public baths, and so he used to be called Shah Nūr Ḥamāmī (the faqīr of the bath).

They say that this saint never told any one his family or tribe, or birthplace, or profession, but it was gathered from his words, and was inferred, that he was the son of a rich man of the east country (i. e. Bengal or Bihar). His disciples agree that his life was prolonged beyond the natural limit. Stranger still, he never told to what order he belonged. In fact he never said a word about either pīr (master) or disciple. He instructed and advised the sincere and his associates. After his death his order became current. The Khān appointed Saiyid Shihābu-d-din—who was

<sup>1</sup> He died on 2 Feb., 1693 (Beale).

<sup>2</sup> The last Wednesday of Šafr and the day when Muḥammad bathed for the last time. Hughes' Dict. of Islam.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the saint himself is meant.

from Bihar, and for a long time had served Shah Nūr—to be his successor. After him, his sister's son Saiyid S'aad Ullah succeeded him. At present his (Sæd Ullah's) son Saiyid Quṭbu-d-dīn known as Mjyān Manjhālī is the representative. In the flower of his youth he is ascetic and awakened, and acquainted with the traditional and rational sciences; especially is he adorned with humility and good dispositions.

In fine, during the reign of Aurangzeb the Khān held the diwānship of Bidar and afterwards that of Būrhanpur and had increase of rank and the title of Khān. When Bahādur Shah came to the Deccan with his victorious army, Dīānat waited upon him and was graciously received. Inasmuch as he was a man of powerful frame and fine physique, of quick apprehension and clever, and acquainted with most of the sciences, and in every respect was of an original and inventive mind, pressure was put upon him to make him stay at court—which is the source of advancement. The Khān on account of love for his birthplace had no liking for pomp, and could not bring himself to remain in attendance. Some shortsighted persons from obliqueness of vision and erroneous notions brought a charge of alchemy against him. They even represented this to the king. The real facts are that the vapours of quicksilver or sulphur never touched his brain, nor did the odour of sulphur<sup>1</sup> or lead reach his nostrils. But sometimes for the sake of sport and in order to excite wonder he would by legerdemain (*tardastihā*) put a rupee into a fold of paper, remove the rupee to another place and show men the paper, and then produce the rupee. At first sight the spectators were astonished. This sort of thing got noised abroad and was the cause of his being arrested. And so Bahādur Shah, at the time of

<sup>1</sup> *Mis u-riṣṭā*, but there are different readings and the expression "smell" of copper and tin, or lead, does not seem appropriate. The variant "ās" "ashes" is supported by many MSS. and is probably right. For *riṣṭā* B.M. 21, 470 has *nahā* "bronze." Cf. chapter on the Origin of Metals, B. 38. A. F. says that sulphur and quick-

silver were the only component parts of "the seven bodies," and that quicksilver was called the mother of the bodies, and sulphur the father of the bodies. Also that *riṣṭā* was supposed to be silver in the state of leprosy, and quicksilver, silver in the state of apoplexy, and that an alchemist could heal them!

returning from the Deccan, took him with him by compulsion and brought him to near Ujjain. It chanced that at this time Murshid Qulī K. M. Hādī—who had come from Bengal and been raised to the diwānī of the Deccan—was seeking to resign his new appointment as his heart was attached to Bengal, and was trying to gain his desire. Zūl-fiqār K. the Amīru-l-Umarā gave, by the breath of kindness, new life to that hankerer after his native land (Dīānat) by nominally appointing his father—who was spending his days in guarding the citadel of Aurangabad, and in spite of the Khān-Khānān—who was the chief cause of the supersession—procured Dīānat's release from court by making him his father's deputy, and so made him happy by enabling him to return to his native country. In the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign he came to court. Haidar 'Alī K. of Khurasan the diwān appointed to the Deccan, who had no equal in influence, met him in Agra and in accordance with royal orders took him back with himself. He had groundless<sup>1</sup> apprehensions in his mind. At the same time his father died and Nawab Nizāmu-l-Mulk Fath Jang (Aṣaf Jāh) the Nāẓim of the country sent a recommendation that Dīānat should have charge of the citadel. This was granted and he was appointed. After that the Amīru-l-Umarā Husain 'Alī K. in accordance with an agreement with his brother Saiyid 'Abdullah K. entrusted the diwānship of the Deccan to Dīānat, and treated him with much honour and favour and conferred on him the title of Dīānat K.

When that high officer had determined on returning to Upper India he took Dīānat, who had been removed<sup>2</sup> from office, willing or unwilling, with him. After the destruction of Farrukh Siyar, he gave him the diwānship of the Khālṣa and the rank of 4000. Inasmuch as Dīānat had lived from the early youth in Aurangabad which, on account of its proximity to the royal camp, had no effective governor (hāris), and Dīānat also enjoyed special consideration on account of his father being in attendance at court, and used to spend his days in much security and independence,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that Haidar 'Alī thought Dīānat had come to Agra to supplant him.

<sup>2</sup> Ziyau-d-dīn had been appointed in his room. *Maasir*, III. 37.

he had not submissive ways, nor the understanding of people's dispositions. Now he was obliged to study how to please the man in power (Sirdār), but he took no pains to conciliate their environment. Rajah Ratan<sup>1</sup> Cand—who had established himself in the hearts of both the leaders (the Saiyids)—was offended at this, and set about defeating him. At length, the minds of both the leaders became prejudiced against Dīānat by Ratan Cand's calumnies. At that time Nawab Fath Jang (the Nizāmu-l-Mulk) had disposed of 'Ālam 'Alī K.,<sup>2</sup> and as he had now to deal with the faction of the Amīru-l-Umarā, he was using all his endeavours to collect money and soldiers. For these purposes he wished to get by compulsion a sum of money from the rich. Some well-meaning counsellors had regard to the lawfulness of inflicting private loss for the public gain and restrained him from vexing the commonalty and suggested the confiscation of Dīānat's property, as he had been long suspected by the populace of having treasure and buried wealth. Owing to the emergency of the times his eldest son was put under surveillance, and the gates of investigation were thrown open. When nothing was found, lying claimants set about excavating disused wells, and the result was that the dust of disgrace was sprinkled on the heads of the tale-bearers. Except gold and silver, jewellery, and the household utensils of his own and of his near connexions, the total value of which was Rs. 70,000, nothing was got except disgrace and a bad name (to the informants). The strange thing (*turfa*) was that as the Amīru-l-Umarā had taken a dislike to him, he regarded the commotion as a plot between the two (Fath Jang and Dīānat).

The Khān himself used to relate how "One day when the news came of the death of 'Ālam 'Alī K., I was asked (by the Saiyid) as to what should be done to amend matters. I said, 'There's a Hindustani proverb that when one's hand has been caught under a stone, it should be withdrawn slowly.' Here the very head of the Nawab (Husain 'Alī's) has been caught, for his

<sup>1</sup> He was 'Abdullah K.'s diwan and had great influence. The Siyar M. I. 66 says, he had originally been a shop-keeper.

<sup>2</sup> The Amīru-l-Umarā's brother's son; killed in battle with the Nizāmu-l-Mulk in 1132, 1720.

honour is caught there.<sup>1</sup> Now an order should be quickly sent giving the viceroyalty to the Nizāmu-l-mulk in order to conciliate him, and his amendment and punishment should be left until an opportunity occurs." He (Husain Ali) gave a glance at Rajah Ratan Chand and smiled sardonically and said, "I have sent money to the east (for recruits?). From here to the Deccan there will be relays upon relays of carriage (?). There will be 12,000 torch-bearers and I will not halt even to take breath, and I will make no distinction between night and day." The Khān said, "The might and majesty of the Nawab is greater than this, but if you go so fast, how much of an army will accompany you, and what strength will remain to men and horses." He frowned and said, "To die is the perfection of soldiering." It is a hopeless case when a leader proudly<sup>2</sup> utters words like one who has lost his senses, and so the Khān answered, "When you have determined on a thing, trust in God."

In fine, after the overthrow of the Saiyids, he was favourably treated by 'Itimādu-d-daula (Muḥammad Amīn K.) and was sent off to the Deccan to take up the hereditary office of the Dīwānī. He waited upon Fath Jang and was encompassed with favours. When that great officer went to court to take up the Viziership, he entrusted to Dīānat the care of his estates. He increased more and more in his appreciation of Dīānat and made him cheerful by restoring the money that had been confiscated, and moreover apologised for what had taken place. The Khān said, "It was a subject for thanksgiving, not for complaining, for it (the plundering) had been a means of allaying a suspicion of wealth that had existed for many years. Otherwise God (only) knows what kind of raging tyrants I might have fallen among, and how far they might have gone." After that, as his disposition was naturally self-opinionated and independent, he did not

<sup>1</sup> This alludes to the fact of Husain 'Ali's families being in the Deccan, and exposed to the Nizāmu-l-Mulk's attack. See I. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Text *jur'at*, but the reading of

a B.M. MS. *jabrūt* seems preferable. The text is wrongly pointed, making it appear as if this last sentence was part of Husain 'Ali's speech. But it really is a reflection of the author.

consort with 'Izadu-d-daulah 'Iwaz K. the Naib Subahdar of the Deccan, and it was a case of "Hold aslant<sup>1</sup> and don't spill."

When Nawab Fath Jang returned from Upper India, and there was an intention of giving battle to Mubārīz K., the *Khān*, who could not be controlled when speaking the truth, and knew nothing about timeserving, without hesitation ascribed rebellion and falsehood to his own side, and spoke of the rights of the other side. Consequently, it was reported that he belonged to the opposite party and he was nearly meeting with a great misfortune. The mildness and easy-going of the Chief (the *Nizām-ul-mulk*) protected him, and after the victory he was merely deprived of his fief and office, and for a long time was confined to his house. Again, *Āṣaf Jāh* became kind to him and wished to restore him to his fief and office, but 'Izad-u-d-daulah from the old enmity opposed this and withheld the *Nizām* from befriending him. Though he behaved with independence and nonsolicitation and did not beg or importune, yet the anxieties of unemployment and vacancy at last made him ill. In the month of Rajab 1141, Jan.-Feb. 1729, he died. Though he was reported to be hard and rough, and did not in the king's business behave mercifully or with regard to relations and did not open wide the gates of praise and consideration for the world at large, yet for truth and honesty he was the unique of the age. He did not take trouble about the preserving of dignities and the proper forms of address, but he secretly and clandestinely gave charities to the poor and needy. Though he had but slightly studied the current sciences, yet he had studied rules of conduct and ethics, especially the commentaries of the *Ṣūfīs*, and could speak accurately about them. He abstained from forbidden things. But he did not much regard external observances, nor did he consort much with ecstatic *Shaikhs*. He was spoken of publicly and privately for his great appetite.<sup>2</sup> Though he did not eat so much, yet he was fond of dainties, and relishes with fruits and sweetmeats. He was of a powerful frame and had a vigorous appetite. He was a skilful marks-

<sup>1</sup> See B. 192 and note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaerat iḥtiḥā*. Perhaps "numer-

ous appetites," or "passions," is meant.



man with the gun and bow and was very fond of and much versed in hunting, in shooting at a target and in polo. At Kandhila—which is a village three *kos* from the city—there was a meadow of Zainu-l-abidin K. *Khawāfi* which was famous. He bought it and made a garden, and planted cocoanut trees. Time did not befriended his desire, though he wished to spend much money on it. At present there are many flourishing cocoanut trees there. His eldest son was Mirak Muhammad Taqī<sup>1</sup> K. who was unequalled for gentleness and friendliness. He was an exquisite companion. He was for a long time charged with the buildings of Aurangabad. After his father's death, he was kindly treated by the Nawab Āṣaf Jāh, and was made diwan of the Deccan, and had the title of Wazārat K. and the rank of 2000. In the 16th year of Muhammad Shah a madlike and poverty-stricken *maṣābdār* one night without any reason attacked him with a sword. He hit him on the nose. He was wounded, but the wound soon healed. But from that day there was a disturbance in his disposition and he went now to the other extreme. He kept bravoës (*mardam khānā-jang*) and cherished improper ideas, and gave himself up to destruction.

Though his mature understanding and discernment were inconsistent with such vain thoughts, yet fate prevailed. He took to soldiering and leadership and became on behalf of the Nizāmu-d-daula Bahādur (Nāsir Jang)—may his fortune endure!—master of the army and went off to Dharūr and Dhārāsīn.<sup>2</sup> He left the path of safety behind him and without having resources for independence and without power or influence, took up with every wicked wretch, nor did he understand the infamy of those people.

At this time he, in Rīnāpūr, entered the service of the afore-said Nawab, who aspired to the government of Haidarabad. It chanced on the<sup>3</sup> 16th Zi-l-hajja 1151, 16 March 1739 (it was the day), when the Shahīnshah Nādir Shah came to Delhi and ordered a general massacre, a soldier who was doomed to die behaved

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this should be Naqī.

<sup>2</sup> Dhārāsīyūn, Elliot VII, 55, 50 m. N.F. Sholapur.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is that it happened

on the same day, not that there was any connection between the two things.

with violence and drew his dagger. One of the spectators was beforehand with him and killed him. A number of soldiers who were tribesmen and relatives of the slain man, rose up to fight, and some rioters entered Mīrak Taqī's tent and in the twinkling of an eye cut him to pieces with a hundred swordcuts. He did not know about this and had no suspicion, and did not lift his hands, and died a victim. Two youths who were not connected with him bravely fell in that turmoil. None of his friends or servants exerted themselves. Nor was any help given by the leaders who had assembled.

It looked as if they had all wished for this thing. What they wished, happened. It is said that at his death all memory of the flavour of his energies and the sweets of his companionship departed from the hearts of his friends. He (i.e. Dīānat Mīr 'Alī Naqī, the father) had many sons. His second son, Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī K., is dead. He was pure of heart and an orthodox and God-fearing man, and was prudent in business, and he was also charitable. When the diwānī of the Deccan fell to his full brother the martyred Wazārat K. (Mīrak Taqī), he was put in charge of the buildings. In the 15th year of Muḥammad Shāh he died in his 37th year. He left scars on the hearts of the sincere. At the time of writing, another son, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain K., is an object (lit. vessel) of favour with Āṣaf Jāh and is exalted by the hereditary diwānī and the diwānī of the establishment of Āṣaf Jāh. He maintains in perfection the honesty (*dīānat*) which he obtained by inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

#### DĪĀNAT KHĀN QĀSIM BEG.

An Amīr of the reign of Jahangir, and one who became acceptable to him on account of his tact and diligence. After the advancement of I'timād-ud-daula, Dīānat spoke improperly about him in the king's presence and so was placed in the charge of Āṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan, in order that he might place him in the fort of Gwalior which was in his charge. After some time he was

<sup>1</sup> The length of this notice is accounted for by the fact that Dīānat Mīr

'Alī Naqī was the son of the author's granduncle.

released<sup>1</sup> at the request of I'timādu-d-daula. In the 8th year he was appointed reviser of petitions ('arṣ *mokarrir*). In the 11th year he was removed from that appointment and sent with Prince Sultan Khurram to the Deccan. Nothing more is known<sup>2</sup> of him.

### DĪĀNAT KHĀN HAKĪM JAMĀLĀ KĀSHĪ.

In the first year of Shah Jahan he was made diwan of the establishment of Mamtāzu-z-zamānī (the Queen), and in the 4th year his rank was 1000 with 250 horse and he had the charge of the diwānī of the Panjab in succession to Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm. As he showed marks of trustworthiness he in the 5th year had the title of Dīānat K. and an increase of 150 horse, and received the diwānī, amīnī and faujdārī of Sarkār Sirhind in succession to Rai Kāsi Dās. In the 9th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th, after the fort of Qandahar had come into the royal possession, and Prince Shujā' had been appointed to Kabul in expectation of an attack by Shah Šafi, the king of Persia, he was sent with the prince as diwān of the army. In the 12th year he was appointed to the service of the "Branding and Verification" in succession to 'Āqil K. 'Inayat K. In the 14th year he received a robe of honour and a horse, and the diwānī of Aurangabad, the Bālāghāt of Berar, and of the country of Telingāna which had been conquered. In the 17th year he received an increase of 500, and in the 18th his rank was 2,000 with 7,000 horse. In the 21st year when the diwānī of the Subahs was entrusted to the Rai Raiyān he came to court. After that Prince Murād Bakhsh had shown himself displeased with the Rai Rayān, Dīānat K. was in the 22nd year made diwān of the four provinces. In the 27th year after being relieved of that charge he came to court and was made diwān of the establishment of Prince Murād Bakhsh. Afterwards when the well-wishers of Aurangzeb had their desires fulfilled, he had court service, such as the Superintendentship of the Branding. In the 8th year of Aurangzeb he was made diwān of

<sup>1</sup> Tūzūk J. 149. This was in the 10th year. He was made reviser of the petitions in the same year, do. 150.

<sup>2</sup> He came from Agra and waited

on Jahangir in the 17th year, and he was pardoned and restored to his former rank, Tūzūk 355.

the Biyūtāt, and in the 9th year he was removed from that employment and in the 16th year corresponding to 1083, 1672, he died. His sons<sup>1</sup> Dev-āfkan, Sher-āfkan and Rustum received mourning robes of honour. The first of them was made in the 24th year Superintendent of the "Branding and Verification" and had the title of M'utamid K. The other two also obtained suitable *manşabs*.

### DĪĀNAT KHĀN.

Muhammad Husain Dasht Bayāzī. The Dasht<sup>2</sup> Bayāz is one of the nine tracts of the country of Qohistan. He was one of the nobles of that country and was the unique of the age for his knowledge of history. By the guidance of good fortune he entered the service of Shah Jahan in Junair and was admitted to intimacy and influence. On the day of the Accession he received<sup>3</sup> the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and a present of Rs. 8,000. When, after the death of Jahangir, Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of the Deccan, took some steps which indicated insincerity towards Shah Jahan, or rather which were repugnant to royalty and fidelity, the latter, though, owing to the necessity of the time, he issued orders for his being confirmed in his government, and rank and fief, yet he made many inquiries about his actions. For Khān Jahān had taken away Mālwa from Mozaffar K., who was the governor thereof, and had laid hold of it, and all the leaders of the Deccan auxiliary forces were devoted to him, and the Nizām Shāh was his partizan because he had surrendered<sup>4</sup> to him (the Nizām) the territory of the Bālāghāt (above the passes). Shah Jahan feared lest he might rebel, and in the first year of his reign he appointed Dīānat K.—who had a reputation for sound judgment and good sense—to be wāqa'navis<sup>5</sup> (Recorder) of the Deccan, and gave him

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 124, where it is said that Dīānat was famous for his knowledge of astrology.

<sup>2</sup> The white plain. It was a district of the Qohistan of Khurāsān, towards Afghanistan. The Qohistān begins at the frontiers of Herat and extends to Nahavand and Hamādan. (Yāqūt, Barbier de Meynard).

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 119, where the present is stated as Rs. 7,000.

<sup>4</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 76. See also the biography of Khān Jahān Lodī I. 716.

<sup>5</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 205, where it is said that he was also made Bakhshī.

secret instructions to make himself acquainted with the secrets of Khān Jahān's heart and to ascertain what his projects were and to report them. After Diānat arrived at Burhanpur he, from his perfect skill in physiognomy and his wisdom, wrote strongly to the emperor to the effect that the disturbing and rebellious acts of this man (Khān Jahān) were the result of his suspicions, and that in reality he was in great fear and had lost heart. He could not originate such projects (of rebellion). Shah Jahan might in full confidence invite Khān Jahan to court, for there was no likelihood of any disturbance in the country. On receiving this report Shah Jahan gave up his apprehensions, and removed Khān Jahan from the Deccan and made him governor of Mālwa. And he made Diānat governor of the fort of Ahmadnagar. In the beginning of the 2nd year he had an increase<sup>1</sup> of 500 *zāt* and 700 horse. When in the 3rd year Burhanpur became the residence of Shah Jahan his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the same year, 1040, 1630-31, he died<sup>2</sup> in Ahmadnagar.

#### DILĀWAR K. BAĤĀDUR.

He was Muhammad N'aim, the third son of Dilāwar K. 'Abdu-l-'azīz, s. Mir 'Abdu-l-Ḥakīm, s. Mir 'Abdu-l-Raḥīm, s. Maulānā Kamāl of Naishāpūr, who was brother of Maulānā Jamāl, the grandfather of 'Inayat Ullah K. As it happened, Maulānā Kamāl came from his native country and settled in Lahore, and died in the year 1011, 1602-3. His tomb is outside of the city in the Serai of Hājī Siyāh. Mir 'Abdu-l-'azīz at first was the servant of Dārā Shikoh. When he turned his face towards serving Aurangzeb, he gave out his name as being Shaikh 'Abdu-l-'azīz. In the 17th year he had the title of Dilāwar K. and gradually rose to the rank of 2,000 and then died. Muhammad N'aim on account of his being connected by marriage with 'Inayat Ullah K. was called by

<sup>1</sup> Pādehshāhnāma I. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Pādehshāhnāma 320. Khāfi K. I. 429, who says that it was Diānat who refused to give up the fort of Ahmadnagar when Khān Jahān Lodi sold the country to the Nizāmu-l-Mulk for six

lacs of *hūns*. According to the Pādehshāhnāma I. 76 it was Sipahdār K. who refused to surrender the fort, and apparently this was before Diānat had come to the Deccan.

his father's title and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's reign went to the Deccan in company with the Nizāmu-l-mulk 'Āṣaf Jāh, who was Nizām of the Deccan. Afterwards Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā had him appointed faujdār of Raicor. After that he addressed himself—in company with Mubārīz K. who was his wife's sister's husband—to do battle against Āṣaf Jāh. After Mubārīz was killed, he was made a prisoner and for a long time was an associate of Āṣaf Jāh. He obtained the rank of 5,000 and in 1139, 1726-27, he died. He had a poetical vein and had a good talent. Nuṣrat<sup>1</sup> was his *takhallas*. This couplet is his:—

*Verse.*

The eyelashes are not closed, the beloved is without a veil.  
How can one sleep in the mansion of the Sun?

Of<sup>2</sup> his sons the eldest was Muḥammad Dilāwar, Muẓaffar-ud-daula Bahādur Intizām Jang. He was in the time of Nizāmu-l-mulk Āṣaf Jāh, faujdār of Serā. After some years, when that talūq came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went to Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh and became Bakhshī of the provinces of the Deccan, and was friendly to the writer of these lines. The second was Dil Dilāwar K. who was faujdār of Biswāpatan, a dependency of Serā. He afterwards came before Nizāmu-l-mulk. Āṣaf Jāh, and was made head of the artillery of the Deccan. He died in 1166, 1753. Both had children.

### DILĀWAR KHĀN KĀKAR.

His name was Ibrāhīm. At first he passed his days as a companion of M. Yūsuf K. Reẓavī. By good fortune he distinguished himself in Jahāngir's presence in the affair<sup>3</sup> of Akhīrāj and Abhī-

<sup>1</sup> Sprenger's Cat., p. 525. The *dīwān* is in A.S.B. library No. 136, No. 1432, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> The preposition *az* is omitted in text, but occurs in a B.M. MS.

<sup>3</sup> See the account in the *Tūzūk J.*, p. 12, and the travesty of it in Price's *Jahāngir*, pp. 37, 38. The disturbance occurred on 27 Sha'bān 1014, 25 De-

cember 1605. Akhīrāj was s. Bhagwān Dās, and Abhīrāj, or Abhī Rām, was his son. The disturbance was caused by Akhīraj's three sons proposing to join the Rānā. Jahāngir ordered their arrest, and while endeavouring to carry out this order, Ibrāhīm received nine wounds.

rāj. This occurred in the public courtyard<sup>1</sup> of the palace, and Ib-rāhīm received several wounds. This service was the cause of his advancement, and he was given a suitable rank. In the beginning of Jahāngir's reign he was sent off to act as governor of Lahore. He had reached the town of Pānīpat when he heard of the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau. He crossed his family over the Jumna, and went off to Lahore on the wings of speed and reached the fort before Khusrau. He strengthened the bastions, etc., and when Khusrau came to the city, he found the gates closed. Khusrau set about the siege, and the collection of troops, and the fire of contention raged within and without. As the imperial army was in pursuit of him, and he saw that the taking of the city was difficult, he raised the siege. Dilāwar did good service and his devotion was rewarded by royal favours. In the 8th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Shah Jahan in the campaign against the Rānā. In the 13th year, 1027, 1618, he was made governor of Kashmīr on the removal of Aḥmad Beg K. Kabulī and behaved gallantly in conquering the territory of Kishtwār which is distant sixty *kos* from the city of Kashmīr (Srinagar) to the south.

The short account<sup>2</sup> of this affair is as follows. In the 14th year of Jahangir Dilāwar K. resolved to conquer the country by means of 10,000 horse and foot. As there were difficult defiles and passes, which were impassable for horses, he left the horses in Kashmīr (Srinagar) except a few which were kept as a precautionary measure. The soldiers mounted the hills on foot and fought stage after stage till they came to the river, where there was an engagement. The ruler of the country lost heart when 'Alī Cak,<sup>3</sup> who claimed to be heir to Kashmīr and had taken protection with him, and was making a disturbance, was killed, and took to flight. He crossed the river and halted in Bhadarkot<sup>4</sup> which was on the other side. Though the brave men tried to cross by the bridge the

<sup>1</sup> *Kathra*, which I suppose is the Hindustani word *katra*. Here it must mean courtyard, for Jahangir states that the affray took place in the *gahn* of the public *daulat khāna*. Price's account makes the three Raj-

puts to be crushed by elephants, but perhaps this refers to treatment after death.

<sup>2</sup> Tūzuk J. 294 and Iqbāl-nāma 141.

<sup>3</sup> Should be Abiya or Iba?

<sup>4</sup> Bahandarkot in T. J.

resistance was such that they could not do so. When some days had elapsed, the Rajah craftily sent a message to make peace. Dilāwar K. did not listen to him and exerted himself to cross the river. At last, one day, Jamāl K., his eldest son, crossed the swollen river with a number of others by swimming, and engaged the enemy. The latter broke down the bridge and fled, and Dilāwar repaired it and crossed his troops, and established his camp in Bhadarkot. From the river in question to the Cināb—which is a great support of theirs—there is the distance of two bowshots, and on the bank (of the Cināb) is a high hill which is difficult to get over. In order to cross the river on foot they take three ropes and between two ropes they place planks of the width of a cubit, and fasten one end of the rope to the top of the hill and the other on the other side of the river. They also put two other ropes one yard higher (as handrails). The foot-passengers put their feet on the planks and take the upper ropes in their hands and so cross, descending from the top to the bottom. This kind of bridge is called by the hill-people *ziba*.<sup>1</sup> They had placed musketeers and archers at every place where they thought an attempt would be made to make a rope-bridge. Dilāwar K. made rafts and tried to cross men by them. As the current was very strong, the rafts went to the bottom and sixty<sup>2</sup> men were drowned. For four months and ten days every attempt that was made to cross ended in failure.

It happened that one night Dilāwar's son Jalāl, under the guidance of a landholder, crossed with safety at a place where the enemy did not think that he could cross, and fell upon the Rajah and sounded the trumpet of victory. Many were killed, and the rest saved their lives by flight. One of the soldiers came up to the Rajah and was about to kill him when he called out that he was the Rajah, and was made prisoner. Dilāwar crossed and came to the capital of the country, which was three kos distant. He took the Rajah with him and produced him before Jahāngir in the 15th year near Bārahmūla which is the gate of Kashmīr. He received various favours and was made an officer of 4,000 with

<sup>1</sup> Zampa in T. J. and Iqbāl-nāma. The *ḡhota* of the I. G. VIII. 65 (old edition).

<sup>2</sup> Tūznuk, 68 men.



3,500 horse. He also received a present of a lac of rupees, being the revenue of the conquered territory for one year.

The custom in Kishtwār is that the Rajah does not take rent for land. From every house he takes each year six *sastī*,<sup>1</sup> which was a coin of the Kashmīr rulers.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *sastīs* make a rupee, and in accounts fifteen *sastīs*, i.e. ten rupees, are reckoned one royal muhr. The saffron is superior to that of Kashmīr, and Rs. 4 are taken from the buyer on each *manī sīr*<sup>2</sup> (بوسر مني) which is equal to two *sīr*, Jahāngīrī. The chief income of the Rajah is derived from fines which are imposed for small offences, and come to a large sum. His total revenue is about a lac of rupees. The *tankhwāh* (assignments) are 1,000 *zāt* with 1,000 horse. As the Rajah was not devoid of dignity, an order was given that his sons—who in the time of the war had been placed with the neighbouring landholders—should be sent for, in order that the Rajah might be delivered from perpetual imprisonment, and might spend his days in peace. He obeyed and was treated with favour.

After a while Dilāwar died a natural death. His eldest son, Jamāl K., was, in the time of Shah Jahan, appointed to accompany Mahābat K. During the siege of Daulatabad, high words passed in the divān on account of some matter, and Mahābat K. said that whoever showed slackness in the king's business would be slippered. Jamāl K. drew his sword and aimed at his head. Mirzā Jaafar Najm Šānī, who was seated behind him, jumped up and caught Jamāl in his arms. His (Jamāl's) son, who was of ten der age, finished the Mirzā with a dagger. The Khān Zamān (Mahābat's son) acted with alertness and knocked down Jamāl, and with another stroke he finished the son. They say that Mahābat K. was seated, and that in that position he said<sup>3</sup> "Both sons did well!" The second son of Dilāwar was Jalāl K., of whom an account has been given.

<sup>1</sup> *Sanhaṣī* in T. J., 297. It is the silver *saṇṇū* of J. II. 354, and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> The L.O. MSS. of *Tūzūk* have *ek-man*, and both they and Saiyid Aḥmad's text have the "Indian *sīr*" and not the Jahāngīrī *sīr* as here and in the *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Jamāl's death took place in the 6th year. *Pādshāhnāma* I, Part II, 313. Mahābat was referring to the conduct of Jamāl's son, and of his own son Khān Zamān. The story of the fight is not told in the *Pādshāhnāma*.

## DILER K. 'ABDU-R-RAUF MIYĀNA.

Great grandson of Bahlūl K. Miyāna, who attained to royal favour in the time of Jahāngir and received the rank of 2,500<sup>1</sup> with 1,000 horse. In the second year of Shah Jahan's reign, when Khān Jahān Lodī became suspicious and fled, he too joined the Nizāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan and obtained service with him. For some time he opposed the imperial troops and behaved perversely. Afterwards he joined 'Ādil K. of Bijapur and became his servant. In the 7th year he displayed audacities (*shokhīhā*) in the siege of Daulatabad. After his death 'Abdu-r-Rahīm his son obtained the leadership, and when he died, his son 'Abdu-l-Karīm obtained the leadership and the title of Bahlūl K. As the ruler of Bijapur was a child, and the power was in the hands of others, 'Abdu-l-Karīm engaged in collecting men of his own tribe and obtained much sway. In the 9th year<sup>2</sup> of Aurangzeb's reign, when Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh was appointed to devastate the Bijapur territory, 'Abdu-l-Karīm was one of the leaders of the opposing army, and had frequent battles. In the 17th year Khān Jahān Bahādur Koka was the governor of the Deccan, and Khwās K. Hābshī was the minister of Sikandar 'Ādil K. and acted in concert with him and came to the bank of the Bhīmra. From the other side Bahādur Kokaltāsh came, and there was an interview between the two, and the daughter of Khwās K. was married to Naṣīrī K., the son of Kokaltāsh. After that both of them returned to their dignities. Bahlūl K. cherished treacherous feelings towards Khwās K. and wished to seize him on the road. He came to know of this, and set off at night to Bijapur. Afterwards, when Bahlūl arrived near the city, he came out to welcome him, as he did not abandon the part of magnanimity. Bahlūl took advantage of his opportunity and put him under arrest.<sup>3</sup> After that he was prosperous. Hostility came between the Deccanis and the Afghans and they came to blows. Some of the Deccanis joined the imperial troops and many went to the ruler of Haidarabad. When he heard of the

<sup>1</sup> The Pādshāhnāma I. 182 speaks of Bahlūl's receiving the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. See also *id.* 289.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. II. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Fryer speaks of Bahlūl's putting Khwās K. to death. He also says that Sikandar's legitimacy was doubted.

imprisonment of Khwās K., Bahādur Kokaltāsh, in accordance with Aurangzeb's orders, collected a large army and came to the places bordering on Bijapur. Between him and Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-l-Karīm a contest and fighting took place. There were many engagements. In the 20th year when the Kokaltāsh was summoned to court, the management of the Deccan was made over to Diler K. The two (Bahlūl and Diler) agreed with one another, as being of the same tribe, and marched against Haidarabad. Seven battles took place between them and the Deccanis who had come on the part of the ruler of Haidarabad. Meanwhile Bahlūl K. fell ill and died, and his son 'Abdu-r-Rauf became the leader. At last in the 29th year Aurangzeb proceeded to the siege of Bijapur. Sikandar<sup>1</sup> 'Ādil K., willing or unwilling, made over the city and submitted. 'Abdu-r-Rauf also kissed the threshold and received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse and had the title of Diler K. He<sup>2</sup> for a long time discharged the work of the king's service under Khān Firūz Jang, and in the 48th year had the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb he ostensibly sought to join Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh and went and settled in the estates of his own faujdārī of Sānwar and Bankāpūr—which is a Sarkār in Bijapur. After his death his brother 'Abdu-l-Ghafār K. obtained the faujdārī and fief of the said Sarkār, and after him, his son 'Abdu-l-Majid K., who, during the government of the martyred Nāṣir Jang received the title of Saṭwat Jang (power of war), succeeded to the estates by inheritance. When the Mahrattas became supreme in the Deccan several *parganas* of the property came into their hands in lieu of *chaṭh* (exaction of  $\frac{1}{4}$ th). A little remained. At the time of writing, his son, 'Abdu-l-Hakīm, lives by these. The second son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm Miāna was 'Abdu-n-nabī K., who held Cuddapa, etc. in Haidarabad as his fief and faujdārī. After his death his son 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor (the blind?) got the property. After him his brother 'Abu-l-Muḥsin K., alias Mūca Miān—who afterwards got the hereditary title—obtained the appointment and was for a long time manager of affairs. 'Abdu-l-Majid K., the son

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 322. He surrendered in the beginning of the 30th year.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgiri 481.

of 'Abdu-n-nabī Kor, put him under restraint, and himself took charge. He fought with the Mahrattas and was killed. His son 'Abdu-l-Ḥalīm took his father's position, but the Mahrattas prevailed and took possession of half of the property under the claim of *chauth*. At the time of writing, which is 1193 (1779), Ḥaidar 'Alī K. overran his *t'alūq* and made him prisoner. He took possession of the entire estates, and whatever else he possessed.

**Ikh̄lās K.** 'Abu-l-Muḥammad s. 'Abdu-l-Qādir s. Bahlūl K., the elder, was cousin of Bahlūl K. 'Abdu-l-Karīm. He in the 7th year<sup>1</sup> of Aurangzeb joined the imperial army and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of **Ikh̄lās K.** In the 11th year when Dāūd K. Qoreshī pursued Siva, he with a few men joined in the battle and was in the vanguard. He was wounded and fell to the ground. It appears from the Maasir 'Ālamgīrī that he was alive<sup>2</sup> up to the 21st year.

#### (SAIYID) DILER KHĀN BĀRHA.

One of the officers of the time of Jahāngīr. He held the faujdārī of Baroda. When in the 18th year there arose the cloud of dissension between father and son, and Shah Jahan appointed 'Abdullah K. to the government of Gujarat, and his eunuch<sup>3</sup> entered the city of Aḥmadabad, Saif K. *alias* Ṣafī K.—who had partial charge of the city—showed courage and took the city from the eunuch's possession, and induced Diler K. to take the side of loyalty. After the king's death, when Shah Jahan marched from Junair and crossed the Narbada, he came before all the auxiliary officers of the province, and did homage. In attendance on the royal stirrup he came to the capital, in the first year of the reign had the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a robe of

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II, 191-192, where he is called Abu-l-Majid. See p. 191, two lines from foot. But see also p. 196 where Abu-l-Muḥammad is spoken of as in the imperial army. According to the Maasir A. 'Abu-l-Muḥammad got the title of **Ikh̄lās K.** and the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse in the 12th year, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Abu-l-Muḥammad Bijapuri is mentioned in the Maasir A. 171 as being made faujdār of Oudh in the 22nd year. He is mentioned again in the 36th year *id.* 351.

<sup>3</sup> Wafādār by name, Tūzūk J., 362. Ṣafī K. was married to a sister of Mamtāz Mahal.

honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a drum, and an elephant. He was allowed to go to his t'alūqs. In the third year, when the king came to the Deccan, he came from Gujarat to court, and received an increase of 500 horse. Together with Khwāja Abu-l-hasan of Turbat he was sent off to take the country of Sangamnir.<sup>1</sup> In the 4th year he was appointed from there to serve in the contingent of 'Āzim K., who was in the neighbourhood of Parenda. Afterwards he was given leave to go to his old taluqs, and in the 6th year, corresponding to 1042, 1632-33, he died. Saiyid Hasan, his son, came to court, and had an audience, and received a rank suitable to his position and was treated with favour. Up to the 30th year his rank was 1,500 horse. Another son, Saiyid Khalil, had the rank of 500 with 200 horse. It was Diler K. who sent the white<sup>2</sup> elephant which was placed in the royal stables in the 2nd year of the reign. Khwāja Nizām, a merchant, who was a trustworthy trader and known for the largeness of his traffickings, had received from his agents a small elephant aged about 15 or 16 years. On account of leanness and immaturity it had no decided colour. When he went off in some direction for the purpose of trade, he left this elephant on the Khān's fief, as there was friendship between them. After twelve years, when it had come to maturity, its colour became white with a tinge of red. The Khān sent it for the king, who approved of it and gave it the name of Gajpatī (elephant-lord). This is Tālib Kalīm's quatrain about it.

*Verse.*

May his white elephant sustain no injury.  
Whoever beholds it is enraptured with it.  
When the world's lord goes out upon it, you'd say  
" 'Tis the sun emerging from a white dawn."

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I. 300. Elliot VII. 10. Sangamnir-is the same as Sangameshwar.

<sup>2</sup> This account, including the quatrain, is taken from the Pādshāhnāma I. 267. For Tālib Kalīm see Beale s.v. Abu Tālib Kalīm, and Rieu II, 686 a. He was a native of Hamadān

and was Shah Jahan's poet-laureate. The allusion in the first line of the quatrain is to the evil eye. The place that Khwāja Nizām went to, after leaving the elephant with Diler, was Pegū, whither Jahāngīr had sent him to purchase rubies.

After Diler K.'s death his son Saiyid Ḥasan came to court and received a suitable *manṣab*. In the 28th year he was made faujdār and fiefholder of the Sarkār of Godrāh<sup>1</sup> in Aḥmadabad (Gujarat). In the 30th year his rank was 1,500 with 1,500 horse. After the expiration of the 31st year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh, who, at a suggestion from Aurangzeb, had started from Aḥmadabad. When Murād Bakhsh was imprisoned, Saiyid Ḥasan received the title of Khān and was sent off to Gujarat. Another son, Saiyid Khālīl, held a *manṣab* of 500 with 200 horse.

### DILER KHAN DAŪDZAI.<sup>2</sup>

His name was Jalāl K., and he was younger brother of Bahādur K. Rohilla. When in the 21st year Shah Jahan became disappointed with Bahādur K., in spite of his good services and achievements in the Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, because of his negligence and delay in the pursuit of Nazr Muḥammad K., and of his indifference and slackness<sup>3</sup> in rendering assistance to S'aid K. in the seven days' fight with the Uzbegs, he confiscated Sarkārs Qanauj and Kālpī,—which were in his fief,—and were fertile throughout the whole year. Shah Jahan confiscated them in satisfaction of the government demands against him—which amounted to nearly thirty lacs of rupees—and gave the faujdārī of them to Jalāl K. His rank was 1,000 with 1,000 horse and he had the title of Diler K. and the present of an elephant. He gradually rose in consideration and in the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with M'uazzam K. Mir Jumla in order that he might, in attendance on Prince Aurangzeb, devastate the territory of 'Ādil Shah.

One day during the seige of the fort of Kalyān the prince drew up his forces and marched out to engage the enemy. The sons of Bahlūl K. Miāna who were in the hostile vanguard engaged the imperial vanguard. Diler K. who was at the head of that force joined in the fight, and though he received sword-blows yet

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 257, the Godhrāh of Bayley's Gujarat.

<sup>2</sup> The text and several MSS. have Dād or Dāozai.

<sup>3</sup> See Pādshahnāma II. 692, and Khāfi K. I. 686, etc.

as he had armour and a cuirass,<sup>1</sup> he suffered no harm. After that, when the armies were sent for (by Shah Jahan at Dārā's instigation) he also appeared at court, and in the 31st year received the favour of drums. He went with Sulaimān Shikoh to oppose Prince Muḥammad Shujā' who had foolishly become disobedient to his father and had advanced from Bengal and had laid hands on many of the imperial properties. When the two forces came near one another in the vicinity of Benares, Shujā', who was always subject to sensual pleasures, and was exceedingly careless, and knew nothing about planning and reflection, was terrified and fled. Without attempting to fight he behaved in a childish manner and got on board a boat and fled towards Patna. Sulaimān Shikoh pursued him, and Diler K. in honour of this victory received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and had the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. Afterwards, when Sulaimān Shikoh at the summons of his grandfather and father proceeded to return from Patna, as rapidly as possible, he in the village of Karra received the news of the defeat of Dārā Shikoh and his flight towards Lahore. This disconcerted him, and Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh—who had been made his guardian and manager of the army—separated from him. Sulaimān Shikoh in his distress summoned Diler K. and asked his advice. He made his companionship conditional on proceeding to Shahjāhānpūr—which Bahādur (his elder brother) had settled, and was the native country of the Afghans—and engaged that there Afghans and other soldiers would be collected and that then anything that was advisable would be done. Sulaimān Shikoh agreed. When Rajah Jai Singh heard of this and perceived that Diler K. from rawness and inexperience had not distinguished between his loss and gain and had made a wrong throw, he, out of friendship and the love he had for him, gave him good advice and withheld him from a wrong intention which could only have the result of injuring his home and clan. He made him join him in the design of going to Aurangzeb. When next day Sulaimān Shikoh, in

<sup>1</sup> *Opcī*. Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me that this is a Mongolian word and apparently should be *obcin*. It is given in P. de Courteille's Dict. as *op-*

*cin*. The original meaning is the complete skin of an animal. The word is used by Bābur, e.g. Hydrabad MS. f. 113b.

accordance with the arrangement, prepared to return to Allaha-bad, Diler K.<sup>1</sup> made an excuse and remained at the stage with Rajah Jai Singh. On this account the royal servants ceased to accompany Sulaimān Shikoh. Diler K., three or four days before the Mirzā Rajah waited<sup>2</sup> upon Aurangzeb between Selimpūr and Mathura, received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. Hence it appears that after the defeat of Shujā', when his rank was 3,000, he had received another 1,000.

In short, Diler K., together with Shaikh Mir, was sent off from Multan to pursue Dārā Shikoh. In the battle of Ajmere<sup>3</sup> when Dārā Shikoh made a wall from side to side of the defile, and made a strong bulwark in front of him, and placed on it here and there guns and muskets, etc., the troops of Aurangzeb could not make an impression on the entrenchments until success showed itself from a hidden quarter. Dārā Shikoh sent some men to repulse the men of Rajah Rājūr towards the Kokila<sup>4</sup> hill.

This body of men (Dārā's) boldly advanced beyond the entrenchment and engaged the enemy. Diler K. mounted his horse and on the right wing took the artillery and his troops and made an advance. After him Shaikh Mir mounted his horse on the left wing and joined him. The two leaders together attacked the entrenchments of Shāh Newāz K., and there was a hot engagement. These two brave men entered the entrenchment and drew the sword of vengeance. Shaikh Mir was killed and Diler K. made great efforts and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. Meanwhile other troops came up and Dārā Shikoh lost courage and fled. After that Diler K. was appointed to assist Muāzzam K. Mir Jumla who made splendid efforts in driving out Shujā' from Bengal. In that contest—which was a testing-ground of bravery—Diler performed such feats as obliterated the memory of Rustum and Isfandiyār.

When in Sh'abān (April 1659) of the 2nd year Mūazzam K.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Manucci I. 284, and 'Ālamgīrnāma, 170, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 130-31.

<sup>3</sup> There is a full account of the

three days' fighting near Ajmere in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, 318, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Kokilapahāri, cuckoo hill? See 'Ālamgīrnāma, 320,



brought his army to the bank of the river from Mahmūdābād with the intention of crossing the Mahanadī which is two *kos* from there, and it was found that there was a better crossing below at Bagla<sup>1</sup> Ghāt—the enemy, who had made batteries on the other side, proceeded to discharge cannon, etc. Diler K., in the first place, entered the river along with other leaders on elephants and they were fired upon by the enemy in that position. Some of the brave men were killed and many were wounded, and a number turned back. As there was deep water on each side of the ford, stakes had been put down on each side to mark the ford. At this time, owing to the crossing of the army, the water became troubled, and the sandy bottom shifted so that some were carried into the deep water. The stakes too did not remain in their place. On this account many of the infantry and cavalry were drowned. Faṭḥ K., the son of Diler K., was one of these. When the Khān had crossed, he drove off the enemy and got possession of all their guns. After Shujā' was driven away, Diler was in M'uazzam K.'s vanguard in his conquest of Assam and did great deeds in chastising the worthless Assamese. In every place he was an associate of victory. When the royal forces crossed the Brahmaputra, which is one of the famous rivers of that country, they came to the fort of Shamlagarha.<sup>2</sup> That is a strong and sky-high fort. To besiege it was beyond the powers of the masters of lofty designs. Those who

<sup>1</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma, 544, 549 and Khāfi K. II. 95. The Mahanadī of the text is the Mahānanda of the I.G. XVI. 433. It is a tributary of the Padma or Ganges. Baglaghāt is frequently mentioned in the 'Ālamgīrnāma which gives a most detailed account of Mir Jumla's campaign against Shujā'. At p. 514 it states that Baglaghāt is five *kos* from Malda (i.e. old Malda). It was on the Mahānanda. Mahmūdābād is mentioned in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 547 and 548, and is stated there to be three *kos* from Baglaghāt. It therefore cannot be the Mahmūdābād which was the head-quarters of the Mahmūdābād Sarkār and was on the Madhūmatī and the eastern fron-

tier of Jessore. R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 198. Looking at the original, viz. the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 548, it does not appear that the Mahananda was two *kos* from Mahmūdābād, but that Baglaghāt was two *kos* below Mahmūdābād.

<sup>2</sup> This is the fort called Bhingar in Khāfi K. II. 444. It is Simlagarh in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 704. The description in text of the fort is taken either from the same work, p. 705, etc., or from the Tārīkh Ashām, i.e. Faṭḥ-iyah 'Ibratīyah by Shihābu-d-dīn Ṭālish. Simlagarh is the proper name of the fort, A.S.B.J. for 1872, pp. 71, 72 of vol. 41. It was taken on February 26, 1662.

inhabited it were safe from the stone-throwing of the calamities of fortune and the catapults of the heavens! On both sides of the fort there were broad and high walls. On the south side these extended for four *kos* and ended at a hill which raised its head to the sky. On the north side the wall extended for three *kos* as far as the raging river already mentioned (the Brahmaputra). Both walls were provided on the inside with bastions and battlements, and without there was a deep moat. Every place had been fortified with guns, *bādlij*,<sup>1</sup> and muskets, etc. In that area were nearly 300,000 warlike Assamese ready to resist. As the beleaguering of the whole fort was impossible, Diler K., in accordance with the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, established a battery opposite the largest bastion, and fighting went on inside and outside. Every cannon-ball that reached the bastion and wall, on account of the strength of the fort, only made a little dust of it rise up, and no sign appeared of the wall's being broken or of the battlements falling. The country too was rugged<sup>2</sup> and terrible, for in former times great Indian armies which had set out to conquer this country had been overthrown and slain by the treachery of this tribe, and not one of them had escaped from the whirlpool. The Commander-in-chief nevertheless directed an attack against

1 A kind of cannon. See Irvine A. of M. 129 and Bahār-i-'ajam s.v. where a stanza of Mullā Tughrā (Rieu 742a) is quoted. See also Ghiyāṣ-i-loḡhāt s.v. and Pādshāhnāma I. 506 where it is said to be the synonym for a *gajnāl* or elephant-gun. It is there spelt *badālica*. The Ghiyāṣ-i-loḡhāt says it is a Turkish word. The word also occurs in the 'Ālamgirnāma, p. 705. According to Meninski the word is commonly written as *patlanghāj* پاتلنگھاج and means a pop-gun or reed-trumpet. "Tubulus ex sambucino ligno, quo pueri strepitum cient." See also Barbier de Meynard's Turkish-French Dict., who says it comes from *pātla-māq*, "to explode." The statement about the nearly three lacs of Assamese comes from the same source.

but the text wrongly has *asāmī* instead of *ashāmī*.

<sup>2</sup> Text *qalb u khaṣīrnāk*, "rugged and fearsome," but the original, in the 'Ālamgirnāma 707, has *qalb khaṣīrnāk* "terrifying to the heart." It also specifies the fact that Indian armies had been *twice* lost there. The treachery consisted in the night attacks of the Assamese. The account of the treacherous Assamese camp-followers is taken from the 'Ālamgirnāma 708. Husain Shah and Sulaimān Kararānī had previously attempted to conquer Assam and there was also an unsuccessful attempt by 'Abdu-s-salim in Shāh Jahan's reign. See also Mr. Gait's paper A.S.B.J. for 1893, p. 280, and his history of Assam, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 41 and 88.

one of the walls, and Diler K., with some valiant men, was appointed to the task.

By chance one of that tribe who had lived for a long time in the imperial territory and at this time was numbered among the units (*ahad*) of the camp, in his craftiness became full of malice. He under the guise of loyalty represented that he knew the nature of the ground and its real condition. If they would accept his guidance, he would bring the royal troops to a place whence an attack could easily be made. At the same time he sent a message to the besieged that they should collect in a certain place, which was the most difficult of all. Diler K. proceeded at night according to the guidance of this rascal. At dawn he reached a place where was a moat full of water, and which was difficult and where there was a large collection of the enemy. At once the discharge of many thousand guns darkened the air, and there was a shower of powder-pots (*huqqahā-bārūt*) from the battlements so that the earth trembled. Diler K., in his great courage, never thought of turning back, but drove his elephant into the water of the moat, and when his followers beheld such bravery on the part of their chief they also pressed on. A hot engagement took place, a great many of the armies of Islam were wounded, and a number lost their lives. Five bullets reached Diler, but on account of his armour he was not wounded. Many bullets were stopped in his elephant and his howdah.<sup>1</sup> The brave *Khān* and some others reached the foot of the fort and got to the top of the wall, and fought with the enemy. Afterwards his men got in by the gate and in other places and unfurled the flag of victory. The infidels were overcome and fled out. After the death of Mir Jumla the *Khān* came to court. In the 17th year<sup>2</sup> he was sent off with Rajah Jai Singh to extirpate Sīvā Bhonsla who had established himself in the Deccan and was making a disturbance by brigandage. When the Rajah in the 8th year set himself to take the forts of Sīvā and went off from Poonah to take the forts of Pūrandhar and Rūrmāl (Rūdar-

<sup>1</sup> *Hauza*. The 'Ālamgīrnāma 711 has *khauza*, "wading," evidently a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> *Khān* K., II. 178. Elliot VII. 271.

māl), Diler K., who was in the vanguard, passed through the defile of Sānwar<sup>1</sup> and was about to encamp near those places, when suddenly a hostile army made its appearance and there was a fight. The enemy could not stand the shock of the horses and fled to a hill on the top of which the two forts were. Diler K. fought on and came to the hill, and killed many and set fire to the town which was in the waist of the hill and was called Māci,<sup>2</sup> and then proceeded to besiege the forts.

When the garrisons of the two forts discharged cannon and muskets, the Khān did not withdraw but bravely came near the fort of Pūrandhar and hastily erected a battery. When some time had passed in besieging the two forts, one bastion of the fort of Rūrmāl (Rūdarmāl) was thrown down<sup>3</sup> by the repeated blows of cannon-balls, and Diler K. urged on his men and got to the top of this bastion. The besieged asked for quarter, and Sīvā who perceived that the energy of the assailants would soon result in the taking of Pūrandhar, where many of his relatives and officers were shut up, made acquaintance with the Rajah and had an interview with him, and presented the forts as tribute. As Diler K. was still at the foot of the fort, the Rajah sent Sīvā to him, and he after the interview presented him with two<sup>4</sup> horses with gold trappings, and decorated accoutrements, and two sets of nine pieces (*tūqūz*) of silks. After this work had been completed Diler K. acted in the vanguard of the Rajah in devastating the territory of Bijapur and so punished the 'Ādil Shah. When he finished that work he and many other leaders were summoned<sup>5</sup> to court on account of the affair of Shah 'Abbās the 2nd who was meditating the despatch of an army to the borders of India. The Khān went off rapidly and had crossed the Narbadā when by the decree of fate the ruler of Persia died, and the flames of disturbance were extinguished. Diler K., on receipt of an order, pro-

<sup>1</sup> Should be Sāsūr or Saswad.  
\*Ālamgīrnāma 889.

<sup>2</sup> \*Ālamgīrnāma 890.

<sup>3</sup> \*Ālamgīrnāma 892.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Ālamgīrnāma 904. The text has 200 but the real number of horses

was only two, *du sir* having been wrongly read as *du šad*. See also Khāfi K. II. 182. The two horses, or at least one of them, were Arabs. All the MSS. however seem to have 200.

<sup>5</sup> Do. 974, 975.

ceeded with a number of officers to Cānda and Deogarha. Mānjī Mullār,<sup>1</sup> the landowner of Cānda, came before him in humble fashion and promised<sup>2</sup> a krór of rupees as a fine, in cash and goods, and presented to Diler K. as a thank-offering five lacs of rupees. He also agreed that he would pay every year two lacs of rupees as tribute and that he would dismantle the fort of Mānikdrug which was one of the strong forts on his borders.

When in the course of two months 77 lacs of rupees had been realized as tribute, and the arrival of eight lacs more in the course of two months more, and twenty lacs of arrears had been promised within three years, the zamindar, who was ill and infirm and whose estate was in a bad condition, was allowed to depart with Rām Singh, his younger son and representative. As Kaukab<sup>3</sup> Singh, the zamindar of Deogarh, who was debited with fifteen lacs of rupees for past years, also became submissive, three lacs of rupees were imposed upon him as fine and one lac was fixed as his annual tribute. At this time an order came to Diler K., stating that it was desired that the Bijapur territory should once more be devastated, and that he should repair to Aurangabad and place himself under the orders of Prince Muḥammad M'uaẓẓam so that whenever the signal was given he might be ready for the work. His deeds in the Deccan are on the lips of high and low. In the battle which Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh fought with the Bijapur troops on the other side of the Bhīmra, Diler K. was in the vanguard and did great deeds, and was applauded by friend and foe.

They say that there was such a market of contention on that battlefield that for some *kos* the trunks of elephants and the heads of men served for polo-sticks and balls!

*Verse.\**

From the trunks of elephants and the heads of warriors  
The whole plain was strewn with sticks and balls.

<sup>1</sup> Ālamgīrnāma 1025, last line.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 1025. The five lacs were perhaps a present to Diler in gratitude for his mediation.

<sup>3</sup> Kok Singh in 'Ālamgīrnāma 1027, and in Maasir A. 60.

<sup>4</sup> These lines and two more are quoted in Khāfi K. II. 236. See ac-

Afterwards when the day became disastrous for the royal troops they retired in good order, but the march which in advancing on the Bijapur troops had occupied four or five days on the back of elephants and horses, occupied three weeks in the retreat. As the fort of Sālher which belonged to Baglāna had fallen into the hands of the enemy Diler proceeded<sup>1</sup> to take it, but in spite of his efforts he did not succeed, and the bad climate of that district caused many deaths. He was obliged, by orders of H.M., to return without effecting his purpose. In the 18th year he presented himself at court, and in succession to 'Ābid K., he was made governor of Multan. In the 19th year that province was given in fief to Muḥammad A'zim Shāh. The Khān came to court and was sent off to the Deccan campaign. When in the 20th year the Khān-Khānān Bahādur, the governor of the Deccan, was censured, the charge<sup>2</sup> of the country was made over to Diler in order that he might carry on the duties till the arrival of the governor. In the 21st year a severe engagement took place with the Haidarabad troops. A servant<sup>3</sup> who was sitting behind on the elephant was killed by a rocket and the fire of the rocket fell into the Khān's collar and had to be extinguished by the water in a goat-skin. Many on both sides were killed on that day. In the 23rd year he by his excellent efforts took the fort of Mangalsirpa<sup>4</sup> (?) from the possession of Sīvā Bhonsla. In the 26th year<sup>5</sup> when Aurangzeb came to Aurangabad, Diler was appointed, along with others, to the Bijapur campaign, but remained at court till the arrival of Muḥammad Ā'zim Shāh. At this time he fell very ill and in the beginning of the 27th year 1094, 1683, he died.<sup>6</sup>

count of fight, Elliot VII. 293. Khāfi K. puts the battle into the 16th year 1083. Apparently the verse refers to the explosion, which according to Khāfi K. destroyed many of the royal magazines. The battle was really a great defeat for the Imperialists. Islām K., Rūmī, whom Fryer calls the Bassa of Mesopotamia, was killed, and according to Fryer his head and that of his son were stuck up on the walls of Bijapur.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K., 248, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Do., II. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir 'Ālamgiri 165. The engagement was with the Golconda troops.

<sup>4</sup> Mangalbīda in Maasir A.

<sup>5</sup> Do., 228.

<sup>6</sup> Khāfi K. II. 279 and Maasir A. 237. Khāfi K. puts the occurrence into the 25th year, and the Maasir A. puts it into the end of the 27th year, 1094.

Although it is commonly reported that Aurangzeb perceived in him some indications of presumption and arrogance, and ordered him to be poisoned, yet it appears on investigation that this statement is not true.

Some reliable<sup>1</sup> authorities say that his brother's son put an end to him by changing the pills (of opium) that he was accustomed to. But Aurangzeb had a higher opinion of Diler's courage, etc. than he had of the military qualities of any other person. They say that when he was with Shah 'Ālam in the Deccan, the latter wished him to join him and to raise the flag of rebellion. Diler K. refused. The dissatisfaction on both sides ended in displeasure and Diler K. went off rapidly to court. The prince hastened after him. When Diler had represented that the prince had vain thoughts, and that he had left him and come on a pilgrimage to H.M., just then the prince's representation arrived, to the effect that this turbulent Afghan wanted to rebel, and that he had gone after him to punish him. Aurangzeb was much troubled on receiving these two statements, and went several times to the privy (*matavazzā*). As Himmat K. had been brought up with Aurangzeb from early years and was very intimate with him (*dosh u kinār bādshāhi būd*) and used to speak very freely to him, he said to the king, "All this is not true, why is your Majesty so agitated?" The king got angry and said, "I'm not troubled about Shāh 'Ālam; the difficulty is lest they have colluded together. If there be an army with Diler K. at the head of it, I do not see any one who can oppose it but myself, so if ever I have to deal with him, the battle will be a double-headed<sup>2</sup> one"?

In short, the Khān was a man of great physical strength, and they tell wonderful stories of his strength and appetites. He had

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. says, II. 280, that it was reported that 'Āzam Shah came secretly at night to visit Diler, and that Bahādur Shah reported this to Aurangzeb, and that Diler thereupon took poison. The Maasir says, Diler never was defeated, but surely the battle with the Bijapuris mentioned

in the biography was a great defeat. He, however, was not in supreme command then. As recorded in text *supra*, Faṭḥ K., who apparently is different from Faṭḥ M'amūr, was drowned in the Assam campaign.

<sup>2</sup> *Dū sir dārād*, a phrase meaning doubt, and treachery. Bahar 'Ājam.

great sway<sup>1</sup> over his tribe and was always victorious. By the favour of time and the might of his star, from the beginning to the end of his life, he was at the top of fortune. He never received any buffet from fate, nor suffered any disgrace or contempt. His sons were Kamālu-d-dīn and Faṭḥ M'amūr. The latter was killed in the battle of the batteries at Bijapur.

### DĪNDĀR KHĀN OF BOKHARA.

His name was Saiyid Bahwa,<sup>2</sup> and he was connected with Murtaẓa K. of Bokhara. After Mahābat K. had become guilty of presumption and had fled from the Presence, Dīndār was appointed to the pursuing army, which halted at Ajmere. At this time Jahāngīr died, and Shah Jahan's retinue came to Ajmere. Dīndār had the bliss of doing homage, and in the first year had a *manṣab* of 2000 with 1200 horse and the title of Dīndār K. and the gift of a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a horse, and was made faujdār of the Miẓān Dūāb. In the 8th year, when the king returned from Lahore to the capital and Islām K. was sent to chastise the rebels of the Miẓān Dūāb, Dīndār was directed to accompany him. Afterwards, in the same year, he was sent off with Prince Aurangzeb who had been appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandilā. After some time he died in 1045, 1635-36.

### (RAI) DURGĀ<sup>3</sup> SĪSODIA.

He was a Candrāwat, and his native country was pargana Rāmpūr,<sup>4</sup> a dependency of Chitor. In the 26th year of Akbar's reign he was sent with Sultan Murād against M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 28th year, when M. Khān was appointed to put down the Gujarat rebels, he went with him and did good service. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Khān

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Text Bahūda, but this is a mistake as shown by Maasir III. 451, and by the Tūzūk J. 281 and 282. Dīndār was governor of Delhi in the 14th year of Jahāngīr.

<sup>3</sup> B. 417.

<sup>4</sup> J. II. 273 where it is called Islāmpūr, otherwise Rāmpūr. It is on the Chambal and is also called Bhānpūra (city of the Sun). See Tod's Annals of Mewar. Rai Durgā is mentioned in Price's Jahangir, page 34, and in the Tūzūk J. 63.



'Ā'zim Koka. In the 36th year, when Sultan Murād was appointed to the government of Malwa, he had an honoured place in his retinue. Afterwards, he went with the prince to the Deccan and did good service. In the 45th year Akbar sent him with a force to search for Moẓaffar Husain M. Khwāja Waisī had arrested the Mirzā and brought him to Sultānpūr. Rai Durgā came there and took him to court. In the same year he was appointed along with S. Abu-l-faẓl to Nāsik. At the same time he heard of a disturbance in his home and took leave and went off there. In the beginning of the 46th year he rejoined. After a month and a half he, without obtaining leave, went off home. Up to the 40th year of Akbar's reign he held the rank of 1500, and he died in 1016, 1608, in the second year of Jahāngīr's reign.

It is mentioned<sup>1</sup> in the Jahāngīrnāma, written by the king himself, that he was one of the confidential servants of Rānā Pratāp. He served Akbar for more than forty years and obtained the rank of 4000. He lived to the age of eighty-two. His son Canda had, in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained to high rank and had the title of Rāo. Rāo Daudā, his grandchild, was appointed, in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign, to accompany Āzim K. in the affair of Khān Jahān Lodī, and in the same year he had an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so had the rank of 2000 with 1500 troopers and the gift of a flag. But when the brunt of battle fell upon the rearguard, he gave way. After that, he was appointed with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise Ādil K., and afterwards he was included in the contingent of Mahābat K. Khān-Khānān who had been appointed to the government of the Deccan. In the 6th year, during the siege of Daulatabad, when Mūrārī of Bijapur came to the assistance of the garrison, and there was fighting on every side, and several of his relatives were killed, he attempted, in spite of the general's prohibition, to bring away the dead bodies. The enemy saw their

<sup>1</sup> Tūzūk J. 63. But the statement there is that he had been a confidential servant of Rānā Udai Singh (Pratāp's father) and that he died in

his ninth decade, i.e. between eighty and ninety. The 19th in Tūzūk must be a mistake for 9th.

opportunity and surrounded him. As he could not escape, he dismounted and fell bravely along with some others. The king, in appreciation of his services, sent his son—who was at home—a robe of honour and conferred on him the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse and the title of Rāo. He took part for some years in the Deccan campaigns along with Khān Zamān Bahādūr. When he died of illness and left no son, his place was taken by his father's uncle's son Rūp Singh, the son of Rūp Mukund, son of Rāo Cānda who had come to court in the 17th year in the hopes of favour. He received the rank of 900 *zāt* and horse and the title of Rāo, and the *pargana* of Rāmpūr which was called Islāmpūr and was in the *sarkār* of Chitor, was assigned to him in fief. In the 19th year he was sent off along with Sultan Murād Bakhsh to the Balkh campaign. In the battle which took place in the 20th year with Nazr Muḥammad K., the ruler of Balkh, under the command of Bahadūr K. Rohilla and Aṣālat K., he was in the vanguard. After struggle and striving, when Nazr Muḥammad K. was defeated and fled, Rūp Singh was raised to the rank of 1500 with 1000 horse.

Inasmuch as the prince was distressed by the coldness of the climate, and the large numbers of Uzbegs and warlike Almannān who fled in battle and then immediately returned and fought, he begged of his father that he might come to court, and that another servant might be appointed to that country. Some of the Rajpūts returned without orders from Balkh and Badakhshan and came to Peshawar, and among them was Rāo Rūp Singh. When this was reported to Shah Jahan, he was displeased and sent an order to the officials at Atak not to let them cross the river. Afterwards, when Sultan Aurangzeb was sent off to that quarter, Rūp Singh returned along with him and in battles with the Uzbegs fought in the van and distinguished himself. Afterwards he returned to India with the prince, who had been ordered to come back. In the 22nd year, he accompanied the prince to Qandahar, and according to the old practice he was placed in the van, and distinguished himself in the battle which Rustum K. and Qulij K. fought with the Persians. His rank was raised to 2000 with 1200 horse. In the 24th year he died. As he had no

son, Amr Singh and other grandchildren of Rāo Cānda came to court with Rāo Rūp Singh's contingent, and Amr Singh, who was a fitting representative, received from the king the rank of 1000 with 900 horse, the title of Rāo, and the gift of a saddle with silver mountings, while his brother received a suitable rank, and Rāmpūr—the ancestral home—was made his and his brother's fief. In the 25th year he received an increase of 100 horse and went off with Sultan Aurangzeb who had been appointed to Qandahar for the second time.

In the 26th year he was attached to Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to this same expedition. In the 27th year, at the request of this prince, his rank was made 1500 with 1000 horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to the Deccan. In the 31st year he was summoned to court and was appointed to Mālwa along with Maharaja Jaswant Singh, in order that he might obstruct the advance of the Deccan army. When Aurangzeb's army arrived and the forces were drawn up, Amr Singh was in the vanguard. At the time of fighting, his heart gave way and he fled to his native country. After that he acknowledged Aurangzeb and was appointed along with Prince Muḥammad Sultan to pursue Shujā'. Out of folly he did not stand firm, and on hearing contradictory news from court, turned back on the march without receiving leave from the prince. After that he was appointed to the Deccan and in company with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh was energetic in service. In the 11th year he was killed at the foot of Sālher fort, when the enemy fell upon the royal troops, and his son, Muḥakam Singh, was made prisoner. After some time he paid a ransom and was released. He came to Bahādur K. Koka, who in that year was governor of the Deccan, and received increase of rank and the title of Rāo. He served for a long time. In the 33rd year, Gopāl Singh, the son of Muḥakam Singh, came from his home of Rāmpūr and energetically entered upon his hereditary service. He had sent his son Ratan Singh to his home to make arrangements (about supplies), but the latter behaved with self-will and did not send money for his father's expenditure. Gopāl Singh complained to the king, but it was of no avail. In the 42nd year Ratan Singh by means of Mukhtār K., the governor of Mālwa,

embraced Muhammadanism and received the title of Muslim K.<sup>1</sup> and was made ruler of his native country. Gopāl Singh separated from the prince Bidār Bakht and took refuge in the Rānā's country. His fortune did not advance in his native country. In the 46th year Gopāl Singh Candrawat came to court and was made governor of the fort of Kaulās.<sup>2</sup> In the 48th year he was removed and joined the Mahrattas. But Muslim K., in the beginning of the reign of Jahāndār Shah, together with Amānat K., Khwāja Muḥammad—who had been made governor of Mālwa and had arrived at Sārangpur—prevented him from entering on his property and opposed him in battle. As his companions were displeased with his acts and words they abandoned him, and he was killed by a bullet.

#### EKATĀZ<sup>3</sup> KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

S. Maṣṣūr Hājī of Balkh who was an able and experienced man, and one of the officers of Nazr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. The Khān (Nazr M.) sent him in the 12th year (of Shah Jahan's reign, 1050—1640) with some presents on an embassy to Shah Jahan. Maṣṣūr received from the latter a present of Rs. 50,000<sup>4</sup> and other gifts and obtained permission to return. His sons (Muḥsin and 'Abdullah) accompanied him, and received suitable gifts and returned home. When by the exertions of Prince Murād Bakhsh, Badakhshān and Balkh came into the king's possession, and Nazr Muḥammad became a vagabond, the Hājī had charge of the government and port of Termiz. From soundness of judgment he sent his sons Muḥammad Muḥsin<sup>5</sup> and 'Abdullah Beg to wait upon the Prince, and expressed his devotion to the court. At the same time a comforting letter and a robe of honour arrived from the Prince, being conveyed by one

<sup>1</sup> See Tod's Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar, Vol. I, C. XIV, pp. 421 and 424 of Calcutta reprint. See also id. note to p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> The Kowlass of the maps. It is N.N.W. Haiderabad.

<sup>3</sup> Or Yakatāz. One who fights singly, a monomachus.

<sup>4</sup> It is 25,000 in Pādshāhnāma II. 153. Shah Jahan received the embassy in Kabul. The sons also got Rs. 5,000.

<sup>5</sup> Maṣṣūr in text, but see Pādshāhnāma II. 545.

of the confidential servants, and S'aadat K., the grandson of Zain K. Kokaltāsh, was sent to take charge of Termiz. Manṣūr made<sup>1</sup> over the fort to the Khān (S'aadat) and joined the Prince. By proxy<sup>2</sup> the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse was conferred on him and he was made Ṣadr of Balkh. His sons too received suitable rank. At the same time his eldest son Muḥammad Muḥsin paid his respects. (Afterwards) in the 21st year he received the rank of 1,000, 400 horse, and the title of Khān and was appointed to Bengal. There he died in the 23rd year from long-continued drinking.

Abdullah Beg came from Balkh in the 21st year and received a robe of honour and a present of Rs. 5,000. In the 24th year his rank was raised to 1,500 with 500 horse. In the 27th year he was made Mīr Tūzuk and had the title of Mukhliṣ K. and had the rank of 2,000, 800 horse. In the end of Shah Jahan's reign he was appointed to Mālwa along with Maharajah Jeswant. As the Rajah had been told by Dārā Shikoh not to permit the governors (Aurangzeb and Murād) of the Deccan and of Gujarat to advance, if they were marching to court, the Rajah blocked the way seven *kos* from Ujjain, when Aurangzeb had crossed the Nerbada and was advancing to the capital. A great battle took place. Mukhliṣ K., with a number of Tūrānī soldiers, was in the vanguard. When the Rajput leaders were slain, the Rajah accepted the disgrace of flight and retired with his wounded men, and many of the imperial officers saved their lives by flight. Mukhliṣ with another body of men separated himself from the others, and by the guidance of good fortune joined Aurangzeb.

As before this, and at the time of starting the victorious standards, the title of Mukhliṣ K. had been conferred on Qāzī Nizāmāi Karārūdī<sup>3</sup> (?), 'Abdullah received the title of Ekataz K. and the rank of 3,000, 1,500 horse, and a present of Rs. 20,000. After the battle of Kahjwāha—when Shujā' was defeated, and-

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 545.

<sup>2</sup> *Ghaibāna*. Meaning that the recipient was not present when the increase was conferred. Pādshāhnāma II. 555. At this time Muḥsin received the rank of 500 with 200 horse.

<sup>3</sup> Karārūdī in Pādshāhnāma II. 540. Is Karārūd the Karā Sū or Black river of Armenia which is one of the sources of the Euphrates? If so, it should be spelt Qarā.

went off to Bengal—Ekatāz accompanied Prince Sultan Muḥammad in pursuit of him. When Prince Sultan K. in a shortsighted manner joined Shujā', M'uazzam K., who was the commander of the expedition, after the end of the rains, encamped at Belghatta,<sup>1</sup> 24 kos from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) behind a deep stream, and built two bridges at a distance from one another of half a kos. On the further side of the bridges he erected batteries and provided them with cannon. Shujā'<sup>2</sup> in the month of Rabīu-l-akhīr of the 2nd year, December 1658, came to oppose, and there was a hot engagement of cannon and muskets. When he saw that the bridge opposite M'uazzam K.'s camp was plentifully supplied with artillery he set off with Sultan Muḥammad in the van to the other bridge.<sup>3</sup> Ekatāz K. and his companions with the intention of repulsing him came to the battery<sup>4</sup> on this side of the river. M'uazzam K., on hearing this, sent Zulfiqār K. with a body of Aghuzān<sup>5</sup> and Rūzbahānīs to their assistance. On the side of Shujā', Maqsūd Beg called Qidrāndāz (fateful marksman) and Sarmast Afghan were killed, and on the other side Ekatāz K.<sup>6</sup> and his younger brother were killed. A number more were slain and many were wounded.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 519, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 520, top line, "beginning of month."

<sup>3</sup> It was higher up the tributary of the Ganges (Bhagirathi) and on M'uazzam K.'s right, 'Ālamgīrnāma 520.

<sup>4</sup> Id. where the word is *bamūrcāl*, "to the battery" and not merely *mūrcāl* as in text.

<sup>5</sup> Text اعزان 'A'zān, but a variant gives افران and this agrees with the 'Ālamgīrnāma 521, top line. I believe the proper spelling is Aghuzān or Oghuzān after the eponymous Turanian hero and ancestor Oghuz. The Rūzbahānīs are presumably followers of the saint Rūzbahān the elder, of Egypt, Khazīna Aṣfiyā II. 12, and who died in 584 A.H., 1188. There is another saint of the name, known as

Rūzbahān the younger, or Rūzbahān Shīrāzī, who died in 603 A.H., 1209-10. See Khazīna Aṣfiyā, II. 253, but if the Aghuzān were Turanians, it is not likely that Persians would be sent with them, especially as Ekatāz was a Turanian. See Irvine, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 197, note 1, and the Safina Auliya 176 and Ethe I.O. Cat., p. 307. The Shīrāzī Rūzbahānī is described in Nafhatatūl-Uns, Newāl Kishore lith., p. 162.

<sup>6</sup> According to the 'Ālamgīrnāma 521, two full brothers of Ekatāz were killed along with him. The Maasir 'Ālamgiri mentions two other Ekatāzes, father and son, several times. The elder of these two went on a mission to Bokhara and Balkh and returned after four years, p. 149. He died in 1091, 1680, pp. 194-95.

## FAIZ ULLAH KHĀN.

S. Zāhid K. Koka. At his father's death he was ten years old. Shah Jahan out of regard to his position and from appreciation gave him the rank of 1000 with 400 horse. Though ostensibly he was entrusted to his paternal grandmother Hūrī Khānim,<sup>1</sup> yet in reality it was the Nawab Begam Šāhib who looked after him. In the 24th year he had the title of Khān, and he gradually had increase of rank and held the office of 2000 with 1000 horse. In the 28th year he married a daughter of the Amīru-l-Umarā ('Alī Mardān K.). The king in his kindness ordered the Jumla-ul-Mulk S'aad Ullah K. to bind on his head a chaplet of pearls. In the 31st year he became Master of the Horse in succession to Sirbuland K. After the defeat of Dārā Shikoh he joined Aurangzeb and had an increase of 1000 with 500 horse. At the same time, in succession to Nawāzish K., he was made Qarāwal Beg (Chief Huntsman), and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse. In the 7th year his rank was 4000 with 2000 horse, and in the 9th year he resigned and went into retirement. Afterwards, he again desired to enter service and was made Qūsh-begī (Chief Falconer). In the 13th year he was made faujdār of Sambal Moradabad, and for a long time served in that capacity. He came to court every year, and received much favour and then went to his fief after taking the permission of the king. Aurangzeb was especially fond of him, apart from the fact that he was a *khānazād* (belonging to the household). He, too, was much attached to Aurangzeb and waited upon the Begam Šāhib. At last he got elephantiasis, and was carried about by an elephant. Whenever he came to court, he was unable<sup>2</sup> to enter the Darbār. He paid his respects from the equipage. In the 24th year, 1092, 1681, he died at Moradabad. He<sup>3</sup> was a good and independent man, and did not concern himself about worldly affairs, nor did he

<sup>1</sup> The Hūrī Jān of Pādshāhnāma, II. 434. She was the nurse of Jahānārā Begam, alias Begam Šāhib.

<sup>2</sup> Probably because there was a prohibition of Jahāngīr's against diseased persons being admitted to the Presence.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from Maasir A. 210. Faiz Ullah was ten when his father died in 1055, or 1645, so that he was about 46 when he died.

pay court to anybody. He only kept company with birds and strange beasts and reptiles, of which specimens were brought to him from countries and ports. They say there were few animals, wild or tame, known or unknown, which were not in his collection. Even fleas, mosquitoes, moths, and lice were kept by him in wooden and copper vessels and cherished by him. In spite of these peculiarities, he was esteemed by persons of merit. None of his sons was distinguished.

### FAIZĪ FIYAZĪ (SHAĪKH ABU-L-FAIZ).

Elder son of S. Mubārik of Nāgor who was distinguished among the erudite of the time for austerity and piety. One of his ancestors came out of Yemen (Arabia) from among the recluses and courageously traversed the world. In the 9th century A.H. (1495-1592) he settled in the town of Rel<sup>1</sup> in Sewistān (Sindh). In the beginning of the 10th century Mubārik's father came to Hindustan and settled in the city of Nāgor. As he had no living child, when the Shaikh came into being in 911, 1505-6, he called him Mubārik. When Mubārik came to years of discretion, he proceeded to Gujarat and became a disciple of the preacher Abu-l-faẓl of Kāzarūn and of Maulānā<sup>2</sup> Imād of Lār, and acquired much knowledge from the learned men and the great Shaikhs of that country. In 950, 1543-44, he came to Agra and lived there for fifty years, and devoted himself to learning and spent his days in poverty and contentment. He was distinguished for his reliance upon God. In the beginning of his career he was so zealous<sup>2</sup> against forbidden things that he would not pass by a street where music was going on. But at last he became so fond of it that he himself practised music and ecstasies. Many contradictory dispositions have been ascribed to him. In the time of Selīm Shāh he associated himself with Shaikh 'Ālāī the Mahdavi, and was charged with Mahdī-ism. What censures did he not receive from the learned! In the beginning of Akbar's reign—when the Caghatai officers were most in-

<sup>1</sup> See B.'s biography of A.F. The text has رل رل. It was S. Mūsā who came there. Mubārik's father was S. Khizr. See J. III. 418. Appa-

rently the family removed to Agra on account of Sher Shāh's warfare with Māldeo. J. III. 421 note.

<sup>2</sup> B. XIX. and 490.



fluent—he showed himself as connected with the Naqshbandis. Afterwards he joined the Hamadānī Shaikhs. When afterwards the Persians thronged the court, he adopted their views. Accordingly he was reported to be a Shī'ā. He wrote a commentary (on the Koran) called the *Manba'u Nafāis-ul-'Uyūn* (the source of the fountains of excellence), and resembling the *Tafsīr Kabīr*<sup>1</sup> (the Great Commentary), in four volumes. He also wrote the *Jawāmi'-ul-Kilām* (the collection of significations). The document about Akbar's *Ijtihād*—which was attested by the learned of the time—was drafted by him, and he wrote below it: “This is a matter of which I had been in hopes for several years.” They say that at last he by the exertions of his children obtained a *mansab* (office), though Abu-l-faḥl has written that in the end of his life he suffered from weakness of sight. He died<sup>2</sup> in Lahore in 1001, 1593. The chronogram was *Shaikh Kāmil*! “The perfect *Shaikh*” (1001).

S. Faizī was born in 954, 1547. By his acuteness of intellect he acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences. He was especially skilled in philosophy (*hikmat*) and Arabic, and he had mastered medicine and treated the sick gratuitously. At first he was hampered by straitened circumstances. One day he went with his father to S. 'Abdu-n-nabī Akbar's Ṣadr, and represented their condition and asked for a hundred *bighas* of land, for their support. The *Shaikh* on account of his bigotry found fault with him and his father for being Shī'as and contemptuously turned them out of the assembly. Upon this Faizī had the courage to seek to introduce himself to the reigning sovereign. Several times those who had the right of audience had mentioned to the king his learning and eloquence. In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to take Chitor, he signified<sup>3</sup> a desire for the production of the *Shaikh*. As his contemporaries, especially the teachers, had

<sup>1</sup> The *Tafsīr-ul-Kabīr* is stated in Hughes's *Dict. of Islām*, p. 522b, to be an authority among the Shī'ahs, and to have been composed in thirty volumes by Saiyid Muhammadu-r-Rāzī in 606 A.H. He also says it is of authority among the Sunnis. D'Herbelot says the most esteemed commentary is that by Thālebl.

<sup>2</sup> He died in the end of 1001, and on August 5, 1593. He was 88 years old, having been born in 1505. I do not find that Mubārik ever held any office. Nor do I find A.F.'s making any allusion to his loss of sight. It is Badayūnī who mentions the fact. Blochmann XIX.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. II. 304.

an ill will against his family, they represented that this call of favour was one of censure, and impressed on the governor of Agra that perchance his father would hide him. He sent some Moghuls to suddenly surround the house. It chanced that Faiẓī was at that time not at home. In consequence there was alarm. When he came, he accepted the summons and set about leaving. As the gates of income were closed, there was a difficulty, but at last the pupils made matters easy. After an interview, he was made the recipient of favours and was exalted by intimacy and companionship. Vengeance was taken upon 'Abdu-n-nabī who was deprived of his office and rank and exiled to the Hījāz. At last he was ruined in property and life.

As the Shaikh was an excellent poet, he in the 30th year received the title of Maliku-sh-sh'uarā, and in the 33rd year he wished to make the arena of the Quintet (Nizāmi's) the field of his abilities. In competition with the Makhzan Asrār he wrote the Mar-kiz Adwār (Centre of Circles) in 3,000 couplets, and, in competition with Khusrau and Shīrīn, Sulaimān and Bilqīs, and in the place of the Laila and Majnūn, the Nal Daman, which is one of the old Indian stories. Each of these consisted of 4,000 couplets. In the metre of the Haft Paikār he wrote the Haft Kishwar, and in the metre of the Sikandarnāma the Akbarnāma. Each had 5,000 couplets. In a short time he commenced five poems but could not bring himself to finish them. He would say it was time to erase life's record, not to beautify the lofty portico of fame.

In the 39th year Akbar urged him to complete his poems, and an order was given that he should finish the Nal Daman. In the same year he finished it and presented it. But as for a long time he was fond of solitude and had taken the road of silence, in spite of the king's efforts he did not finish the Quintet. In the beginning of his illness—asthma—he had said :

*Verse.*

See what cruel sorcery Heaven hath wrought !

The bird of my heart twittered<sup>1</sup> from its cage,

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<sup>1</sup> *Shabāhangī kard*, "Behaved like a nightingale" ? Perhaps we should render "sounded the dawn."

That bosom which could contain an universe  
Is straitened to emit half a breath.

And in the time of illness he often said this :

*Verse.*

Should the whole world come into one's grasp  
'Twere not good that an ant's leg should grow lame.

On 10th Şafr 1004, 5th October 1595, and the 40th year of the reign, he died Fayāz 'Ajām (wondrous bounty) is the chronogram. For years he used the pen-name of Faiẓī. Afterwards he called himself Fayyāzī. He himself said :

*Verse.<sup>1</sup>*

Before this, when I coined words  
Faiẓī was written on my signet,  
Now that I am an expert in Love  
I'm Fayyāzī from the ocean of Bounty (Fayyāz).

The Shaiḫ composed<sup>2</sup> 101 books. One strong witness to his talents is the commentary called the Sawāṭā-ul-Ilhām, "Rays of Inspiration," which is without dotted letters. Mir Haidar, the riddle-maker, found the date of completion (1002) in the contents of the Sūrah Iḫlās,<sup>3</sup> and received Rs. 10,000 as a reward for this (chronogram). Faiẓī also wrote the Mawāridu-l-kilām, "Stages of Words," without using any dotted letters. The learned

<sup>1</sup> B. 549 and Badayūnī III. 307, who gives the lines as part of a palinode which Faiẓī composed in praise of the Prophet in 1003. Abu-l-Faẓl states they occur in the Nal Daman, and this is correct. See the conclusion to that poem.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is apparently taken from the Mirātu-l-Ālam, but if the latter's authority was Badayūnī, it seems to me that Badayūnī's words are capable of another interpretation. See Badayūnī III. 306 and editor's note. See also Darbār Akbarī, pp. 368 and 377 (top line). Apparently what Badayūnī says is that in

Faiẓī's library there were 101 copies of the Nal Daman. Abu-l-Faẓl has an account of his brother's works in the third volume of his letters, and what he says is that his brother had written 40,000 lines (*baṭṭ*) in prose and verse.

<sup>3</sup> The Sūrah Iḫlās is a famous chapter of the Koran and is No. 112. It begins, "Say God is one God." There are only three verses and the *abjad* value of the words in them is 1002, 1593-94. The Darbār Akbarī remarks, p. 376, that the *bismillah* has to be omitted. But then this is not part of the three verses.

men of the age objected that up to the present day no one of the eminent writers had—however great was their devotion (*walū* ‘Love or Devotion’)—written a commentary (on the Koran) without dotted letters. The *Shaikh* said that when the holy creed (*Kalima-i-ḥayibā*<sup>1</sup>)—which was the foundation of the Faith—was without dots, what other proof did they want?

They say that among the property left by the *Shaikh* were 4,300<sup>2</sup> choice books. They were confiscated by the government. The *Shaikh* by his learning and excellencies became prominent at court. He was appointed to teach the king’s sons. He was also sent on an embassy to the rulers of the Deccan. He never had more than a 400 *manṣab*. S. Abu-l-faḥl, though he was the younger brother, rose to become an *Amīr*. While Faizī was alive, Abu-l-faḥl attained the rank of 2,500. In the end he arrived at the highest rank. Many adduce the following verse as evidence that Faizī led Akbar to become a non-worshipper;—

*Verse.*

Observe how appropriate gifts are distributed by Fate to each—

The mirror to Alexander, the sun<sup>3</sup> to Akbar;  
The former showed his own face in the mirror,  
The latter displays God (Ḥaqq) in the sun.

Though there is no doubt that the great luminary and glory of the world is one of the greatest marks of God’s power, and that the arrangement of the evil world depends on it, yet the mode of glorification—which is not the way of the followers of Islām—and the words of Abul-faḥl imply such a view (as is alleged against him).

His brilliant verses and odes are universally known. He wrote a couplet about wine.

<sup>1</sup> The creed *Lā Ilāha* etc.

<sup>2</sup> 4,600 according to Badayūnī III. 305.

<sup>3</sup> By manipulating the letters in a

certain way, Faizī showed by *abjad* that the letters of *Aḥṣab*, the sun, and *Akbar* yielded the same number, viz. 223. See A.N. translation I. 65.

Verse.<sup>1</sup>

Why, O sword of Love, cut the *hands*: if you'r just.  
Better cut the *tongues* of the reprovers of Zulaikha.

## FAKHIR KHAN.

S. Bāqir K. Najm Ṣānī. In the third year of Shah Jahan, at the time the latter was in the Deccan, he presented a decorated *pardala*<sup>2</sup> (a belt ?) and some jewels as the tribute of his father who was governor of Orissa. He received a suitable rank. After his father's death he got an increase and had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. For some time he was, on account of a fault, without an office or fief. In the 21st year he was confirmed in his old rank, and got the title of *Khān* and the office of *Mir Tūzuk* in succession to Nawāzish K. On account of some improper acts he was for a time excluded from doing homage. In the 27th year, at the request of Dārā Shikoh, he was restored to his rank. In the 29th year he received an increase of 500. In the battle of Samogara he commanded<sup>3</sup> Dārā Shikoh's left wing, and afterwards fled to Lahore. When the standards of Aurangzeb adorned Agra he paid his respects. He was deprived of his *mansab* but lived<sup>4</sup> in the capital on a pension. He was alive up to

<sup>1</sup> Compare the verse in B. 558, text I. 240, top of page and the note. There is an elaborate notice of Faiḡi in the *Darbār Akbari*, p. 359, etc. Apparently the verse was intended as an answer to Faiḡi's critics. Abul-Faḡl's preface to Faiḡi's works is in vol. III. of his letters. There is a biography of Faiḡi in Blochmann's *Ain* translation, p. 490. See also A.S.B.J. for 1869, p. 137 note.

On referring to the passage again I am not sure that what the author of the *Maasir* says is that Faiḡi wrote a poem about wine (*bar mai*), and think the allusion may be to the verses translated by B. at p. 559. These are in praise of spiritual or mental wine, and perhaps the couplet about Zulaikha is quoted by the author to indicate that

Faiḡi is not speaking of material wine, and therefore should not be censured. But the passage is, to me, obscure.

<sup>2</sup> *Pādshāhnāma* I. 315. *Pardala* does not occur in our dictionaries. From Kāngār Ḥusaini's *Maasir Jahāngīrī* B.M. MS. Or. 171, p. 163a, Rieu's Cat., 257a, it is clear "that *pardala* is something connected with a sword, for there we have the expression *pardala-i-shamsher*. See also id., pp. 98 and 108a. I believe that *pardala* is a belt and variant of the Hindustani word *partal*, a belt or strap. In *Khāfi* K. I. 337, the sword is spelt *partala*, the expression being *partala-i-almās*, "a diamond belt." It was a present from Shah Jahan to his father.

<sup>3</sup> *Ālamgīrnama* 96.

<sup>4</sup> id. 236.

the 23rd year of the reign and then died. His son, Iftikhār by name, held up to the 30th year of Shah Jahan the rank of 700 with 120 horse. When Aurangzeb succeeded, he in the 5th year got the title of Mafākhir K. In the 9th year his rank was 1,000 with 450 horse. He was the son-in-law of Asad K.

### FARHAT KHĀN.<sup>1</sup>

His name was Mihtar Sakāi and he was one of the special attendants of Humāyūn. When in the battle with M. Kāmran, the treacherous officers joined with the latter, Beg Bābāi of Kulāb came from behind and struck Humāyūn with a sword. He stumbled, and Farhat K. came up and put him to flight. When Humāyūn marched from Lahore to Sirhind to encounter Sikandar Sūr, Farhat was made Shiqdār of Lahore. When Shah Abu-l-M'aālī was appointed to the province, he, without any orders, removed Farhat, and appointed his own men. Afterwards when Prince Akbar was sent there, Farhat joined him and was received with favour. During the reign of Akbar he was made fiefholder of the township of Kūrā.<sup>2</sup> When H. M. was returning from the eastern districts, he halted at Farhat's house and was entertained at a banquet. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. near Aḥmadabad he did good service. When M. Muhammad was made prisoner and asked for water, Farhat became indignant and struck him on the head with his hands, saying "According to what law should a rebel like you get water?" The king blamed him and gave the Mirzā drink out of his own flask. In the 19th year he was sent to take Rohtās. This is a strong fort and has cultivation and springs on the top of the hill sufficient to supply the garrison. When some days had elapsed an order was issued to Mozaffar K., who at that time had been appointed subordinate to Farhat in order that his pride might be broken, to chastise the Afghans who were making a disturbance in Bihar, and he (Mozaffar) was made an object of favour. Farhat commanded the left wing in

<sup>1</sup> B. 441.

<sup>2</sup> This is Corah of the old Regulations. See J. 167 where it is spelt

Korarah. It is in the Allahabad district, and is the Karā of the I. G. XIV. 416.

Mozaffar's battles with the Afghans. When<sup>1</sup> Gajpatī Rajah made a disturbance in Arrah, which was Farhat's fief, Farhat did not judge it proper to encounter him and took refuge in the fort (of Arrah). When his son Farhang K. heard of his being besieged, he went off to help him. Active swordsmen hamstrung his horse. He dismounted and fell, fighting bravely. Farhat's fatherly affection was moved on hearing of this; he came out of the fort and was killed like a loyalist. This occurred in the 21st year, 984, 1576-77.

(IHTISHĀM K. IKHLĀṢ K. SHAIKH) FARĪD FATHPŪRĪ.

Second s. of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān Shaikh Khūbān.<sup>2</sup> By the end of Jahangir's reign he had attained the rank of 1,400 with 400 horse. In the first year of Shah Jahan he had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, in the 4th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 5th year he had the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 8th year he had the rank of 2,500 with 500 horse and was attached to Aurangzeb's army which was appointed to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandīla. In the 9th year at the time that the king was in the Deccan, he was sent off with Shaista K. to take the forts of Junair and Sangamnir. After the taking of Sangamnir he remained there as *thānadār*. In the 11th year he went off with Aṣālat K. to subdue the rebels of pargana Candwār.<sup>3</sup> In the 15th year he distinguished himself at the taking of Mau and afterwards went with Prince Dārā Shikoh to Kabul. At the time of leaving he was presented with a flag. In the 18th year he was appointed to the charge of the province of the capital and had the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 19th<sup>4</sup> year he went with Prince Murād Baksh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. When the Prince returned from there, and Bahādur K. Rohilla had set out

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III. 169. The biography does not notice that Farhat was one of the two men who threw Adham K. over the terrace. A. N. II. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Jahangir's foster brother killed by Nūr Jahan's first husband. (Beale). Maasir III. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 21, and Khāfi K. I. 552, have Jadwār and it is so also in the Ain J. II. 290. It is in Sarkār Sambhal.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi K. I. 619.

from Balkh to punish the Almānān, Ihtishām was left in charge of the city.

In the 22nd<sup>1</sup> year when it was reported that he on account of excessive jealousy had delayed to join Rajah Bethal Dās who had been appointed to Kabul, he was deprived of his rank and jagir and placed among the pensioners (*lashkar-i-d'ua*). In the 31st year he received favours and obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was appointed to serve under Prince Sulaimān Shikoh who had been ordered to encounter Muḥammad Shujā'. He was appointed to the governorship of Patna and received the title of Ikhlas K. In the first year of Aurangzeb he was appointed among the auxiliaries of Khān Daurān who had been appointed to take Allahabad. As the title of Ikhlas K. had been bestowed on Aḥmad Khweshgī, he got the title of Ihtishām K. After the battle with and flight of Shujā', Ihtishām was with (Prince) Muḥammad Sultan and displayed bravery in the Bengal campaign. In the end of the 6th year he came to the presence, and did homage. In the 7th year he was appointed to the Deccan along with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh. After the taking of Poonah he took up his abode there as thānadār. In the 8th year corresponding to 1075, 1664-65, he died. Shaikh Nizām his son, after the first battle with Darā Shikoh, was raised by Aurangzeb to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

#### (SHAIKH) FARĪD MURTAZA KHĀN BOKHĀRĪ.

It is said in the *Iqbāl-nāma*<sup>2</sup> that the Shaikh was a Musavi Saiyid. This is somewhat strange, for the Bokhara Saiyids are descended from Jalāl Bokhārī (Makhdūm Jahānīān)—may his grave be holy; and he was seventh in descent from Imām Hamān 'Alī Naqī Alhādī—may Peace be upon him. They say<sup>3</sup> that his fourth ancestor Saiyid 'Abdu-l-Ghaffār of Delhi left his descendants the injunction to give up subsistence lands (*madad m'aash*) and to adopt the military profession. In fact, the Shaikh early entered Akbar's service, and by his excellent loyalty and service became a

<sup>1</sup> In Khāfi K. I. 683-84, there is an allusion to his punishment. He was made a day-pensioner (*rozīnadār*).

<sup>2</sup> Kāmgār Ḥusainī also says so.

<sup>3</sup> Price's Jahangir, p. 23.



favourite and grew intimate and trusted. His ability, address and courage made him famous. In the 28th year, when the Khān 'Āzam returned from Bengal on account of the uncongenial climate and came to Bihar, and the military dispositions were made by Wazīr K., Qutlū Lohānī had prevailed over Orissa and was practising insubordination and oppression; and had added to his possessions some Bengal estates. It was arranged that Shaiikh Farīd should interview him in a certain place, and settle conditions of peace. The deceiver did not appear at the appointed interview. The Shaiikh,<sup>1</sup> from his good intentions and simplicity, listened to some glozing tongues and proceeded towards his quarters. Qutlū came forward with fawning and meditated that as soon as the men had gone to their repose he would seize the Shaiikh and conceal him and make use of him as a hostage for his own designs. The Shaiikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night sought to return.

There were no horses left in the *jilaukhāna* (stables) and the road had been blocked in some places. A hot fight ensued, and the Shaiikh got upon his own elephant. By a wonderful fate the elephant became unruly and went off on the wrong road. The Shaiikh came to a stream and was seeking for a ford, when suddenly a number of men arrived and shot arrows and wounded him. The Shaiikh flung himself down and went off, while they thought he was still in the howda. Meanwhile a servant came and put him on his horse and brought him to the camp.<sup>2</sup> The proposed peace failed and Qutlū had the disgrace of fraud, and in successive fights had to traverse the desert of unsuccess.

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 406.

<sup>2</sup> The story is told here as in A.N. 406, but Niğāmu-dīn, Elliot V. 429. and Badayūnī, Lowe 333, tell it differently. According to them Qutlū did not behave badly. It was Bahādūr who did so. See also Stewart's Bengal 177. The story is also told in Nūru'l Haq's *Zabdu't-tawārikh* which is specially devoted to the glorification of S. Farīd. But the account there,

p. 215b and 216a of B.M. MS. Add. 10, 580, makes no mention of Bahādūr. It says that Farīd took 300 horse with him, that many of the horses were removed and that 5,000 or 6,000 Afghans lay in ambush. Saiyids Shāhū and Abdullah Laṭīf were killed. The affair took place in the Burdwan district. Qutlū was defeated afterwards and went off to Jharkand.

In the 30th year the Shaikh attained the rank of 700, and by the 40th year he had arrived at the rank of 1,500. He became Mir Bakhshī. Having become a bakhshī he acted like a Vizier and for some years he on account of the incompetence of the diwan drew to himself the charge of the *diwān-i-tan* which is part of the diwan's office, and distributed jagirs to those who sought for assignments (tankhwāh). After<sup>1</sup> the death of Akbar, two good services were performed by the Shaikh which raised him above his peers, or rather above all the officers and pillars of the empire.

The first was that when Jahangir at the time he was Prince behaved independently in Allahabad and conferred titles and *manṣabs* and distributed fiefs, Akbar increased the dignity of Jahangir's son Khusrau so that men thought he was the heir-apparent. After the Prince (Jahangir) came to the Presence, he was not devoid of turbulence (*shorish dimāgh*). The Emperor delayed and dissembled. As the Prince's (Selim's) men had gone off to Gujarat—which had recently been<sup>2</sup> assigned to him as his fief (*tiyāl*)—the Emperor intimated to him in his illness that he should confine himself to his house, outside of the fort, lest the party of the opposition should make a disturbance. Mirzā Azīz Koka and Rajah Mān Singh were, on account of their relationship with Sultan Khusrau, plotting to make him ruler, and placed the gates of the fort in charge of their own men. The Khizrī gate they made over to Shaikh Farid in co-partnership with their own men. Farid—who had the control of the army—was annoyed and came out of the fort and saluted the Prince, and congratulated him as Emperor. The Amīrs heard of this and crowded in from every side. Akbar was still breathing when Rajah Mān Singh was won over by being confirmed in the government of Bengal. Jahangir

<sup>1</sup> The *Maasir* does not refer to Farid's victories in Kashmir, for which see the *Akbar-nāma* and *Zubdu-t-tawārīkh*, MS. 235, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated in A.S.B.J. Numismatic Supplement for 1904, p. 68, that Selim never was governor of Gujarat. Perhaps this is technically correct, but the passage in text shows that he had connections with the province.

The *Mirāt Ahmadi*, lith. ed., p. 193, also states that Selim received in the last year of Akbar a grant of a lac of rupees out of the collections of the port of Cambay. He may therefore have had sufficient influence in Gujarat to issue Selimi coins at Ahmabad in the last year of his father's reign.

came into the fort and ascended the throne and the Shaikh received the title of Şāhibu-s-saif-u-al qalm (master of sword and pen) and received the rank of 5,000 and the high office of Mir Bakshi.

The second was when flatterers and foolish talkers put thoughts of empire into Sultan Khusrau's head. In the first year of his father's reign, 1014, 1606, he on 8 Zi-l-hajia, 6th April, fled by night and went plundering from Agra to Lahore. The Shaikh pursued him with a number of officers, and Jahangir himself followed close at his heels. The Amīru-l-Umarā Sharif K. and Mahābat K.—who had enmity with the Shaikh—represented that the Shaikh was intentionally delaying. He did not intend to seize Khusrau. Accordingly Mahābat K. came from the king, and spoke idle words. The Shaikh did not move from his place and gave an answer corresponding to his loyalty. Sultan Khusrau heard of the arrival of the Shaikh at the Sultanpur river and withdrew from the siege of Lahore. With 12,000 troopers whom in these few days he had gathered together he turned to encounter<sup>1</sup> Farīd. The Shaikh with an inferior force went to meet him and crossed the Beas and engaged. A severe battle took place. The Saiyids of Bārha and Bokhara distinguished themselves and devoted their lives. Sultan Khusrau after many had been killed fled to the desert and the Shaikh went on a plain beyond the battlefield and encamped.

On the same day two or three hours after night Jahangir came up on the wings of swiftness and embraced the Shaikh. He passed the night in his tent, and he, at the request of the Shaikh, made that spot, which belonged to pargana Bhaironwāl, a pargana, and gave it the name of Fathābād and presented it to the Shaikh. He also gave the Shaikh the title of Murtaza K. and gave him the government of Gujarat. In the 2nd year the Shaikh sent from Gujarat a ruby of Badakhshān—of which the stone and the ring and the setting were all out from one piece of ruby and which weighed one mişqāl,<sup>2</sup> (15 surkhs) and was of very fine water and

<sup>1</sup> Gladwin calls the battlefield Go-wind wal.

<sup>2</sup> See Tūzūk J., p. 63. A mişqāl is said to be one-sixth of an ounce. A

surkh is the same as a raṭī, viz. the seed of the Abrus precatorius. For the complaints of the Gujarat people against Farīd, see Tūzūk J., 73.

colour—as a present. It was valued at Rs. 25,000. As the people of Gujarat were tormented by his brother's ways and manners, they complained, and he was summoned to the prese lce and in the 5th year was made governor of the Panjab. In the year 1021, 1610, he was appointed to the affair of Kāngra which belongs to that Province. In the town of Pathān in 1025, 1616, and the 11th year of Jahangir, he died. His tomb is in Delhi in the cemetery of his ancestors. In accordance with his will a building was erected. The chronogram is *Dād, khūrd burd* (1025, 1616): "He gave;<sup>1</sup> he took little." All he left came to one thousand ashrafis.

The Shaikh was adorned with outward and inward excellencies. Bravery and bounty (*shujā'at ba saḥḥāwat*) were united in him. His universal liberality opened the door of abundance in the face of mankind. No one who approached him saw the face of disappointment in the mirror of his thoughts. On his way to the darbar he distributed garments (*qabā*), blankets, sheets, and shoes to the poor passers-by. He distributed small gold and silver coins with his own hand. One day a dervish received alms from him seven times. The 8th time he whispered to him, "Hide what you have taken seven times so that other dervishes do not take it from you." Monastic persons (*ahl khānqāh*), pious persons, needy persons and widows received fixed allowances daily or yearly, both in his presence and privately, without *sanads* or *parwānas*. There were many subsistence-tenures in his fiefs. The children of those who had been in his service had all fixed monthly allowances and they sported, as if they were his own children, in his arms. He appointed masters to teach them. In Gujarat he had the names of the Saiyids—male and female—written down, and gave from his own establishment wedding-clothes for their children. He even put money in deposit for those who were in the womb. Accordingly, whoever after that came into existence, got wedding expenses from that money. But he gave nothing to panegyrists or singers. He founded many hostels and serais. In Aḥmadabad he established a quarter called Bokhara. He built the mosque and cemetery (Rauza) of Shāh Wajhīu-d-dīn, and in Delhi he left

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<sup>1</sup> B. 415.

Faridābād<sup>1</sup> with buildings and a tank. In Lahore too he established a quarter, and a great bath in the market-place there is his. The Shaikh three times a year gave grand dresses to the king's servants with whom he had to do, and to some he gave nine things (*tuqūz*). To his own servants he gave yearly a *khilāt*, to the footmen a blanket, and to the sweepers (*halālkhūr*) a pair of shoes. This was his custom all his life, as long as he lived he did not grudge it. To some of his companions who also had jagirs he gave a lac of rupees a year. He kept 3,000 selected and well-horsed troopers as his contingent. From the time of Akbar to the reign of Jahangir he never entered a dwelling-house (of his own). He was always in the advance-camp<sup>2</sup> (*peshkhāna*). There were three watches and every day 1,000 (?) persons (troopers?) were fed. Five hundred were entertained and to another 500 portions were sent. He paid his soldiers with his own hands. He did not grumble at the crowd of men and the noise and confusion.

They say that an Afghan named Sher Khān was one of his best servants. He took leave from Gujarat and went to his home and stayed there five or six years. When the Shaikh was appointed to the Kāngra campaign, he came to the town of Kalānūr and paid his respects. The Shaikh told his bakhshi Dwarkā Dās to give him the man's account in order that he might send the money to his family. The bakhshī wrote out his account<sup>3</sup> and gave it to the Shaikh for the insertion of the date. The Shaikh got angry and said, "He is an old servant. If for some reason he has come late, how has our work suffered?" He made out his account from the date that his salary had been entered on the establishment and paid him Rs. 7,000!

Good God! Though there is the same interchange of night and day, the same movements of the planets and revolutions of

<sup>1</sup> The *Zabdu-t-tawārikh* speaks of Faridābād as being four *far-akhs* from Delhi. MS. 249b. Faridābād is S. Delhi. See Proceedings A.S.B. for 1873, p. 197. The inscription there given shows that Farid was s. Saiyid Ahmad of Bokhara. See Blochmann, 620, and I. G. XII. 51.

<sup>2</sup> On referring to the MSS. the reading *peshkhāna* is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Text *farid khari-i-ao*. But B.M. MS. Add. 65-6 has *farid chihrah*, "the statement of his appearance," i.e. his descriptive roll, and this is probably the true reading. See Irvine A. of M., 47.

the spheres, yet at this portion of Time this land is without such men. Perhaps they have gone to some other country!

The Shaikh had no son. He had one daughter, and she died childless. Muḥammad S'aid and Mīr Khān were his adopted sons and they spent their days in pomp and pride, and lived extravagantly. In their presumption they paid no regard to the imperial dignity. Not to speak of their conduct to Amīrs, they would even pass before the *gharoka* (emperor's window) of the palace on the Jumna with many torches and lamps. They were often forbidden, but it had no effect. At last Jahangir signified something to Mahābat K. He told Rājī Saiyid Mubārik of Mānik-pūr—who was his confidential servant—to get rid of them quietly. One night Mīr K. was returning from the Darbār when Saiyid killed him, and was himself wounded by him. The Shaikh (Farīd) brought a charge of murder against Mahābat K. He in the presence of the emperor brought forward positive proof (*baiyina*) by trustworthy (?) witnesses that Muḥammad S'aid (the other adopted) had killed Mīr Khān, and that he should exact retaliation from him. The Shaikh from the nature of the assembly understood what was the real object<sup>1</sup> of the allegation and said nothing but withdrew from the prosecution.

#### (MĪRZA) FARĪDŪN<sup>2</sup> KHĀN BĀRLĀS.

S. M. Muḥammad Qulī K. Barlās. On his father's death he was graciously treated by Akbar and received a suitable rank. In the 35th year of the reign he accompanied the Khān-Khānān 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm on the Tatta campaign and distinguished himself. When the country of Tatta (Sind) was conquered he in the 38th year accompanied Jānī Beg to court. In the 40th year his rank was 500. When Jahangir came to the throne he, in the second year, received a fief in the province of Allahabad and had the rank of 1,000 *zāt u sawār* (personality and horse). In the 3rd year his rank was 1,500 with 1,300 horse, and afterwards it was increased

<sup>1</sup> *Aḥl mudd'aā*. The real meaning of the allegation that Muḥammad S'aid was the murderer. Perhaps *qat* here

means root and refers to Jahangir.

<sup>2</sup> B. 342 and 478.

to 2,000<sup>1</sup> horse. In the 8th year he was attached to Sul'tan Khar-ram (Shah Jahan) and employed in the campaign against Rānā Amr Singh. Afterwards he died.<sup>2</sup> The appreciative sovereign gave his son Mihr 'Alī the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

### FATH JANG KHĀN MĪYĀNA.

His name was Husain K. and he was one of the leading officers of the 'Ādil S. dynasty. Though he was not nearly related to Bahlūl K. Mīyāna, yet he by birth and ability was one of the distinguished men of Bijāpūr. As the household servants of the 'Ādil Shah dynasty did not consider their king, but were independent and squabbled with one another, the affairs of the kingdom fell into decay and hostile desires increased. Aurangzeb had long ago determined upon uprooting the Quṭb Shah and 'Ādī Shāh dynasties, and when he was obliged to visit the Deccan as king, his old designs were confirmed. Fath Jang from foreseeing the end of things, and by his good fortune came to the royal threshold and in the 26th year did homage in the citadel of Aurangabad. By the king's order, Ātiṣh K. Rūzbahānī received him at the door of the *Ghuskhāna*, and Ashraf K. Mir Bak<sup>h</sup>shī advanced as far as the terrace. He received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, a flag and a drum, and the title of Fath Jang K. and a present of Rs. 40,000 and so became the envy of his contemporaries. His brother and other relatives received suitable robes of honour and offices.

At the same time a wonderful occurrence<sup>3</sup> took place. Prince Muḥammad 'Ā'zim Shāh—who had taken leave to go to Bijāpūr—was summoned to the presence from the bank of the river Nīrā.\* One day when he came near the city on horseback, suddenly Fath Jang's elephant got violent and rushed at the head of the party (*janj*) and came near the Shah. He (the Prince) discharged an

<sup>1</sup> In the 5th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Tūzuk J. 83. In the 7th year he was raised to 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Tūzuk 112.

<sup>2</sup> He died in the 9th year at Udai-pūr. Tūzuk 131.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A. 230.

\* River in the Poonah district. Lat. 18.4 N. Lon., 74.13 E. It now feeds a Canal.

arrow at him, but he came nearer, and the Prince's horse became unmanageable. The Prince dismounted and faced the elephant and struck it on the trunk with his sword. Meanwhile the men of the escort who had been dispersed, killed the elephant by fatal wounds. When the Prince was appointed to the Bijāpūr expedition, Faṭḥ Jang became one of those attached to him. In the battle of the batteries there he distinguished himself and became decorated with wounds. Afterwards he was made governor of the fort of Rāherī, and served there for a long time. He had several engagements with the banditti (the Mahrattas), and in one he was made prisoner. Sambhā treated him with respect and brought him to Rāherī. There he died. He was a quiet man, devoted to his duties. Among his sons—most of whom died during his lifetime—Qudrat Ullah was faujdār of Talikoth. In the 50th year Talikoth (Talikot I.G. XXIII, 214) together with the government of Bijāpūr was made over to Husain Qulij K. Bahādur. The said Khān (Qudrat Ullah) was made faujdār of Mahkar, in the Berar Bālāghāt. In his time the enemy (the Mahrattas) fell upon the town and plundered it. Among his brothers, Yaṣīn K. was thānadār of Karar<sup>1</sup> (also known as Māndgāon, in Berar) and held *faujdārī* in that quarter. In the time of Bahādur Shah, Purdil K. Afghan superseded him. Quarrels arose between them about the collections and ended in battle, and Yaṣīn K. was killed.

#### FATH JANG K. ROHILLA.

His father was Zechariah K., the brother of Uṣmān K. Rohilla, who for a long time was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. Though his rank was small, he was much trusted and respected. In the 13th year of Shah Jahan he was made faujdār of Khāndes, and distinguished himself in that office by the introduction of approved regulations, and by looking after the Rohillas. In the 30th year he (Uṣmān) died a natural death. His rank was 1,000 with 800 horse. Zechariah K. also was distinguished for courage. Faṭḥ K. surpassed his father and uncle, and by his energy and courage he, in the time of Shah Jahan, obtained his uncle's rank. In the 26th

<sup>1</sup> Jarrett II. 233.



year he was made faujdār of Tūndāpūr in *Khāndes*—which is the mouth of the Bālāghāt—and after that was made faujdār of Copra<sup>1</sup> in the same province. His rank became 1,000 with 800 horse. They say that he had very pleasant manners and that in spite of the smallness of his rank he was an eminent Amir, and that his establishment was on a greater scale than his position. He was a man of an open brow and one who had a liberal hand. Though he was not without eloquence and knowledge, his gentleness and humility were such that if he happened to fall in with a low person (*pācī*, qu. *pāṇī*) he would go to his house and show such amiability as surprised people. He was unrivalled for the way he looked after his clan, and as a commanding officer (*dar tumandārī*). He bore the burden of assisting his brother and nephews—who were all distinguished for courage—and he served well Prince Aurangzeb when he was governor of the Deccan. In the campaign when the fort of Badrū<sup>2</sup> Kalyān was taken by the imperial officers, the Prince sent him and Mīr Malik Ḥusain Koka against Nilanga which they quickly took. When the Prince proceeded to Upper India to take the sovereignty, Fath K. with his brothers and sons-in-law accompanied him, and after leaving Burhānpūr he got the title of Khān. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant he received the title of Fath K. Jang K. and the gift of a flag and drum and the rank of 2,500 with 2,500 horse. In the battles with the claimants to the sovereignty he and his brothers distinguished themselves. After the battle of Khajwa he was appointed to accompany Muazzam K., the Khān-Khānān, in his pursuit of Shūjā<sup>3</sup> and did good service in that general's vanguard. In the end of the year of the Accession, the Khān-Khānān proceeded from Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) to Sūtī<sup>4</sup>—which is fourteen *kos* further on

<sup>1</sup> J. II. 225. The Chopda of I. G. X. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this should be "the forts of Bīdar and Kalyān," and the incident may refer to the 31st year of Shah Jahan. See Elliot VII. 124, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The text has Sūti, and Jahāngīrnagar instead of Akbarnagar. But a reference to the 'Ālamgīrnāma 406

shows that the place is Sūtī or Sooty in the N. of the Murshidabad district and that it is Akbarnagar, and not Jahāngīrnagar, which was 14 *kos* away. Sooty is on the Bhagirathī, which is mentioned in the Maasir III. 542, in connection with Sūtī. See also Stewart, Hist. of Bengal, 271, who speaks of Mīr Jumla crossing at Sooty.

than Akbarnagar—and he<sup>1</sup> sent some brave men in boats to the other side of the river where the enemies' batteries were. When some had landed, a battle took place, and some war-boats of the enemy fought a naval battle. Many returned unsuccessful. His brother Hayāt known as Zabardast K.—who was with a number of his companions in a boat—wounded and killed many, and he got a gunshot-wound<sup>2</sup> and two wounds with arrows and then escaped from the enemies' boats. Shahbāz and Sharif, brothers of the Khān, and Rustūm and Rasūl, his nephews, and a number of his connections and followers were in another boat. They had not all landed when the enemy attacked them. Shahbāz was killed by an elephant, and Rustūm and Rasūl and others were killed. The others were wounded and made prisoners. Afterwards, when the Khān-Khānān appointed Mukhlis K. to the faujdārī of Akbarnagar, he left him there along with Zabardast K. and Fath K. After the business of Shujā' was finished, Fath K. came from Bengal to the presence. As his heart was inclined to service in the Deccan, he became an auxiliary in that country. In the Bijāpūr campaign he in company with Mirzā Rajah Jai Singh had command of the left wing.

When he approached Bijāpūr Sherza K. Mahdavi and Sidi Ma'saūd came into the imperial territory and stirred up commotion. By chance, at that time, Iskandar, who was called Ṣalābat K. and was the brother of Fath Jang, had come to within four kos of Parenda with the intent of joining the Rajah. Sherza K. with 6000 troopers fell upon him. He guarded his honour and did not think it fitting to turn back from them and with 40 troopers of his own followers they acquired fame by sacrificing their lives. Every one of his brothers was distinguished for his courage. He held pargana Jāmeza<sup>3</sup> in Khāndes in fief. He took the

See also 'Ālamgīrnāma 504 where it is stated that Suti is about 14 kos from Akbarnagar on the way to Jahangirnagar and that Mir Jumla encamped there and erected batteries on the river-bank, etc.

1 'Ālamgīrnāma 505, etc. It was in May 1659. Mir Jumla's men crossed over the river to take a fort. but were

surprised and defeated. From p. 501 of 'Ālamgīrnāma it appears that Shujā's battery was on a *chur* or island in the river.

2 'Ālamgīrnāma 508.

3 The variant Jāmniya agrees better with J. II. 225 which has Jāmner. I. G. XIV. 50.

maqaddamī (headship) of most of the districts and made the village Paiparī his residence. It is eight kos from Fardāpūr and on the way to Burhānpūr. He laboured to develop it, and his sons established themselves there. Up to the end of Aurangzeb's reign his son Taj K. was alive and preserved his authority. After him preeminence ceased. It is about ten years that the village has gone out of the possession of the family as a jagir owing to their want of prudence. But they hold possession as zamindars. His son-in-law Ilāhdād K. took up his residence in the town of Manglaur Shāh Badra-d-dīn. He erected a very lofty gateway to his house. His descendants live there.

#### FATH KHĀN.

Son of the famous Malik 'Ambar, the Abyssinian. During his father's lifetime he was distinguished for courage and generosity. After his death he became the administrator for the Nizām-shāhī family and left no power to Murtaẓa Nizām Shah the 2nd. The latter was instigated by turbulent men, and arrested Fath K. and sent him to Junair. They say that by the help of a woman who was a bracelet-maker (*chūrīgar*) he with a file got rid of his fetters and escaped. He joined his army and went off to Ahmadnagar. The Nizām Shah appointed an army, and in the battle that ensued Fath K. was wounded and made prisoner. He was imprisoned in Daulatabad. Nizām Shah after some time ascertained that Muqarib K., a Turkish slave, who was chief swordsman (Mir Shamsher) and had been made general in the room of Fath K., and Hamīd K. Abyssinian, the Vakīl us-sultanat, were not conducting affairs properly, and so he made Fath K. vakīl and commander-in-chief as before. They say that Fath K. on this occasion was released by the instrumentality of his sister who was the mother of the Nizām Shah, and that he from this time adopted the dress of a soldier (?) After the death of Hamīd K., he obtained the control of affairs.

In fine, he got a hint from past occurrences, and set about cultivating the 'Ambarī Abyssinians, and made them his friends. As he perceived that his release from prison had been the result of necessity, and that he would be imprisoned again whenever

that perfidious one had recovered heart, he anticipated matters and in 1041, 1632, imprisoned the Nizām Shah, giving out that he was insane, in the same manner that his father (Malik 'Ambar) had kept him in confinement.<sup>1</sup> Also on the first day he put to death twenty-five of the old, leading officers. He reported to Shah Jahan that he had imprisoned the Nizām Shah who from short-sightedness and wickedness was opposing the (imperial) servants. The order in reply was that if this statement was true he should cleanse the world of the Nizām's presence. Fath K. had him put away<sup>2</sup> and gave out that he died from natural causes. He appointed in his room Husain, a boy of ten years of age. When he again reported what had occurred, Shah Jahan demanded the elephants and jewels, etc. of the Nizām Shah. Fath K., in spite of his obedience and submissiveness, delayed to send them. Accordingly Wazir K. was sent off in the fifth year from Burhānpūr to take Daulatabad. Fath K. hurriedly sent his eldest son 'Abdur-r-Rasūl with the jewellery and elephants, which were valued<sup>3</sup> at eight lacs of rupees. J'aafar K. received him and brought him to do homage. In this way Fath K. escaped the king's anger. As Fath K. carried on the administration without any partner, 'Adil Shah of Bijāpūr wished to get rid of him and to take possession of Daulatabad. He sent a large army under Farhād K. Fath K. wrōte to Mahābat K., the governor of the Deccan, that his father's will stated that the office of sweeping the courtyard of the Timuride Princes was better than the Bijāpūr dominion, and begged him to come before the arrival of the 'Adil Shah forces. This circumstance has been detailed in the account of Mahābat K. When the latter arrived from Burhānpūr, Fath K., whose words and acts did not agree, was led away by the flatteries of the Bijāpūr leaders and was besieged (by Mahābat).

When provisions ran out, he soon had recourse to supplications and surrendered the fort on conditions. He went off with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Elliot VII. 29, and Pādshāh-nāmā I. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi K. I. 461, and Pādshāh-nāmā I. 402.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. I. 467. There were 30 elephants, 9 horses and jewels. See Pādshāh-nāmā I. 411.

Mahābat K. along with the boy Nizām Shah and the dependants of that family which had ruled the country for 145 years. Mahābat without any apparent cause broke the treaty and imprisoned Fath K. in Zafarnagar, and confiscated his goods. In accordance with orders, Islām K., who had been removed from the government of Gujarat, came to Burhānpūr and brought the ruined family to the presence. The Nizāmu-l-Mulk was imprisoned in Gwalior, but Fath K. was treated with favour. The conferring upon him of high office was under consideration when, perhaps in consequence of a wound to his head which had affected his brain, improper expressions were used by him, and he fell out of favour. But his property was restored to him, and he got two lacs of rupees a year as an allowance. He lived in retirement in Lahore for a long time with ease and comfort till at last he died a natural death. They say he held much converse with people of Arabia, and used to give them money. His brother Cingīz entered into service before him in the second year and attained the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse and had the title of *Manşūr K.* Many of his relatives received suitable offices.

As Malik 'Ambar was not a royal servant, his biography does not come into this work, but as he was one of the leading men of the age, some account of him cannot be avoided. He was a Bijāpur slave. He and other bold Abyssinians became servants of the Nizām Shah and he became distinguished for courage and ability. When Queen Chānd Sultan was put to death in 1009, July 1600, by the swords of some irreflecting Deccanis, and the fort of Ahmadnagar came into the possession of the Emperor Akbar, and Bahādur Nizām Shah was made prisoner and confined in the fort of Gwalior, total weakness fell upon the Nizām Shah dynasty, which had been declining since the time of Burhān Shah. None of the effective officers remained in authority, and Malik Ambar and Rājū Miyān Deccanī raised the standard of power. The first had control from the boundary of Telang to within four *kos* of Ahmadnagar, while the second had power from the north of Daulatabad to the boundaries of Gujarat and in the south to within six *kos* of Ahmadnagar. Murtaza Nizām Shah the 2nd, who was the son of Shah 'Ali, held the fort of Ausa (Owsa of I. G.) and

some villages for his expenses. As each of these two leaders wished to conquer the other's land, they were constantly contending with one another. In the year 1010, 1601-1602, there was a severe battle<sup>1</sup> in the neighbourhood of Nānder between Malik 'Ambar and M. Irij, the son of 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, the Khān-Khānān, and Malik 'Ambar was carried off from the field wounded. The Khān-Khānān, who knew his designs, rejoiced and made peace, and Malik 'Ambar too considered this a gain and had an interview, and made a treaty with the Khān-Khānān. As he had been often defeated by Rājū, he now, with the help of the Khān-Khānān, defeated him and brought Murtaẓa Nizām Shah into his power and kept him under surveillance in Junair. After that he led an army against Rājū and made him prisoner and took possession of his country. As in Upper India the contentions of Prince Sultan Selīm, the death of Akbar and the rebellion of Sultan Khusrau quickly followed one another, Malik 'Ambar was able at his ease to increase his power, and he collected numerous soldiers, and took possession of most of the Imperial estates. The Khān-Khānān on account of the necessity of the times had to submit to this. When the power of Jahangir was consolidated, armies were repeatedly appointed. Malik 'Ambar was sometimes defeated, and sometimes victorious, but did not cease to oppose. Afterwards, when Shah Jahan, the heir-apparent, was sent to the Deccan and all the rulers of the Deccan submitted to him, Malik 'Ambar made over most of what he had acquired to the imperial vakils and stood firm in the path of obedience. He continually carried on disputes with the 'Adil Shahis and the Qutb Shāhis and was repeatedly victorious. He received money as tribute (n'albandi). In 1035, 1626, he died a natural death at the age of eighty. He was buried in the Rauza of Daulatabad between the shrines of Shah Muntajibu-d-dīn Zarbaksh and Shāh Rājū Qatāl. There is a lofty dome and a wall. In spite of all the revolutions a tract is set apart to the present

<sup>1</sup> This was Irij's first victory over Malik 'Ambar, and occurred in 47th year of Akbar's reign. See Akbarnāma III. 815, and Maasir U. II. 645. His

second victory was near Khirkī in the 10th year of Jahangir. See Tūzuk, translation, p. 312, and Elliot VI. 843.

day as In'ām land which supplies lamps and oil. In military acts and in statesmanship and right judgment he was unique. He had thoroughly mastered the method <sup>1</sup> of *qazāqī* fighting which in the Deccan is called *bargigiri*, and kept the evil-doers and vagabonds of the country in order. He laboured much in protecting the peasantry and in the advancement of agriculture. In spite of all the commotion and turmoil, for the Moghuls and the Deccanis were always fighting, he developed the village of Khirkī, five kos from Daulatabad, which is now known as *Khujastabanyād-Aurangabad*, and made tanks, gardens and lofty buildings there. They say that in the distribution of charity and other good works, and in the administration of justice and the relief of the oppressed, he was very strong. He patronized poets. A certain poet has said in praise of him—

*Verse.*

There was Bilāl,<sup>2</sup> the servant of the Apostle of God ;  
After 1000 years there came Malik 'Ambar.

#### FATH ULLAH KHWĀJAGĪ.

Son of the Hājī Ḥabīb-Ullah Kāshī (of Kāshān) who, on account of his business-capacity and sagacity, was sent<sup>3</sup> to the port of Goa in the 20th year of Akbar to bring the rarities of that place. He returned to court with the curiosities in the 22nd year. Abu-l-Faẓl says<sup>4</sup> in the Akbar-nāma that one of the most remarkable things he brought was an organ. The said Hājī died in the 39th year. Khwājagī Fath Ullah was one of the servants of Akbar, and was an intimate of his. In the year that the king made a rapid expedition to the shrine at Ajmere, he was sent<sup>5</sup> off to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K. Atga, and an order was given that he should bring him by the Mālwa route in order that by sending skilful men, he might, by exciting hopes and fears, induce the ruler of Khāndes to send Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. He came there

<sup>1</sup> Copied from *Iqbāl-nāma* 271. See Elliot VI. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Bilāl, like Malik 'Ambar, was an Abyssinian.

<sup>3</sup> A. N. III. 146.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. 228. Hājī Ḥabīb died on 1 Khurdād 1002, May 1594. His son is referred to by Blochmann, 499.

<sup>5</sup> Do. 250.

and acted according to orders, and dexterously went himself along with the envoys to Burhānpūr. After that he went off to the Hijāz without orders. He afterwards repented of this and came back along with the Begams who had gone on a pilgrimage and returned. In the 27th year he was pardoned<sup>1</sup> at their intercession and did homage.

In the 29th year he was appointed<sup>2</sup> to watch the Bengal officers who on account of bad health<sup>3</sup> were neglecting the king's business. In the 30th year when the Khān A'zim Koka had been appointed to the Deccan he was made bakhshī of the army and accompanied him. In the 37th year he was sent off with S. Farīd Bakhshī to put down Yādgar, the cousin of M. Yūsuf K., who had tuned up the strain of sedition in Kashmīr. In the 45th year, when the royal standards were at Burhānpūr, he was sent with Mozaffar Husain M. to take the fort of Lalang. When Mozaffar, on account of the insanity in his disposition, absconded, he with the troops reached the fortress, and the garrison from want of provisions surrendered the keys. He made an agreement with some of the Khāndes soldiers who were desirous of proving their obedience and brought them to court. At last he in the same year obtained leave to go to Nāsik. When he came near the fort of Gālā, S'ādat K., the talūqdār, who had long entertained the wish to enter service, came and waited upon him, and surrendered the fort. In the 48th year he, at the request of Prince Sultan Selīm, who was living gloriously in Allāhabad, obtained<sup>4</sup> the rank of 1,000 and was attached to the Prince. After the accession of Jahangir he was made<sup>5</sup> Bakhshī.

#### FATH ULLAH KHĀN BAHĀDUR 'ĀLAMGĪRSHĀHĪ.

His name was Muḥammad Ṣādiq and he was one of the Saiyids of Khost which is a district in Badakhshān. He was an old, experienced soldier and at the head of distinguished swordsmen.

<sup>1</sup> A. N. III. 386. He came back with Gulbadan Begam's party and suffered on the journey with her.

<sup>2</sup> Do. 440.

<sup>3</sup> Ṣaḥat but the variant *ṣaḥabat* "companionship" is more likely.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. III. 824. [p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Rogers' translation of Tūzūk,



In the beginning he was in company with Khān Fīrūz Jang and was raised to a *manṣab* under the crown. He became famous for his courage and single-fighting. In the 27th year when Khān Fīrūz Jang, as a reward for his repeated onsets and his hard contests with the Mahrattas, received the name of Ghāziū-d-dīn Khān Bahādur instead of that of Shihābu-d-dīn, Faṭḥ Ullah, who had distinguished himself in those battles, received the title of Ṣādiq K. He spent a long time as a follower of Khān Fīrūz Jang and did good service. He received the title of Faṭḥ Ullah K. Afterwards he left Fīrūz Jang and became the recipient of royal favours. He was always employed in patrolling the country and in chastising the Mahrattas. In the 43rd year after the king had resided for four years in Islāmpūrī he moved out to take Sambhā's forts. The Khān showed alacrity in taking forts by raising batteries and driving mines. In the siege of Satāra, which is situated on the ridge of a mountain, whose head<sup>1</sup> rises to the Pleiades (Ṣaryā) while its root descends beyond the Earth (Ṣarā), he made under the captaincy of Rūḥ Ullah K. another battery<sup>2</sup> opposite the fort-gate. In his energy and boldness he came near the door of the fort and wished by the blow of an iron fist to destroy it. The awe caused by him, and the fear of other batteries, which had come near, made the fort surrender. He was also a predominant partner in taking the fort of Parli<sup>3</sup> which was in extent and height the equal of Satāra. When Satāra had been taken, Faṭḥ Ullah was appointed to act in the vanguard in taking Parli. Aurangzeb himself accomplished the journey in three days and pitched his tents in front of the fort-gate. Faṭḥ Ullah paid no regard to the strength of the fort, but exerted himself to raise batteries and to place guns on the crest of the hill, and did the work of years in a few days. He placed a battery under a long and broad rock which sloped down opposite the wicket-gate

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 413. The allusion to the Pleiades may refer to the popular but apparently erroneous etymology which makes Sātāra mean seven stars. See I. G. XXII. 129.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot VII. 367. "Six miles south-west of Sattara." The description of the capture is taken from the Maasir A., p. 424, etc. For Parli see I.G. XX. 5.

(*darica*) of the fort, but it was very difficult to get over this rock. If this rock could be gained possession of, the capture of the fort would be very easy. The Khān with a body of men came out upon the rock and in that field which extended up to the *darica* of the fort he attacked the garrison with the sword. They could not resist and ran to the *darica*. The Moghuls followed close behind. As the Khān had not determined upon entering the fort, he wished that he should come out upon the rock, and establish his men there, and bring up a gun and demolish the wall. The infidels strengthened the *darica* and raised a typhoon of musket-fire and threw bombs from the top of wall. They also set fire to a quantity of gunpowder which, in anticipation of such a day, they had laid down in the exit from the fort. Faqīr Ullāh K., the grandson of Fath Ullāh, and some 67 others<sup>1</sup> were killed. As there was no shelter on the rock the troops could not remain there. They came down and took up their old position. But the tumult of the fight had put fire into the souls of the infidels, and the smoke of their conceit evaporated. They cried for quarter, and in the course of 1½ months in the 44th year the fort was taken. The chronogram<sup>2</sup> was *Hazā Naṣr Ullāh*, "This is God's victory." As the fort was one of the works of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah who had founded it in 1035, 1626 and he made use<sup>3</sup> of the term *Nauras* to everything which was new, it was now called *Nauras Tārā*. The Khān received an increase of rank and obtained leave to go to Aurangabad to recruit his followers. He came to the presence at the time of the siege of Parnāla and it was ordered that on one side Tarbiyat K. Mir Ātish should raise a battery and Fath Ullāh on the other under the leadership of Prince Bidār Bakht, and with the aid of Mun'im K. should make a second approach (*sīḍa*). He in the course of one month cut through the stony ground as if

<sup>1</sup> "60 or 70", *Maasir A.*, 427.

<sup>2</sup> This yields 1112, 1700. The text says nothing about the heavy rains which made the siege difficult and led to a famine.

<sup>3</sup> The *Maasir A.* instances the book called *Nauras* which was a treatise on music by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah to which

Zuhūrī wrote a preface (see *Rieu Cat.* 741), and the city *Nauras-i-Ibrāhīm* founded by Ibrāhīm. See also Garçin de Tassy *Litt. Hind.* vol. II. 4 and III. 349. Apparently there were nine *Ras* according to Ibrāhīm, so perhaps *Nau* stood both for "new" and for "nine."

it were easier than earth, and made a road to the wall so that road-makers were astonished. The besieged became frightened and asked for quarter. He received the title of Bahādur and his reputation increased.

When the royal army moved from Parnāla towards Kahtāwan<sup>1</sup>—where there was a harvest and abundant (apparently this is the meaning of the name) provisions—to establish a camp, he was sent to take Dardāngarha which is two kos from that village. The garrison out of fear of him left the fort empty and thought themselves lucky to have saved their lives. The fort received the name of Ṣādiqgarha<sup>2</sup> (Maasir A., 443) from being associated with him. From Kahtāwan a force was sent to take Nāndgair and Chandan and Mandan, under the leadership of the bakhshiu-l mulk Bahramand K. In a short time the garrisons of all three had no resource except to surrender or flee. The first was called Gīrū, the second Miftāḥ, and the third Mattūḥ. In the 45th year the royal standards moved from Ṣādiqgarha towards the fort of Khelna—which was the head of all the hillforts and surrounded by difficult jungles. In a few days the army arrived there. On account of the stony ground, and the steepness of the paths, and the numerous hollows<sup>3</sup> and ravines, it was difficult for the army to proceed, especially as there was a space of four kos, the difficulties of which had frightened people; but by the exertions of Fath Ullah and the labours of hatchet-men and stone-cutters, all the asperities were made easy. The Khān was presented with a special quiver, and under the command of the Amīru-l-Umarā Jum-lau-l-mulk (Asad K.) and the companionship of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn K., Mun'im K. and Rajah Jai Singh, he was appointed to the siege. On the same day he took the ridge from the enemy and established a battery<sup>4</sup> there. Next day another ridge came into possession and guns were placed on it. Great efforts were made to extend the batteries and saps. With labours like those of Far-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this is the Khatao of I.G. XV. 265. For Dardān Garha the Maasir A. has Wardār Ghara.

<sup>2</sup> He had also the name Muham-mad Ṣādiq, M. A., 443.

<sup>3</sup> *Char*, which is a mistake for *jarr*. See Maasir A., 449, line 3.

<sup>4</sup> Text *balḥār*, perhaps a mistake for *mūḥār*. See III. 363, line 6. But *bal* or *buljar* seems to be also in use.

hād, passages<sup>1</sup> were made in the hill until they reached the waist of the bastion.

Adits were driven in various directions. Gold was scattered all day, and Fath Ullah himself worked along with the labourers. As from the fort, stones<sup>2</sup> of 100 and 200 maunds weight were thrown down continually, suddenly a stone came on the broad roof (*takhta*) and broke it. The *Khān* was knocked over by the blow, which fell upon his head—and went rolling down to a deep cavity. He held on to a litter<sup>3</sup> (*kajāwa*) which had fallen down. Cries were raised by the men, and the dust of despair covered the face of everyone. They brought him up senseless, and after a long time he recovered. His head and chest were so damaged that he was confined to bed for a month. He then returned to his work, and was considering how he might change<sup>4</sup> his plan and make an attack from the side of another bastion when the taking of the fort was accomplished by the exertions of Prince Bidār Bakht. The *Khān Bahādur* received the present of a *jigha* (a turban-ornament), and the addition of “‘Ālamshāhi” to his titles.

Though the deeds and good services in the taking of forts and the extirpation of foes which the *Khān Bahādur* performed were such as others did not show, yet Aurangzeb on account of policy

<sup>1</sup> Text *dhābha*. See Maasir A. 455, where the expression used is *dhāba bastan*. *Dhāba* is apparently the Hindustani word given in Forbes as meaning a terraced roof.

<sup>2</sup> *Matwālā*, “a drunk man,” apparently slang for one of these rolling stones.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A., 455, and *Khāfi* K. II. 497. The description in the latter is more minute. *Khāfi* K. had already stated II. p. 496, Elliot VII. 371, that camel-saddles (*kajāwaha*) and baskets were filled with earth and rubbish and even with the heads etc. of men and quadrupeds, and their contents used in raising the earthworks or perhaps the covered approaches. Fath Ullah was in his eagerness working along with the labourers when an enormous

stone fell on the top of the work. It struck the *kajāwa* which Fath Ullah had got hold of, and both he and it were hurled down. He was saved by the *kajāwa*, to which he clung, being caught by a tree. He had been struck both on the head and the leg.

<sup>4</sup> *ghalat andāz*, “to revolve, as a millstone.” The passage is taken from the Maasir A., 456, but the word *āgar*, “another,” after *burj* has been omitted. According to the Maasir A., 455, the ornament he got was a *sarpech*, and it was given to him on his return to work after his illness. The Maasir A. 456 says the credit of taking Khelna was really due to Bidār Bakht. It gives the date of the conquest as 10 Zi l-Hajja 1113, 27 April 1701.

and foresight did not reward him in a suitable manner. The king knew him to be a leader full of courage and daring. One day he represented that if 5,000 troopers were given to him, he would undertake to extirpate the Mahrattas from the Deccan. The king said that first he would require to have in readiness another leader like him with 5,000 horse. For these reasons the Khān did not wish to remain at court. He begged several times to be appointed to Kabul which was his native country. In the 47th year he received the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse and went off to Kabul. In the 49th year the thānadārī of Lohgarha in that province was given to him, in succession to Allah Yār K., with an increase of 200 horse. After the death of Aurangzeb—when Bahādur Shah moved from Peshawar with the other auxiliary officers of the province—an order was sent, summoning the Khān, who had gone to his home. Near Lahore it was reported that Faṭḥ Ullah K. had withdrawn himself in spite of the order. The Prince remarked that Jān Nisār K.—who in courage was not inferior to Faṭḥ Ullah—would arrive with a large force in Agra, should the Khān not come. He died in the beginning of Bahādur Shah's reign. He was a thorough soldier. He was plainspoken and rough of tongue. One<sup>1</sup> day on account of his having done something which displeased Aurangzeb, the latter sent him a message of reproof by an eunuch. He said in reply that a man of perfect understanding when he came to eighty years of age, lost his reason and sense. "I am a mere soldier and am a hundred leagues off from God, and am become the dregs of creation. I am needlessly lingering on this stage." When the eunuch represented to him the impropriety of his language, he replied in humble and apologetic language.

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 498, where the wording is different. The sting of the remark was that it applied to Aurangzeb who was even older than Faṭḥ Ullah. Instead of "a hundred leagues (*farsakh*) from God," Khāfi K. has "a hundred stages from reason." Apparently Faṭḥ Ullah compared him-

self to a worn-out soldier who had lagged behind the others on the march and was uselessly staying on the abandoned stage (*marḥala*). Perhaps Khud-siqāhi means *Khudawār*, a headstrong or obstinate person. Cf. "Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage—where stage may mean station."

## (AMIR) FATH ULLAH SHĪRĀZĪ.

He was the unique of the age in theoretical and practical sciences. Though he gathered abundance of knowledge in the schools of Khwāja Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā<sup>1</sup> Kamālu-d-dīn Shirwānī, Maulānā<sup>2</sup> Kard, and Mīr Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī, yet the rank of his knowledge rose higher than theirs. 'Allāmī Abū-l-faḥl<sup>3</sup> says, "If the old books of science were lost, he could have laid a new foundation, and would have had no need for those that had gone."

Verse<sup>4</sup>

He was at once at the top of knowledge by the vigour of his intellect

And a glory to intellect by the splendour of his knowledge

Ādil Shah of Bijāpūr by a thousand efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan and made him his prime minister (vakīl-i-matlaq). After Ādil Shah's days were ended,<sup>5</sup> Faṭḥ Ullah came in the 28th year, 991, 1583, by the summons of Akbar to Faṭḥpūr. The Khān-Khānān and Ḥakīm Abul-faṭḥ received him and introduced him. He was treated with royal favours and in a short time waṣ made an intimate companion. He was appointed to the office of Ṣadr, and received the daughter of Moẓaffar K. Tarbatī in marriage. It is stated that he attained to the rank of 3,000, and that at the New Year's feast of the 30th year he was made Amīnu-l-mulk.<sup>6</sup> An order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct financial and political matters in accordance with the Mīr's opinions and should complete the old transactions which had not been scrutinized since the time of Moẓaffar K. The Mīr drew up sundry regulations tending towards the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry, and these

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has Jāmālū.

<sup>2</sup> The Akbarnāma III. 401, from which this account is taken, has Maulānā Aḥmad Kard.

<sup>3</sup> id., id.

<sup>4</sup> This couplet comes from Faizi's elegy, A.N. III. 563.

<sup>5</sup> Ādil Shah, who was the husband

of Chānd Bībī, was killed by a boy in 988, 1580. The statement in text that Faṭḥ Ullah came to court in the 28th year is wrong. He came in the 25th year as stated in the A.N. III. 401.

<sup>6</sup> A.N. III. 457.

were accepted. In the same year he received the title of 'Azdu-d-daula (arm of the State) and was sent off to advise Rajah 'Ali K., the ruler of Khāndes. He returned unsuccessful and joined the Khān A'zim who had been appointed to attack the Deccan and to chastise the rulers thereof. As he behaved badly to Shihābu-d-din and the other auxiliary officers, affairs did not progress satisfactorily, and the Mir after receiving much vexation went off in the 31st year to the Khān-Khānān in Gujarat.

They say the Mir had got leave in order to arrange the affairs of the Deccan. As A'zim K. Koka and Shihābu-d-din were not on good terms, Rajah 'Ali K., on observing the hypocrisy of the officers, united the Deccan army under himself and prepared for battle. Though the Mir tried to bring him round, he was not successful. He was helpless and went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujarat in order to get his assistance. That too did not succeed. From there he came to court. In 997, at the time of the return of the king from Kashmīr, he remained behind in the city on account of illness. Hakīm 'Ali failed in his treatment of him. Badayūnī says that as he was himself a physician, he did not follow Hakīm Miṣrī and tried to cure his fever by *harisa*,<sup>1</sup> and died. He died in the monastery of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadānī. By the king's orders his body was removed from there and buried on the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot. The chronogram is *Firishta bād* (he was an angel). Akbar was much grieved at his death and<sup>2</sup> said, "The Mir was at once our *Vakil*, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Who can comprehend the extent of our sorrow? If he had fallen into the hands of the Franks and they had wanted the whole of my treasures in exchange for him I should have made an excellent profit by such trafficking, and have thought that splendid jewel to be very cheaply purchased."

*Verse.*<sup>3</sup>

The world-Shāhinshāh's eyes were filled with moisture at  
his death.

Sikandar shed tears of sorrow when Plato left the world.

<sup>1</sup> B. 33n and 60.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 558.

<sup>3</sup> This couplet is part of the poem on Amīr Fathullāh's death by Faizī.

Shaikh Faizī wrote a splendid ode as an elegy upon him, of which these are some verses.

*Verse.*

Men of soul die not, nor shall die.

Death is but a name when applied to this caste,

Body is but a vesture over the spirit-frame.

When it grows old, the old-destroying heaven removes it.

'Tis a weight on life<sup>1</sup> and a mist o'er joy,

A clothing of the strong with old garments;

But<sup>2</sup> he (death) is generous in this famine year of liberality

In that he giveth the poor garments not grown old.

It is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt* (Akbarī) that in addition to Amīr Faṭḥ Ullah's having no equal in Persia or India, or rather in the habitable world in all the sciences, he was skilful in contrivances and mysteries. He made a mill<sup>3</sup> which worked of itself and ground flour, and a mirror which showed strange figures near at hand and far off; and a wheel which cleaned<sup>4</sup> twelve gun-barrels

See Badayūnī II. 370, 71, but Badayūnī does not quote the other lines given in the Maasir. They are however to be found in the A.N. III, 564.

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III, 564 has *ḥubūb* "Love" in place of *ḥayāt* "Life."

<sup>2</sup> The two last lines are obscure. They may refer to death, or to God. The verses form part of Faizī's elegy on Faṭḥ Ullah and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Faṭḥ. See A.N. I. c. where 200 lines of the elegy are given, and also Badayūnī, Lowe, 382. Badayūnī also notices Faṭḥ Ullah in III. 154.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ṭabaqāt* A. lith. p. 389, and the translation in B. 275, note 1. "He constructed a millstone which was placed on a cart. It turned itself and ground corn" The *Darbārī* A. 681 says the mill was moved by wind, but probably this is a wrong guess. The mill was worked by the motion of the wheels, and so A. F. writes,

Blochmann 275, "When this carriage is used for travelling, or for carrying loads, it may be employed for grinding corn." A. F. ascribes the invention, and also that of the machine for gun-cleaning, to Akbar; see B. 275 and 115.

<sup>4</sup> Text *pur* (or *par*) *mishūd*. There is the variant *bar*, but the *Ṭabaqāt* reading is *sir*. But probably all these readings are wrong, and we should read *burghū* or *būrghū*, a Turkī word meaning a corkscrew etc. It is evident from Plate XV in the *Ain* that the machine was a wheel worked by a bullock which caused twelve, or it may be sixteen, brushes to cleanse the gun-barrels. The passage about the mirror is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that Faṭḥ Ullah constructed a magical mirror which enabled him to foretell the king's approach, etc. See Badayūnī III. 154. The phrase *jar iqqāl* جر ايقال used there



at once. Badayūnī writes that the Mīr was so worldly that in spite of his high rank he did not withhold himself from teaching children. He would go to the houses of the officers and teach their children elementary knowledge, and did not preserve his dignity. In the royal retinue he would put a gun on his shoulder, and a bag at his waist and run like a footman, and in athletic sports he was a Rustum. It is also notorious that the Mīr in spite of his science and attainments used to say with reference to the king that if he had not entered the service of that adorer of plurality and chooser of unity, he should not have taken the road to a knowledge of God. The Mīr established the Divine Era in the year 992, 1584. For a long time the king had wished to introduce a new year and month into India, for the Hijra era had become impracticable on account of its age, and its commencement was a day of rejoicing to enemies and of sorrow to friends. But on account of the crowd of conventionally learned men's considering that eras are associated with religion, the change did not take effect. The Mīr and others like him who had embraced the Divine Religion made this era their foundation, and orders were issued to the provinces in order to introduce it. It was based upon the new Gūrgānī tables, and Akbar's accession<sup>1</sup> was made the commencement. The year and month were solar and intercalary days were done away with.

### FAẒĀIL KHĀN. MĪR HĀDĪ.

Eldest son of Wazīr K. Mīr Hājī the diwān of Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shah. He was possessed of lefty talents and excellent character and had acquired accomplishments and excellencies from Shaiḫ 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Agra. He held a high place in the estimation of the prince. In the beginning of the 27th year

and at II, 315 and which Mr. Lowe translates by "discovering treasures" seems to mean the science of mechanics lit. "the drawing of weights." See Steingass s.v. *jarr* where *jarr-i-saqil* is defined as the science of mechanics. In Wollaston's English-*Persten* Dict. 'ilm-i-jarr-i-saqil is given

as the translation of "the science of mechanics."

<sup>1</sup> This is not correct. The era began with the New Year, 1 Farwardīn, which followed the accession, there being about a month between the two.

when Prince Muḥammad 'Aẓam went for the first time to the Bijāpūr campaign, the king became for some reason displeased with the Mīr, and Ātish K. Rūzbihānī was sent<sup>1</sup> to the Prince's camp to bring him to the presence. He was first put in charge of Rūḥ Ullah K. (the 2nd) and afterwards put in charge of Ṣalābat K. On 25 Ramẓān of that year, 7 September 1683, he was in accordance with orders confined in the fort of Daulatabad. After that, he went to Agra by order, and there spent his time in retirement and in instructing pupils. At last his good fortune returned and he was restored to favour. He was summoned to the presence and kissed the threshold. The robe of Mīr Munshīship was given to him and he was made Superintendent of the Library. In the 44th year he was put in charge of the household (Biyūtāt) in the room of Khudābanda K. and afterwards was in addition made deputy-Khānsāmān. On 6 Zī-l-q'ada of the 47th year, 1114, 13 March 1703, he died.

By his ability and extensive learning he was the unique of the age. With reference to himself he used to say,<sup>2</sup> "Here is the man, what is the work (required)," and the king used to say about him that he carried on the duties of deputy Khānsāmān in such a way as to make the house bright. When he was in charge of the secretariat, he one day represented (to the king) that in the Hindī language and Hindī mode of writing there was no letter H, and that although the letter A was included among those letters which had been entirely abandoned in the Hindī language, yet in place of it and of 'ain and hamza they had a letter which they employed at the beginning, middle, and end of words. But of the twelve vowels which they make use of, and make the foundation of their compounds there is one which they call *kānā* and which they employ at the end of words. This in form and in pronunciation is the letter Alif. At the beginning of Islām (in India), translators and Persian writers, from ignorance, made this alif into an H. For instance, they wrote, for Bangalā and Mālwa, Bangalh

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 237. He is there called Muḥammad Hādī and the son of Mīr Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 471.

(and Mālwh). The king, who was all-knowing, and was acquainted with Hindī, approved and ordered the officials of the department to write such words with *alif*.<sup>1</sup>

Mir Murtaẓa K., the *Khān*'s daughter's son, was a discreet youth and had a military turn. He was a memorial of the family. For some time he was in company with Mubārīz K., the governor of Haidarabad, and was faujdār of Midak in that province. Afterwards, he served Nawab Āṣaf Jāh, and had charge of the collections of Īlkandal and led a force against the zamindar of Shamsī—which is commonly known as Kālā Pahār. He behaved with activity and approached the fort alone. A bullet pierced his breast and he died.<sup>2</sup> They say that as he had embezzled much money of the government, he committed<sup>3</sup> suicide.

#### FĀZIL KHĀN.

He is Āqā Afẓal of Ispahan and came from Persia to India. He became connected with *Shaiḥ* Farīd Murtaẓa K. The *Shaiḥ* advanced him on account of his knowledge and good judgment, and gave him a fixed allowance of a lac of rupees a year. Indeed the *Shaiḥ*, who was an ocean of genius and liberality, and a fountain of appreciation, gave many persons annual allowances of a lac of rupees or of Rs. 80,000. For instance, he gave Rs. 80,000 to Amīr Beg, the brother of Fāzil K. When the government of the Panjab was made over by Jahangir to the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Grierson for an explanation of the word *kānā*. He informs me that "it means the perpendicular stroke of a Devanāgarī consonant and also, specially, the form which long ā takes when non-initial. The word is in common use in reference to handwriting." It is curious that the word does not occur in ordinary dictionaries though it does in Molesworth's Mahratta Dict. The passage in text is taken from *Khāfi* K. II. 399. Aurangzeb's orders do not seem to have been carried out for we generally find Bengal and Mālwa written with a final h.

<sup>2</sup> *Ika u khabāza gardīd*. Variant *ik dū khīyāra*. B.M. MS. Add. 6566 has *janāza* "a corpse." See the note at the end of the biog. apy of 'Abdul-Qawī where the same phrase occurs. The words as given there I. 229 are *ba kadū khīyāra gardīd* "made him like a striped pumpkin (?), reduced him to pulp?" The expression really is taken from the inscription put by Prince Daniel on his favourite fowling piece, and means that he became a corpse.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, gave himself to be killed.

Shaikh, the latter made Āqā Afzal his deputy. The latter ably carried on the duties. After the Shaikh's death, the province was assigned to I'timādu-d-daula, and he too left, as before, the deputyship to Fāzil whose reputation increased more and more. After that he was made diwān of Sultan Parviz, and he received from court a suitable *manṣab* and the title of Fāzil K. When Sultan Parviz, under the guardianship of Mahābat K., was appointed to pursue the heir-apparent (Shah Jahan), Fāzil was made the *bakhshī* and recorder of his army. In the 20th year he received the rank of 1500 with 500 horse, and the gift of a horse and an elephant, and was made diwān of the Deccan. Out of opportunism he became mixed up with Khān Jahān Lodī, the governor of that province, and shared in his political and financial schemes. When Jahangir died, Shah Jahan, who at that time was in Junair in the Deccan, sent Jān Niṣār K. with a firmān confirming him in the government of the Deccan to Khān Jahān, and mentioned that he was coming by that route. Fāzil<sup>1</sup> K., whose brother was in the service of Sultan Shahriyār (as diwān), perverted<sup>2</sup> Khān Jahān's judgment, and said, "The officers at the court have placed Dāwar Bakhsh on the throne, and Shahriyār is beating the drum of sovereignty in Lahore, and is giving much gold to the soldiers. Most of the great officers suspect that if Shah Jahan succeed to the throne he will exact vengeance. You are head of a clan and have a large number of adherents, and the cream of the royal army. You can become the servant of whoever ascends the throne of India. Shah Jahan has now regarded your claims as a servant of so many years' standing as non-existent and yesterday appointed Mahābat, in spite of his mountains (*koh-koh*) of crimes, to your post and has given him the title of Commander-in-chief in supersession of you." These words made an impression on Khān Jahān in spite of his wisdom, and he sent<sup>3</sup> away Jān Niṣār K. without even giving

<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl-nāma 299.

<sup>2</sup> *Rai dardīda* "stole the judgment" or robbed Khān Jahan of his judgment.

<sup>3</sup> Iqbāl-nāma 300 where the author speaks of having heard the story from Jān Niṣār.

him a written answer. Shah Jahan abandoned the Burhānpūr route and proceeded to Agra *via* Gujarat.

When Shah Jahan was established on the throne and the more urgent matters had been disposed of, an order was issued summoning Khān Jahān and Fāzil to court. Fāzil separated from Khān Jahān at the Handia<sup>1</sup> ghāt of the Narbada and came on ahead of him. At that time the imperial forces had been appointed to act against Jujhār Singh Bandila, and Shah Jahan proceeded rapidly as far as Gwalior. When the Khān arrived at Narwar he was, according to orders, imprisoned, and his goods confiscated. For some time he remained in strict confinement. At the time when Khān Jahān was admitted to an interview, Fāzil's release was fixed at a ransom of six lacs of rupees. Many officers assisted him according to their ability, and Khān Jahān gave him a lac of rupees. For a time he remained under censure and was deprived of his office and his dignity. Afterwards he was given the fief of Baroda. In the 9th year when Shah Jahan was returning from Daulatabad to the capital, he summoned Fāzil, and he set off rapidly from Gujarat and did homage at Burhānpūr. He was again made the subject of favour, and received the title of I'timād K. and the diwānī of the Deccan. In the 15th year he was made diwān of Bengal and of the establishment of Prince Shujā', the governor of that province. He died there in the 21st year. He held the rank of 1500 with 600 horse. His son M. Dārāb was a man of sense, and was always employed in the king's service.

FĀZIL K. *alias* MULLĀ 'ALĀU-L-MULK TŪNĪ  
(i.e. OF TŪN).

In physical science and in mathematics he was one of the first of the age, especially in the science of astronomy. In addition to abundant learning and other excellencies his deportment was a model for the wise. In the 7th year of Shah Jahan he came from Persia to India and attached himself to Nawab Āṣaf

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<sup>1</sup> In the Hoshangabad district on the left or south side of the Narbada. I.G.V. 309, old edition.

Jāh (Nūr Jahān's brother) who was a congeries of knowledge. He spent his days in his company, and when that excellent Amīr died, he in the 15th year entered the royal service and received the rank of 500 with 50 horse.

When one of the companions of 'Alī Mardān, who was skilled in excavation-work, brought water from near the source of the Rāwī, a distance of 48½ kos, to Lahore, at the cost of a lac of rupees, but the water did not sufficiently irrigate the gardens of that city, another lac was made over to the engineers. They spent Rs. 50,000 on repairs, but still the work was not right. Mullā 'Alāu-l-Mulk, who understood<sup>1</sup> about hydrostatics as he did about other mathematical sciences, kept five kos of the canal intact and excavated thirty more, and so brought abundant water into Lahore. In the 16th year he was made *diwān-i-tan* and in the 19th he was first made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and afterwards the high post of *Khānsāmān* was added to this. As before the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān he extracted from astronomy the knowledge of the conquest and reported to H.M., he, after the conquest, received the rank of 2000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year he got the title of Fāzil K., and in the 28th year received the rank of 3000.

When on 7 Ramzān 1068, 30 April 1658, and in the 32nd year of the reign, Dārā Shikoh fled from the battle with Aurangzeb, and the victorious prince made two marches from the battlefield and encamped at the Nūr Manzal Garden which is near Agra, Shah Jahan sent Fāzil K. as an envoy to Aurangzeb and gave him both verbal and written instructions. The gist of them was that "by Divine decree what was hidden had been made manifest. Submission to the Divine decrees is an element of self-knowledge and of knowledge of God. As he had recovered from a severe illness and in fact had had a second life conferred on him, the ardours of affection had risen high and he desired that he might soon be comforted by an interview." Fāzil K. who in his

<sup>1</sup> *Be āb tarāzū ghināsa būd.* This explains the phrase *jangtarāzū* in the account of Jahangir Qulī, p. 514 of

vol. I. *Tarāzū* seems in both cases to be a pleonasm. The expression *jangtarāzū* occurs in vol. III, p. 191.

purity of thought and good intentions was a friend of both parties, spoke soothing words and carried back to the king the intelligence that the prince was eager to wait upon his father. But after he had gone, several officers advised the prince otherwise, and when Fāzil again conveyed cheerful messages to Aurangzeb he found that things had assumed a different complexion, and though he made representations, they were of no effect. As Aurangzeb fully believed in the wisdom and loyalty of Fāzil he appointed him to look after Shah Jahan and also put him in charge of the buildings. In the 2nd year of his reign he gave him the rank of 4000 with 2000-horse and entrusted to him the writing the orders which had concern with the *diwān-i-kull* and the chief vizier. He also sent him with some messages to Shah Jahan. In the 4th year he came to court and produced some jewels and ornamented vessels-belonging to Shah Jahan.

In the 5th year he was raised to the rank of 5000, and in the 6th year at the time when the king visited Kashmīr, Ragha Nāth the superintendent of the affairs of the diwānī died. The Khān<sup>1</sup> besides possessing all the sciences, rational and traditional, had good judgment and tact and was worthy of the high office of vizier. On 11 Zī q'ada 1073, 7 June 1663, he was appointed thereto. As the heavens are envious of the success of able men, that Khān full of perfections had a disease of the stomach after entering on his duties. In the short time the illness became severe. As his age had passed the sixtieth station by several stages and had reached the boundaries of the seventieth, his old constitution had not strength to resist the disease. Treatment and medicines were of no avail. On 27th of the same month, 24th June, which was the 17th day of his viziership, he died, and his body, in accordance with his will, was conveyed to Lahore and buried in a garden which he had made for the purpose. They say that some days before he became vizier he said "I am arriving at the viziership, but age wont allow me (to continue)."

<sup>1</sup> The text begins a new paragraph here, thereby affecting the sense. The word vizier used in the sentence does not occur in all the MSS. It was to

Ragha Nāth, who is called Rajah in the MSS., that Fāzil succeeded. See Khāfi K. II. 175.

## Verse.

The cherished hope arrived, but of what avail,  
There is no hope that past years will return.

They say that most of the judgments (astrological) which Fāzil K. drew from astrology about Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb came true. They say that he had also predicted the injury which happened to Aurangzeb's<sup>1</sup> foot in Khwāspūr at the close of the 40th year. He did not attach weight to the opinions of anyone in councils and did not consider<sup>2</sup> anyone to be deserving of notice in comparison with his own abilities. They say that one day Shah Jahan went to inspect the canal which was called Bihisht (Paradise) which had been newly dug, and had reached Shah Jahanabad (Delhi). S'aad Ullah K. was with him and in the course of conversation several times used the word *nahar* (canal) and pronounced it, in the ordinary way, with a middle *fatha*. Fāzil K. by way of correcting him said, "Say *nahr*, with a *sukūn* (rest) in the middle." S'aad Ullah in reply quoted the verse, "Verily<sup>3</sup> God will prove you by the river (ba *nahar*). Fāzil K. unjustly and arrogantly said, "I suppose this is a quotation from an Arabian poem." The king observed, "Apparently then, the Qoran is inferior poetry." Fāzil K. remained silent.

As he had no sons, after his death his brother's son Burhānu-d-dīn,<sup>4</sup> who had just come to his uncle from Persia, was promoted to a suitable rank. A separate account of him will be given.

## FĀZIL KHĀN BURHĀNU-D-DĪN.

Brother's son of Fāzil K. Mullā 'Alau-l-mulk of Tūn. When his uncle was near death, he came fresh from Persia. When the

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 476, but it should be the 43rd year. The mistake, however, is Khāfi K.'s. See II. 176. There was also an inundation in the 40th year, Elliott VII. 361, but the one in which Aurangzeb met with an injury to his foot, and got, as Khāfi K. says, the hereditary lameness of Timur (Sāhib Qiran), occurred in the 43rd year. See Elliot VII. 369. The

stream was the Mān. The accident occurred 37 years after Fāzil's death, and in 1698 (1110).

<sup>2</sup> *ba naḡr namī āward*. See this phrase used in Khāfi K. I. 338 I. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Sūra II. v. 257. The point was that Fāzil was not aware that the quotation was from the Qoran.

<sup>4</sup> Maasir A. 47.



uncle died, as he was sonless, Aurangzeb—who was appreciative of loyalty and a connoisseur of the jewel of devotion—made Burhānu-d-dīn a subject of favour and by giving him a robe of honour divested him of the garments of sadness. He gave him the rank of 800 with 150 horse. Burhānu-d-dīn had many spiritual excellencies and was very reverent and free from vice. He was also able and practical, and trustworthy. The king soon increased his rank and gave him the title of Qābil K. In the 18th year when Muḥammad Sharif, munshī of the superintendent of the posting office and the Secretariat (dārul-inshā), the brother of Abu-l fath Qābil K., the old *munshi Wālā shāhī*, was raised to the title of Qābil K. on account of his connection (with the former Qābil K.), Burhānu-d-dīn received the title of I'timād K. In the 22nd year, when the king decided to go to Ajmere, he was made diwān of Delhi, and after that he became *diwān-i-tan*. In the 32nd year he was made Khān-sāmān (major domo) of the royal establishment in succession to Kamgār K., and had an increase of 500 with 100 horse so that his rank was 2,000 with 400 horse and he had the gift of a jasper aigrette (*kalqī*). In the same year he had the title of Fāzil K. Afterwards, he had an addition of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 41st year he resigned the office of Khān-sāmān and in succession to Abū Naṣr K., the son of Shaista K. Amīr-l-Umarā, he was made governor of Kashmīr. In the 44th year it was ordered that he should as deputy of Muḥammad Muāzzam have charge of Lahore. He did not agree and petitioned to be allowed to come to court. He was sent for, but when he reached Burhānpūr he died in the year 1112, 1700-01.

His son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm after his father's death came to court, and in the 47th year was put in charge of the household, and had the title of Khān and an increase of rank. The king observed that Fāzil K. Mullāu-l-mulk and Fāzil K. Burhānu-d-dīn had many claims on him, and that he would cherish this *Khānāzād* (household-born one). In fact that young man possessed aptitudes, and if life had been granted him he would have risen high, but after a few days he bade adieu to youth and life. As no one remained of the line except Zīyāu-d-dīn, the brother's son and

son-in-law of Fāzil K. Burhānu-d-dīn, he was sent for from the diwānī of Chināpatan<sup>1</sup> and was promoted and had the title of Khān and was put in charge of the household. In truth, the good services of ancestors are, with appreciative masters, not less than an elixir for their descendants! The Khān also served for some time in the household in the reign of Bahādur Shah. Afterwards he became diwān of Bengal.

When in the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Mīr Ḥusain 'Alī K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, was made governor of the Deccan and had the power of dismissing and appointing officers, he on arriving at the Deccan appointed his own men and did not give possession to any who came from the court. This increased the king's displeasure. Complaint was made about this to Abdullah K., the Quṭbu-lmulk. He apologized and objected (denied the fact<sup>2</sup>?). At last it was arranged that the appointments of Diwān and Bakhshī—which were highest of all—should be made from the court. Accordingly, Ziyāu-d-dīn K. was made diwān of the Deccan in succession to Dīānat K., the grandson of Amānat K., deceased, and the bakhshīship, on the death of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān K., the son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm K. s. Islām K. Mashhadī, was given to Fazl Ullah K., the brother of the deceased. Both came together to Aurangabad. The Amīru-l-Umarā in order to remove the bad name and the common report that he did not allow the nominees of the court to act, permitted Ziyāu-d-dīn—who had relations with Quṭbu-lmulk and on account of whom the latter had written strongly—to enter<sup>3</sup> upon his duties. He did not show favour to the other who was not free from turbulence. Afterwards, the said Khān<sup>4</sup> came to Delhi in company with the Amīru-l-Umarā. When Farrukh Siyar fell from power, it appeared that he (Ziyāu-d-dīn) carried on correspondence with the emperor. He lost his influence and at the same time died.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the Chināpatan in Mysore, 34 miles from Bangalore.

<sup>2</sup> *Inkār namūd*. Perhaps denied that he had any hand in the matter.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi K. II. 790 says he had no real power.

<sup>4</sup> Ziyāu-d-dīn. See Khāfi K. 797.

## FAZIL KHĀN SHAIKH MAKHDŪM ŠADR.

He was originally of Tatta. At first<sup>1</sup> he was secretary to Muhammad A'zim Shah. In the 23rd year of Aurangzeb—when Qābil K. Mīr Munshī, the brother of Abū-l-faṭḥ Qābil K. Wālā Shāhī, was for some reason a subject of censure—he was given the service of the *dāru-l-inshā* (the secretariat, lit. house of letters) and the rank of 500 with 30 horse and the gift of a gold-embroidered turban (*chīra*), and a *kamarband*, and a *jāma kamkhāb* (a gold-embroidered vest). On the death of Sharif K. in the 26th year he was made Šadr-i-kull (chancellor). In the 28th year he got the title of Fāzil K. and was given a jasper inkstand. In the 29th year he was, in succession to Khidmat Khān, made superintendent of petitions in addition to his other employment. In the 32nd year corresponding to 1099, 1688, he died of the plague which was prevalent in the royal camp.

## (MĪR) FAZL ULLAH BOKHĀRĪ.

A Sayyid of Bokhara. After he came to India he by good fortune obtained a suitable office, and became a favourite of Jahangir and was made an Amīr. He became a leading officer and was much regarded by the king. He developed a taste for art, and the wind of alchemy entered his head. Whenever he heard of an alchemist in India or found an inquirer into that, he courted him and spent much money. They say that the '*aml qamari*'<sup>2</sup> came into his hands and that he made silver when he wanted it. He coined it in his house, and spent it on the pay of soldiers and for household expenses. On account of his labour and energy he had nearly acquired the '*aml shamsī*' (the art of making gold) but death did not permit this. He rolled up the goods of existence, but he performed some wonderful things. For instance he exhibited mercury in such a manner that one

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 191. The office which he obtained is there merely styled *Khidmat-i-insha*. The rank he obtained is said there to have been 500 with 300 horse. He is also said to have received a dagger and rupees

2,000, and to have afterwards risen to the rank of 1,500.

<sup>2</sup> The moon-art, i.e. the art of making silver, the art of making gold being '*aml shamsī*'.

grain<sup>1</sup> of it increased virile power ten times. His son Mir Asad Ullah *alias* Mir Mirān was the son-in-law of Tarbiyat K. Bakhshī. When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed for the first time to the government of the Deccan, Asad Ullah was by Shah Jahan's orders made his bakhshī. When the Prince went off on the Balkh expedition, Asad Ullah for some reason remained behind. Afterwards, he was made faujdār and fiefholder of Haringāon and Chopra<sup>2</sup> in Khandes and served there for a long time. He had the rank of 600 with 600 horse.

When the Prince for the second time held the government of the Deccan in the 31st year and marched against 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the ruler of Haidarabad, and besieged Golconda, the Mir was stationed in the southern battery. Afterwards, when there was a proposal of peace by paying a krur of rupees as tribute, and giving the ruler's daughter in marriage to Sultan Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince, the men of the battery were for bidden to extend the mines or take other offensive measures. Mir Asad Ullah came out of his battery in full security, and was walking about when a *zambūrak* (a small cannon) was discharged at him, and he was killed. As he was an old favourite he received the name of Mir Asad Ullah the martyr, and after the Accession his sons—small and great—all received appropriate favours. One of his descendants was Jalālu-d-dīn K., who was bakhshī of the army of Prince Muḥammad A'zim Shah, and governor of the fort of Bīdar. He was treading the field of advancement when death did not give him time. Another was Mir Yaḥiā who married the daughter of Sir Buland K. Mir Bakhshī. His son Mir 'Isā K. was long governor of the forts of Candaur and Sangamnīr. After his death, his daughter's son was the qila'dār. Another of the sons of Mir Asad Ullah—the one who was borne by the daughter of Tarbiyat K.—was Mir Nūr Ullah Saiyid Nūr K. known as Bāgha-jār (the tiger-slayer) who was always faujdār of Thālner and other parganas of Khāndes, and also was a qila'dār. Though he had a small rank he possessed property and fortune and magnifi-

<sup>1</sup> *ek dāna birinjī*, a grain, the size of a rice-grain.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett II. 224, 225. I.G. III. 457  
The Chopda of I.G.

cence. But on account of his audacity he was often censured and degraded. In spite of this, as he was a khānazād (house-born one) whatever he wrote about public matters was approved. Accordingly, when Prince Muḥammad Akbar absconded and having passed near the country<sup>1</sup> of Awās came to Khandes, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who had hastened on to arrest him, when he had got near him, halted until S. Akbar withdrew to the hill-country of Baglāna. No one had the courage to write this except Nūr Ullah. He wrote to the king, and brought Khān Jahān under censure. His full brother Mir Raḥmat Ullah was married to the granddaughter of Khān Daurān Lang. His son Mir N'iamat Ullah was married to the daughter of Amānat K. Mīrak M'uīnu-d-dīn K. There was another son, and many grandsons. Pargana Bīr in Sarkār Gālāna was as it were the fief of his sons for a long time. Their residences were there. From the beginning of the sway of Nawab Āṣaf Jāh it was confiscated, and they went off to other towns and villages. If by chance any remain he lives in solitary fashion.

#### FEDAI KHĀN.

He was Mir Zarfī by name and he was a servant of Shah Jahan. As Shah Jahan had a great fancy for collecting horses, he sent<sup>2</sup> Fedai along with the Persian ambassador to buy Persian horses. As he did not bring a horse which Shah Jahan's critical mind approved of, he represented that if he were allowed to visit the mainland of Arabia and the countries of Rūm, he could buy special horses and so be relieved from his disgrace. Accordingly a friendly letter was sent with him to the Sultan of Turkey along with a decorated dagger of great value, so that if at any time he should meet with the Sultan he might be able to make use of the document. In the 10th year, he left Bandar Laharī (in Scinde) and came to Hījāz. After he had visited the holy places, he went to Egypt and from there to Mausul, and saw Sultan Murād Khān who was about to take Bagdad. The Sultan received the letter with respect and asked in the Turkish language why Fedai had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. 805, where the country now is spoken of as the hills of Sultanpur. Awās is Avāgarh, Barwāni, Central

India. See I.G. VII. 90. It is N. Khandes and on l. bank Narbada.  
<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 184.

undertaken this long journey. Fedai explained the reason and tendered the decorated dagger as a present. The Sultan was pleased and said that the arrival of an ambassador and a dagger from a great king at this time was an omen of victory. Next day Fedai presented on his own behalf one thousand pieces of cloth. The Sultan inquired about Indian armour; Fedai had with him a valuable shield, and he said that arrows or bullets could not pierce it. The Sultan was astonished and shot an arrow against the shield with all his force, but it did not traverse it. He gave<sup>1</sup> him 10,000 *qurūsh* (piastres) which are worth Rs. 20,000, and said that he would allow him to depart after the affair of Bagdad had been finished, and that he might now go to Mausul and buy what things he wished. Afterwards, when Sultan Murād had taken by force Bagdad from the Persians, he returned to Mausul and gave Mir Z̤arīf leave to depart, and sent the reply to the letter by Arslān Āqā along with a well-moving Arab horse with a saddle set with diamonds and a robe sewn with pearls after the fashion of Turkey. Mir Z̤arīf in company with the said ambassador embarked on a ship at Basra (Bussorah) and landed in Scinde.

When in the 13th year he came to Lahore, he proceeded quickly to Kashmīr, where the king was, and did homage. He produced<sup>2</sup> before the king 52 horses which he had purchased and two horses which the Sultan's armour-bearer (his host) had presented him with as among the best in Turkey. He received much praise for his good service, and obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse and the title of Fedai K. He was also made Master of the Horse in succession to Tarbiyat K. At the same time he was appointed<sup>3</sup> to the government of Laharī Bandar. He had reached the first step of fortune's ladder when unkindly time poured the brackish draught of misfortune into his mouth. In the 14th year, and in the beginning of 1051, 1640, the cup of his life was filled.<sup>4</sup>

#### FEDAI KHĀN.

His name was Hedāyat Ullah. There were four brothers, each of whom by force of ability and courage became during the

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma II. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Do. do. 196.    <sup>3</sup> Do. do. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Do. do. 229. He died at Laharī Bandar.

reign of Jahangir masters or power and influence and attained positions of trust. The first was M. Muḥammad Taqī who in the beginning of Jahangir's reign was appointed to accompany Mahabāt K. in the affair of Rānā Amr Singh. As his head was full of pride and his tongue abusive, which is the worst of faults, he conducted himself badly with the troopers, and they joined together and at the station of Pūr Māṇḍal assembled <sup>1</sup> at the public hall of audience (?). The second, M. 'Inayat Ullah, who was famed for his skill and prudence, and was unrivalled in the art of accounts, became the diwān of Sultan Parvez, and transacted all the business in a masterly manner. But he disgusted people by his severities, and submitted to no one. In the end he fell from office. They say that when his appointed time (to die) came he went to the prince and begged pardon for his faults and recommended his children. When he came back to his house he died. The third was M. Rūḥ Ullah. He was a distinguished and handsome youth and a first-class polo-player. He was also an excellent huntsman. He was a favourite servant of Jahangir, and had a position. A wonderful thing was that at the time when the king was halting at the fort of Māṇḍū, Rūḥ Ullah was sent with a brave army to chastise the recalcitrants of the neighbourhood. When he came to Jitpūr, the Rajah of that place received him and came out of the city and brought him under a tree, and sent for the materials of an entertainment. Suddenly a black snake came out of the tree and the Mīrzā called out *Mār mār* (strike the snake). One of his companions thought he was ordering the Rajah to be killed, and so wounded the Rajah. The Rajah on seeing this quickly and dexterously struck <sup>2</sup> the Mīrzā and with one blow put an<sup>3</sup> end to him (lit. made him the same as a bier). The army

<sup>1</sup> Māṇḍal was a place in the Sarkār of Chitor, J. II. 274. The text has *sir diwān gushtand*. Perhaps we should read *siyah* for *sir* as *diwān siyah kardan* mean "to rebel or resist." See Vullers s.v. and Behar 'Ajām. Perhaps, however, *sir diwān* may mean "maddened." *Sir-diwān* also means "the open diwan" and

may mean that the troopers flocked to the court-house or diwān to complain.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Rūḥ Ullah's death is told very differently in the *Tūzūk J.*, pp. 193-94. The occurrence belonged to the 12th year. See Rogers' translation, p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> Text *ika u khibāza sūkhī*? There

being without a leader fled and the Rajah appropriated the goods and withdrew into the mountains. Afterwards his country was overrun by the imperial forces and he was punished. The fourth was M. Hedāyat Ullah who was the youngest of all. At first he was Mīr Bah̄r and had charge of the flotilla. He became the vakīl of the famous Mahābat K. and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favours.

As Mahābat K. patronized him, he in a short time became an Amīr. But on the occasion of Mahābat's disturbance he on account of fidelity to his salt and his devotion (*fedāwat*) did not fail to expose his life. The account of this is that when Jahangir was encamped on the bank of the Jhīlam, and the officers from neglect and perfunctoriness had crossed over the bridge with the whole of the camp, nothing remained on the other side of the river except the royal quarters. Mahābat, who was watching his opportunity, took possession of the royal quarters. Fedai K. heard of the disturbance, and as the bridge had been burnt, he devotedly flung himself into the river opposite the royal quarters. Some of his companions were carried downstream by the force of the current and drowned, and others escaped<sup>1</sup> half-alive to the shore of safety. He himself with seven troopers emerged and made manful efforts. Four of his companions were killed, and he saw that the thing would not succeed, and that on account of the pressure of the enemy he could not reach the emperor. Like a stone which has struck against an iron wall and rebounds, he with the same activity turned round and recrossed the river. Next day when the Amīrs in conjunction with Nūr Jahān Begam plunged into the river in order to subdue the rebel (Mahābat) they could not

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is the variant *ekdū khiyāra sakht*, "made him into two half cucumbers"? The phrase is evidently the same as that used at I. 229 in the account of the killing of I'timād K. alias 'Abdul-Qawī. As there, it cannot mean that the victim was cut in two. Evidently, I think, the words are taken from Prince Daniel's verse about his favourite gun which he called *janāza* or the bier. Jetpūr

or Jītpūr seems to be the place of that name in Kathiwar and which is still the seat of a Rajah. See Jarrett II. 258, where it is placed in Sarkār Sorāth.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot VI. 425 has "through the coldness of the water were unable to proceed." But the time was April and the original speaks of the force of the stream's overturning the men, not of its coldness.



advance on account of the attacks of the Rajputs, and retired. Fedai K. with a body of men crossed an arrow-flight further down the stream and drove off the enemy. He came to the quarters of Sultan Shahriyār, where the king was. As there was a tumult of horse and foot within the enclosure he stood at the entrance, and shot arrows so that his arrows were coming near the royal throne. Mukhlaṣ K. stood in front of the king and made himself a shield against the arrow of fate. At last Fedai K. after making efforts for a long time gave Ātā Ullah, his son-in-law and two or three maṣabḍārs, to be killed, but could not reach the king. He hastened to Rohtās and took his family and went to Girjhāk Nandana<sup>1</sup> which is near the hill of Kāngra, and obtained security (for his family). As Badr bakhsh Janūha (Janjūa) the zamindar of that pargana was loyal, Fedai left his belongings (i.e. his family, etc.) there and hastened to India (Hindustan in text).

When in the 22nd year of the reign Mukarram K., the governor of Bengal, was drowned in his boat, Fedai K. was appointed<sup>2</sup> governor (in 1627), and it was fixed that he should pay into the general treasury five lacs of rupees as *peshkash* to the emperor and five lacs as a present to the Begam (Nūr Jahan), or altogether ten lacs. From that time the *peshkash* of the governors of Bengal was fixed. After the accession of Shah Jahan he was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the 5th year, he had a flag and a drum, and in the same year he received the fief of Jaunpūr. Afterwards he was made faujdār of Gorakhpūr. When 'Abdullah K., the governor of Behar, addressed himself to subdue Pertāb the Ujjainyī, Fedai K., in his zeal, hastened to assist him though he was not ordered to do so, and took part in the capture of Bhojpūr which was Pertāb's capital. They say he was a lover of soldiers and had Afghan servants. Nor was he without haughti-

<sup>1</sup> Iqbāl-nāma 265 and Tūzūk J. 406. It is Band in text. Girjhāk was in the Sind Sāgar Dūsb, J. II. 324. It is the Jalāipūr village of I. G. XIV. 15. Cf. De Laet who says, p. 266, that Fedai went to Rhokestan (qu. Registan), in the deserts of Thombal (qu. Jambhal) to Rajah Ghomanaw.

<sup>2</sup> Tūzūk 419 and Iqbāl-nāma 291. The notice does not mention that he was removed from Bengal on the accession of Shah Jahan. See Stewart's Bengal, 239.

ness which was part of the character of the brothers. They say that when he was removed from Bengal, and came to court a crowd of people complained against him that he had taken large sums from them rightly or wrongly. As they made a claim for redress to the court, the clerks sent him a message that the case had been instituted and that he should answer it. He took his dagger in his hand and said that the answer to the complaints was the point of his dagger, and that it was an absurd notion that he would come there. They should be careful of imagining such a thing. When this was reported to Shah Jahan he passed it over and favoured him more than ever. In the 13th year when Zārīf got the title of Fedai K., he received that of Jān Nişār K. In the 14th year he sent two elephants from his fief to the presence. When Zārīf K. died in that year, he received again his old title. In the 15th year he came from his fief and did homage, and in the same year he joined Dārā Shikoh who had been appointed to Kabul on there being a probability that the ruler of Persia would attack Qandahar. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief of Gorakhpūr. In the 19th year he again came and did homage, and when after the death of Rajah Jagat Singh, intimation was given to Murshid Qulī that he should take the fort of Tārāgarh (near Ajmere). Fedai K. was also appointed to execute this undertaking. Though Murshid Qulī had taken the fort before Fedai K.'s arrival, yet he made it over to Fedai when he came. After a petition came from Fedai K. the fort was made over to Bahādur Kambū. Fedai died in the same year, some time afterwards.<sup>1</sup>

#### FEDAI KHAN MUHAMMAD SĀLIH.

He and Şafdar K. Jamālu-d-dīn were sons of A'zim K. Koka. In the 21st year of the reign of Aurangzeb when A'zim K. after being removed from the government of Bengal came<sup>2</sup> to Dacca and died (in May 1678) the king sent mourning dresses to each of

<sup>1</sup> A note to text at p. 17 mentions several entries about Fedai in the history called 'Amal-i-Sālih, but they are not important.

<sup>2</sup> Dacca was his residence as gover-

nor of Bengal and probably he died before leaving it. See Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 302. He was on his way to Bihar. Maasir A., p. 168

them. The first attained a suitable rank in the lifetime of his father, and got the title of *Khān*. In the 23rd year he succeeded *Ṣalābat K.* as superintendent of the elephant-stables. In the 26th year he was made *Bakhshi* of the *Aḥadis* in succession to *Shihābu-d-dīn K.* In the 28th year he was made *faujdār* and *diwān* of Bareilly, and afterwards had the *faujdāri* of Gwalior. In the 38th year he had his father's title of *Fedai K.* and on the death of *Shaista K.* he was made *faujdār* of Agra. After that he was for some time governor of Bihar. In the 44th year he was made *faujdār* of Tirhut and Darbhanga and had the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. The second son obtained distinction by becoming the son-in-law<sup>1</sup> of *Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh* and had a good rank and the title of *Khān*. In the 27th year he had the title of *Ṣafdar K.*, and afterwards he became *faujdār* of Gwalior. In the 33rd year he attacked a fort belonging thereto and was killed by a bullet.

#### FĪRŪZ K., the eunuch.

One of the trusted servants of Jahangir. After that monarch had departed to the other world, and when *Āṣaf K. Abu-l-ḥasan* had raised *Bulāqī*, the son of *Khusrau*, to the throne and had fought with *Shahriyār*, and *Shahriyār*—bereft of sense—had come to the capital and crept into the palace, *Firūz*, at the instance of *Āṣaf*, entered the palace and brought out *Shahriyār* with violence and made him over to *Āṣaf*. In the first year of *Shah Jahan's* reign *Firūz* entered into his service and was promoted to his former rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 4th year he had an increase of 300 horse, and in the 8th year his rank was 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 12th year his rank was 2,500 with 1,200 horse. In the 13th year he had an increase of 500, and in the 18th year, at the feast for the recovery of *Begam Ṣāhiba*, the Emperor's eldest daughter—who had been burnt by a spark from a lamp falling on her dress, and had for a time lain on the bed of sickness—his rank became 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 21st year, 18 *Ramzān*

<sup>1</sup> He was also his nephew. His death is mentioned in the *Maasir 'A.*, p. 335.

1057, 7th October 1647, he died. He had charge of the palace, and he was respected and honoured in Shah Jahan's service. A garden which he made on the bank of the Jhilmam is famous for its beauty.

(MĪRZA) FŪLDĀ.<sup>2</sup>

S. Khudādād Barlās. The meaning of the word *barlās*<sup>3</sup> is "courageous and of gentle birth." The whole clan of Barlās is derived from Irādām-cī<sup>4</sup> who is the first person who bore the title of Barlās. He was son of Qācūli Bahādur, who was the eighth ancestor of Amīr Timur Ṣahīb Qirān and the twin brother of Qabal K., the third ancestor of Cingez K.

The Mīrzā's ancestors had served the Timurid family, generation after generation. When 'Abdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, by bestowal of presents upon Akbar pulled the chain of friendship, he wrote in terms of amity and suggested an expedition against Persia and that they should join together and take *Khurāsān* and *Fārs* from the dynasty ruling there. Akbar out of generosity and gentleness sent in the 22nd year M. Fūlād—a young man adorned with talents and tact—as an ambassador, together with some of the rarities of India. In reply to the letter he said<sup>5</sup> that the Ṣafavī family was related to the Prophet, and should be respected, and that he did not consider a difference in customs or religion a reason for attacking a country. He also said that old associations with the family withheld him from attacking it. And as 'Abdullah had not mentioned the Shah of Persia with respect Akbar wrote rebuking him and gave him good advice.

*Verse.*

The wise do not call him great  
Who speaks contemptuously of the great.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this is the Nāzir or chief eunuch referred to by Manucci I. 220. But Manucci seems to misrepresent what Bernier said. See Bernier's first chapter. The words describing his office are *nizārat mashkūū* and mean specially the superintendence of the female apartments.

<sup>2</sup> B. 206.

<sup>3</sup> B. 341, note 1. A.N. translation I. 178 and 190 n. 1. Barlās is said to be also the name of a province near Samarkand.

<sup>4</sup> Text Barūmji, or Barū Mahī. There is the variant Irād Mahī.

<sup>5</sup> A.N. III. 211.

The Mirzā after performing his embassy returned to India, and did good service under Akbar. As in this tribe the Turk-like<sup>1</sup> ignorance and turbulence which are innate in them exist even after mixing with the world, and the receiving of education, especially in the matter of religion, for they call bigotry and obstinacy the defending of Faith, M. Fūlād<sup>2</sup> in the 32nd year and beginning of 996, January 1588, killed Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta—who was one of the erudite of the age—by inflicting on him a fatal wound, and through Akbar's justice, brought upon himself capital punishment.

The brief account of this is as follows. When Akbar had reached the elevation of "Peace with all" and had proclaimed universal toleration in the matter of religion, every sect indulged its tenets without any apprehension, and every one worshipped God according to his own principles without molestation. Mullā Aḥmad, like many other learned men, was a firm believer in the Imāmī religion, and loudly inculcated it. Owing to his idiosyncrasy he treated of it in an immoderate manner. M. Fūlād was a bigoted Sunnī and nourished hatred in his heart for Mullā Aḥmad and watched for an opportunity to kill him. One midnight he and one of his companions lay in wait in a dark lane and sent off a man disguised as a royal servitor (*chāwash*) to summon Mullā Aḥmad. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off half his arm (from the elbow). The assailants thought they had cut his head off and went<sup>3</sup> off, by a lane. The Mullā, in spite of so severe a wound, took up his arm and came to the house of Ḥakīm Hasan. The chronogram of the catastrophe is *Ziḥe kḥan-jar-i-Fūlād* "Bravo, the dagger of Fūlād (or, of steel, 996)." The night patrol found out the two assailants, but though they bore marks of the murder they did not confess. Akbar sent the *Kḥān-Kḥānān*, Aṣaf K., and S. Abu-l-faẓl to the Mullā to inquire into the matter. He described what had happened. Akbar stripped M. Fūlād and his companion of the robe of life and had

<sup>1</sup> *Sharārat turkāna*.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 527 and Badayūnī, Lowe 376.

<sup>3</sup> *pai gam kanān*, lit. "losing their feet." It is a phrase for doing some-

thing without reckoning the cost of it. Vullers I. 88a. The attack took place in the end of December 1587 or beginning of January 1588. Mullā A. was on horseback.

them tied to the foot of an elephant and taken through the whole city of Lahore. Though the chief persons of the Sultanate sought to have the murderers released, it was of no avail. The Mullā too after three or four days rolled up the carpet of life. They say that S. Faiẓī and S. Abu-l-faẓl set a guard over the Mullā's tomb, but that as at the same<sup>1</sup> time the royal camp was moving to Kashmīr, the city-rabble took out the body and burnt it.

As the story<sup>2</sup> of the Mullā is not without strangeness, a short account of it is added. His ancestors were Fārūqī Hanifis in religion and his father was Qāẓī of Tatta and a Reis of Scinde. In his youth an Arab, a pious wanderer, came from 'Irāq to Tatta and stayed for some days in the neighbourhood of the Mullā. In conversation with him the Mullā became acquainted with the principles of the Imāmiya religion and took an affection for that creed. This became notorious. Though in his youth he withdrew from ordinary branches of knowledge and gave himself up to teaching, yet, as it was not possible to acquire certain sciences in Tatta, he in his 22nd year became a Calendar and went off on his travels. When he came to Holy Mashhad he studied the Qoran and the Imāmiya traditions and the rules of asceticism under Maulānā Afzal of Qāin. He also went to Yezd and Shiraz and studied under Mullā Kamālu-d-dīn Husain Ṭabīb and Mullā Mirzā Jān, and learned all the rules and the Sharḥ Tajrid with the commentaries (rules of asceticism). In Qazwin he had the good fortune to enter the service of Shah Ṭahmāsp. When Ism'āil the 2nd became sovereign and proclaimed Sunnism, the Mullā hastened off to Arabian 'Irāq and the holy places (Mecca and Medina). He made the acquaintance of many learned men, and profited thereby. After that he came by sea to the Deccan and entered the service of

<sup>1</sup> Akbar did not go to Kashmīr till the 34th year.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Rieu I. 118 there is an account of Mullā Ahmad's career in the *Majālisu-l-Mūminin*. The passage may be found in Hājjī Ibrāhīm of Tabriz's lith. edition of that work, p. 245. Ahmad is there called the son of Naḡr Ullah. Ahmad himself told his story to the author of the *Majālis* and ascribed his conver-

sion mainly to one M. Hasan who came to him from Ormuz in consequence of a dream. According to the *Majālis* it was Naqīb K. who read from day to day to Akbar what had been written of the T. Alfī. The *Majālis*, p. 246, says, Akbar smiled on receiving the Mullā's reply, the point of which was the innuendo that the killing of Ugmān was a good thing as it cleared the way for 'Alī's becoming Caliph.

Quṭb Shah the ruler of Golconda. In the 27th year, he came to Faṭhpūr Sikrī and got admission to the court of Akbar. He was employed in writing the *Tārīkh Alfī* which is a history of a thousand years of Islām. He wrote with acumen the account of events up to the time of Cingez K., and comprised them in two volumes. When he was killed, Āṣaf K. Ja'afar continued the work up to 997. They say that Mullā Aḥmad read to Akbar what he had written, and that when he came to the history of the third Caliph (Uṣmān) he went into details about his murder and the causes thereof. Akbar was fatigued by the length of the narrative and asked why the Maulavi had made the story so long. Without hesitation and in the presence of the Tūrān officers and magnates, Mullā Aḥmad represented that his story was the "Martyrs' Garden" of the Sunnīs, and could not be shortened. On account of these words it was widely reported that he (Aḥmad) was a Shī'a. S. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī has related in his history that he once saw the *Shaikh* in the bazaar, and that some 'Irāqīs spoke in his (Badayūnī's) praise. Mullā Aḥmad said "The light of heresy (tarafz) is manifest in his forehead." Badayūnī answered "Just as the light of Sunnism is visible in your countenance."<sup>1</sup>

### (SHAIKH) GADĀĪ<sup>2</sup> KAMBŪ

S. *Shaikh* Jamālī of Delhi who was disciple and successor of S. Samāu-d-dīn Saharwardī. His (Jamāl's) name was Jalāl and his pen name was Jalālī, but at his Pīr's suggestion he took the pen name of Jamālī. In the beginning of his career he was a companion of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, and he held a high position on account of his knowledge and excellences. He was also a poet. His verses are very tasteful. This is one of them.

#### *Verse.*<sup>3</sup>

The dust of thy street is the garment on my body  
That too has a hundred cracks down to the skirt from my  
tears.

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 327.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī III. 76, do. I. Ranking 429 and 455; also Darbār A. 770.

<sup>3</sup> See Badayūnī, Ranking 429. The Darbār Akbarī 771 says that Jamālī quoted these lines at his introduction

As the Shaikh was not devoid of faqīrship and dervishship he went off to the Hījāz. After that he came to Herat in the time of Sultan Ḥusain M. He had interviews with Mīr 'Alī Sher, and associated with 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī—may his grave be holy; when he returned to India he made acquaintance with Bābur and was much appreciated by Humāyūn. The latter visited his dervish-cell several times. In the year 942, 1535-36, he died. The chronogram is Khusrau-i-Hind būda, "He was the sun<sup>1</sup> of India" (or "he was the Khusrau of India). The Siyāru-l-'Arifin<sup>2</sup> was written by him.

He was buried in old Delhi in the Zainī<sup>3</sup> tomb which is by the side of the mosque which his son Gadāi built. They say he composed an ode in praise of the Prophet and that several pious people have received from His Highness (Muḥammad) the good news of his acceptance of this verse.

*Verse.*<sup>4</sup>

Moses fainted at one ray of thy glory,  
Thou beholdest with a smile the Almighty Himself.

S. Gadāi also had a pleasant wit and acquired excellences and the possession of the current sciences. He also composed and recited Hindī songs. He lived with comfort and good fortune in Gujarat. When in the time of the predominance of Sher K., Bairām chose exile and went to that province, the Shaikh treated him well and was generous to him. When the fates had put the control of India into Bairām's hands, the Shaikh, in the year of Akbar's accession, came from Gujarat and by means of Bairām

to Jāmī. The point of them was that he appeared before Jāmī almost naked and covered with dust. After repeating the lines, he shed a flood of tears, and as they coursed down his body they made fissures in his garment of dust. There is a notice of Jamālī in the Khazīna Aṣṣiyā II. 84, and one of his pir Samāu-d-dīn at p. 74. Jamālī died when accompanying Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujarat.

<sup>1</sup> Amīr Khusrau was a famous poet, but as he too was of India, the

Khusrau of the chronogram would seem to mean the sun.

<sup>2</sup> See Rieu's Cat. I. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the tomb where one Zainu-d-dīn was buried. The tomb and mosque are described in the Aṣār Sanādīd Nos. 58 and 59.

<sup>4</sup> The verse is quoted in the Khazīna Aṣṣiyā I. 84, and it is stated there that Muḥammad appeared to Jamālī and expressed his approval of the above verse.



entered into the King's service and was made<sup>1</sup> *Ṣadr* (chief ecclesiastical officer—chancellor). He managed so well with Bairām that the latter transacted no political or financial business without taking his opinion. The *Shaikh* used to put his seal on the back of ordinances.

He was let<sup>2</sup> off the salutation (*taslim*) and in assemblies took precedence of all the well-born Saiyids. His greatness was such that he paid his respects to Akbar without dismounting. But the man-throwing wine of worldliness soon cast him down, and pride which destroys<sup>3</sup> old fortunes, quickly destroyed this new one. When Bairām's power decayed, Gadāi separated from him at Mewāt and waited on the King. As high and low were convinced that the *Shaikh* was the source of all the mischief, and that he had led astray Bairām K., the pillars of the empire adjudged him to be deserving of condign punishment and did not fail to accuse him. But Akbar in his perfect kindness was gracious to him and treated him with favour. But the old honour and position did not remain. In 976, 1568-1569, he died<sup>4</sup> in Delhi.

#### (RAJAH) GAJ SINGH.

S. Rajah Sūraj Singh Rāthor. In the 10th year of Jahangir he did homage along with his father, and on the latter's death he in the 14th year attained the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the title of Rajah. His rank gradually increased, and in the 18th year when there was a marshalling of armies between Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and Sultan Parvīz was appointed to the Deccan along with Mahābat K. and others, Rajah Gaj Singh was also appointed to accompany the prince. In the end of Jahangir's reign he with *Khān Jahān Lodī*,—who had crossed the Nerbudda and taken possession of some of the estates of Mālwa—came to Mālwa. When the renown of Shah Jahan filled the world, he separated from *Khān Jahān* and went to his own country. After the arrival

<sup>1</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe, 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Akbar's Firmān, trans. A.N. II, 161.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III, trans. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe, 124. The chro-

nogram yields 976. Badayūnī, III, 76, says Gadāi left Bairām near Bīkānīr. He adds that Gadāi after his return to Delhi continued to be honoured.

of the royal retinue at Agra, he in the first year of the reign did homage. As his father was the King's maternal uncle<sup>1</sup> he was presented with a special *khilat*, a decorated *jamdhar* (dagger), a *phūlkatāra* (a kind of dagger), an adorned scimitar, and was confirmed in the rank of 5000 with 5000 horse—which he had held in Jahangir's time—, and had the gift of a flag and drums, a horse from the special stable, with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year as Shah Jahan had determined upon punishing *Khān Jahān Lodi*—who had raised the standard of rebellion and had fled and gone to *Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri* (i.e. falconer) and there made himself secure—and upon chastising the *Nizām-ul-Mulk* and on plundering his *t'aluqs*, he left the capital for the Deccan. He chose three armies under three distinguished leaders, and gave the command of one of them to the Rajah and sent him off along with *A'zīm K.*, the governor of the Deccan. He was to go and trample down the *Nizām's* territory and not slacken in chastising *Khān Jahān*. Afterwards, in the 4th year, when *Yemenu-d-daula* was sent off to waken up 'Adil Shah, he was appointed to the vanguard. After returning from there, he went to his native country, and in the 6th year came to the imperial threshold. He again had the present of a horse with a gilded saddle and of a *khilat*. In the 10th year, he was allowed to go home. In the 11th year, he came to court with his son *Jaswant Singh* and performed the *kornish*. In the end of the same year on 2 *Muharram*, 1048, 6th May, 1638, he died. He was distinguished from the other Rajahs by his connection with royalty and his numerous troops, etc. The customs of the *Rāthors* are different from those of the other Rajputs, for that child succeeds whose mother the father has loved most, though he may be younger. At first the head of the *Rāthors* had the title of *Rāo*, but afterwards when *Udai Singh* by entering the service of *Akbar* had the title of *Rajah*, it was arranged that the other members of the family should have the name of *Rāo*. (From the above-mentioned family custom) it happened that on the death of *Udai Singh*,

<sup>1</sup> Shah Jahan's mother was *Jodh Bai*, daughter of the "Fat Rajah,"

*Udai Singh*. *Sūraj Singh* was her brother.

Sūraj Singh, though he was younger than his brothers, succeeded to the title of Rajah. Similarly the emperor presented Jaswant Singh with a khilat, a jamdhar (dagger), a manṣab of 4000 with 4000 horse, and the title of Rajah in accordance with his father's will, and gave him a flag, and drums, a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant. Amr Singh, the elder brother of Jaswant, who had been sent to Kabul along with Prince Sultan Shujā', had an increase of 1000 horse and a manṣab of 3000 with 3000 horse and the title of Rāo. A separate account has been given of both.

### GANJ 'ALĪ KHĀN 'ABDULLAH BEG.

Elder son of 'Alī Mardān K. the Amīru-l-Umarā. In the 26th year of Shah Jahan he received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 28th year he had the increase of 500, and in the 29th year he had the increase of 100 horse. In the 30th year his rank was 1500 with 800 horse. In the 31st year when his father died, his rank was 2500 with 1500 horse. Afterwards he accompanied Sulaimān Shikoh against Prince Shujā'. When there was a change of affairs, and the heavens advanced Aurangzeb, he came<sup>1</sup> to the court and entered into service. In the 1st year he had the gift of drums and went with Khalil Ullah in pursuit of Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards the title of Ganj 'Alī was conferred on him and he took part in the battle with Shujā' and in the second<sup>2</sup> battle with Dārā Shikoh. In the 9th year his rank was 3000 with 2000 horse and he was entered among the auxiliaries of Kabul. He was prominent in battle against the Afghans of the Khaibar,<sup>3</sup> but further particulars of him are not known.<sup>4</sup>

### (RAI) GAUR DHAN SŪRAJ<sup>5</sup> DHWAJ.

He was an inhabitant of Khārī on the Ganges, and they say

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi K. II. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Do. do. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the battle of 6 May, 1672, in which Muḥammad Amīn K. was defeated.

<sup>4</sup> He was named after his grandfather who was Governor of Qandahar,

and was accidentally killed there. See note to 'Alī Mardān. There was a garden at Qandahar known as Ganj 'Alī.

<sup>5</sup> Sūraj Dhwaḡ "The Sun-stand-ard" is a subdivision of the Kayasth caste (Irvine). See also Elliot, Supp.

that in the beginning of his career he sate at the door of the Cutcherry and copied out papers, thereby making three or four pice (*tankas*) a day. He wanted to acquire a brass inkstand, but could not manage it. After some time he, during the diwanship of *Khawāja*<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Hasan Turbatī, came to the *Khawāja* in company with Harkarn<sup>2</sup> an inhabitant of Kampilā Batalī (or Patali) with the desire to get service at court. The *Khawājah* looked at them and said, "Harkarn knows book-keeping, but he appears to be a thief, and Gaur Dhan is a fool." He signed a paper giving the first rs. 30 a month, and the second rs. 25. When the diwanship came to I'timādu-d-daula, Gaur Dhan got rs. 50 a month and was made bakshi of the menial servants (*shāgird peshā*). Afterwards he got the title of Rai, and the diwānī of I'timādu-d-daulah was followed by his being enrolled in the royal establishment. Every day his influence increased, and gradually he became the centre of affairs for all India.

Even the *Khan-Khānān* Commander-in-chief became an applicant<sup>3</sup> at his house.

In the expedition to Gujarat, when<sup>4</sup> Jahangir went upon the sea, Rai Gau Dhan was one day going to his house from the dar-bār, when at the instigation of *Sharifu-l-Mulk* the *bakhshī* of I'timādu-d-daula's establishment, a person struck him on the arm with a sword. It produced no effect, and from that day his reputation rose higher. Though 'Asmat Begam, the wife (mother of Nūr Jahān) of I'timādu-d-daula, disliked him, he did not sustain

Gloss. I. 305. There are 12 branches of the Kayasths. See also Crooke's "Tribes of the N.W.P." III. 191. It seems that *Khāri*, otherwise Gordhan-nagar, is in the district of Etah and in the *tahsil* of Aliganj. West of Patālī there is a village called Duvān-nagar, which may be that founded by Gaur Dhan. (Information given by Maqbūl Ahmad through Mr. Irvine).

<sup>1</sup> Maagir I. 737. Abu-l-Hasan was Diwān of the Deccan in Akbar's time. He was afterwards a high officer under Jahangir. See Maagir I. 737.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the author of the work mentioned in Rieu 530 and trans-

lated by F. Belfour. Kampilā, properly Kāmpilā, was in Sarkār Kanauj, J. II. 185. It is famous in connection with the *Kūrūs* and *Pāndūs*. See I.G. XIV. 328. It is in the Farrukhabad district. It is also mentioned in Jarrett II. 282, though wrongly spelt Rampilā.

<sup>3</sup> See biography of 'Azizkoka I. 691.

<sup>4</sup> In the 12th year of his reign, 1617. T. Jahangir 208, Iqbāl-nāma 106, and Elliot VI. 354. The incident of the wounding is not mentioned in the current histories.

any diminution of rank. After the death of I'timādu-d-daulah he became manager for Nūr Jahān Begam. In the disturbance of Mahābat K. who was an enemy of this family, Gaur Dhan out of opportunism sided with him. Mahābat made over to him all affairs, in gross or detail, and he, out of wickedness and ingratitude, shared in wishing ill to and in slandering his benefactors and disclosed their wealth and hidden treasures. He thereby disgraced himself before the world. Afterwards when the commotion subsided, Āṣaf K. imprisoned him, and after a while he died. His wife performed *sati* along with his body. He had no children. He made his birthplace of Khārī like a city by making *pucka* enclosures, lofty buildings, roads and bazaars, and gave it the name of Gaur Dhannagar. He also rebuilt and put in order the dwelling houses there. He also signed over the rents thereof as endowments to the craftsmen there. He established there every kind of artizan, and formed studs of cows, buffaloes, mares, camels, goats, and sheep near his home on the bank of the Ganges, like the studs (*ilkhāhā*) in foreign countries (*Wilayat*, Persia?). Much milk, curds and butter were produced; and on the road to Lahore he established serais and spacious tanks.

In Mathura, on this side of the river (i.e. the side opposite the town of Mathurā), he built a large temple in a place called Gaur Dhannagar. In Ujjain too he constructed a tank and a temple. In fine he, in search of a good name, introduced several usages, and left good rules that they might be a memorial of him in this old staging-house (the world). In punishment for his ingratitude his goods were confiscated to the Āṣaf Jāh<sup>1</sup> establishment. The water in his tanks dried up, his serais became deserted, and his home, Khārī, was assigned to Shujā'at K. Bārha as a fief. No trace<sup>2</sup> remained of his wealth or herds.

*Verse.*

No sign of wine-jar (*kham*) or of wine tavern (*khamkhāna*).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this means "the imperial establishment."

<sup>2</sup> I can find no notice of this inter-

esting man in Keval Rām, and apparently he is not remembered in his native town.

## (MIR) GESŪ OF KHURĀSĀN.

One of the Saiyids of that country. At Akbar's Court he became an object of trust on account of his good services and was made Bakāwal Beg (superintendent of the kitchen)—an office only conferred on trustworthy men. When Muhibb 'Alī K. the son of the Mir Khalifa addressed himself to the siege of Bhakar, and the garrison became hard-pressed,—as has been stated in Muhibb 'Alī's biography,—Sultan Maḥmūd, the ruler there, represented to Akbar that what had passed, had passed, and that now he was willing to surrender the fort, but that there was enmity between him and Muhibb 'Alī, and that he had no confidence in him. He begged therefore that one of Akbar's servants might be deputed. Akbar deputed Mir Gesū. When he came there, Muhibb 'Alī's men blocked his path, and he was nearly being made prisoner. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Nizāmu-d-dīn Bakhshī (author of the *Ṭabaqāt*)—who had gone there as Amīn—by his sound counsels restrained Muhibb 'Alī from improper contention. The garrison, who had been waiting for the Mir, surrendered the keys in accordance with Sultan Maḥmūd's agreement—who had died before the Mir's arrival—in the 19th year, 982, 1574-75. Such a cultivated country came into his possession. But Muhibb 'Alī K. in his foolish covetousness did not withdraw his affections from the country, and things between them ended in dispute and contest.

When Akbar heard of this, he sent Tarson K. as governor of the country, and when his brethren came there, Mir Gesū—who had tasted the sweets of rule—became presumptuous and wanted to strengthen the fort. But a consideration of the final end of things restrained him from this wrong notion. He withdrew and went off to kiss the threshold. Afterwards he held the faujdārī of Mirtha<sup>1</sup> and of the Delhi districts which are the best in the Dūāb.

As he always had disputes with his servants about their pay, and both parties had only regard to their own interests, there arose a quarrel between him and the soldiery in the 28th year,

<sup>1</sup> A.N. III. 414. But Delhi is not mentioned there.

991, 1583, in Mirtha. He turned some ignominiously out of their quarters, and in the morning, which was the 'Īd of Shawwāl 8th October, 1583, he came, flown with wine, to the 'Īdgāh. Some of the hypocrites approached him with a petition, and he abandoned discretion and abused them. They broke out into rebellion, and the Mir in his wrath set fire to their houses. They rose up against him, and his companions behaved with cowardice. His<sup>1</sup> days came to an end and the rebels wickedly reduced his body to ashes. Akbar was angry on hearing of this, and capitally punished many of them. His son Mir Jalālul-d-dīn Mas'aūd—who held a suitable rank—died in the third year of Jahangir, and his mother, when he was dying and his case was hopeless, took opium and died one or two hours after her son. It is common in India for wives to enter the fire when their husbands have died, but that a mother should sacrifice her life on account of her son is something unusual. But, in fact, the conditions in the two cases ("Jalāl's mother and the Hindu widows) are not the same. For it often happens that the widows sacrifice themselves on account of the custom without being moved by love. Hence it is that on the deaths of Rajahs ten or twenty men and women cast themselves into the fire.

#### GHAIRAT KHĀN.

He is Khwāja Kāmgār, brother's son of 'Abdullah K. Banādur Firūz Jang. In the 3rd year of Shah Jahan his rank was 1000 with 400 horse, and when in the 4th year Khān Jāhan Lodi came from the Deccan with intent to make a disturbance and, after the killing of Daryā K., his sole desire was to obtain safety and to get away even with ignominy, 'Abdullah K. was in the vanguard of Saiyid Mozafar K. Bārha and did not cease from following him. Khān Jahān was helpless, and fought and lost some of his relatives and then fled. On this occasion, Kāmgār in com-

<sup>1</sup> Mir Gesū is noticed in Blochmann 421. His end is described in A.N. III. 414. The son's death and the mother's suicide are recorded in the Tūzūk J., p. 67, Roger's translation, 142. But the occurrence is there

described as having happened in the beginning of 1014, i.e. the first year. The Iqbāl-nāma 33 mentions another case where a daughter took poison on the death of her father.

pany with his uncle distinguished himself. When Khān Jahān got away from Kālinjar, he went 20 *kos* further and stopped at the bank of the Sahinda<sup>1</sup> pond. As he had no hope of escape, and was tired of life, he faced the vanguard of the royal army in the beginning of Rajab 1040, 24 January, 1631, dismounted, and with a few followers engaged in fight. Before Saiyid Moẓaffar arrived, the Saiyids with a few brave men cut him and his followers to pieces. Afterwards, 'Abdullah K. came up, cut off the heads of Khān Jahān and his son 'Azīz and of Īmal K. and sent them to court with Khwāja Kāmgār. (Here part of Khān Jahān's biography is repeated). Khwāja Kāmgār was rewarded with a robe of honour, a horse, an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and the title of Ghairat K. In the 10th year, he got an increase of 1000 and 1200 horse and his rank became 2500 with 2000 horse and he was made governor of the province of Delhi in succession to Asalat K. In the 12th year the building of Shahjahanabad was entrusted to him. In 1048 he made the necessary excavations and in 1049, 9 Muḥarram, 2nd May, 1639, he laid the foundations.

For four months more he laboured strenuously at the work and then he was appointed to Scinde. He proceeded thither and died in the 14th year there in 1050, 1640-41. The Jahāngirnāma\*—distinct from the Iqbāl-nāma of Mua'tmad K.—is by him. He has written many things which Mua'tmad K. has passed over on account of his sycophancy. Especially he has described at length Jahangir's rebellion in the time when he was prince.

#### GHAI RAT KHĀN MUHAMMAD IBRĀHĪM.

S. Najābat K. and a distinguished servant of Shah Jahan: He received the rank of 800 with 400 horse, and when Aurangzeb proceeded from the Deccan to visit his father, and Najābat accompanied him, he (Ghairat) gradually rose to the rank of 2000 with 1000 horse and received the title of Shujā'at K. After the battle with Maharajah Jeswant Singh and the first battle with Dārā Shikoh his rank became 5000 with 5000 horse, and he got the title of Khān 'Ālam. When the king pursued Dārā Shikoh as

<sup>1</sup> See Maasir, I. 729.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu. 257a.



far as Multan and then returned, the charge of Multan was given to Lashkar K., but as he was in Kashmir, Ghairat remained there in charge till his arrival. Afterwards he was removed from there, and in the second battle with Dārā Shikoh was attached to the royal stirrup. After that, he was for some reason removed from office, but in the end of the second year, he was raised to the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse. In the third year, he got the title of Ghairat K. and returned to his old position. In the 9th year, he was sent along with Muḥammad M'ūazzam to Kabul on account of reports about the movements of the Persian king, and he received an increase of 500 horse. In the 10th year he, along with the above-mentioned prince, waited on the king, and when the prince went to his own government of the Deccan, Ghairat K. went with him. Afterwards he was faujdār<sup>1</sup> of Jaunpūr and in the 23rd year he was removed and came to court. Along with Sultan Muḥammad Akbar (Aurangzeb's son) he went against the Sisodia and Rāthor tribes who were becoming turbulent in that year.

When the prince at the instance of the Rajputs became rebellious and came forward to contend with his father, Ghairat was his associate. When the prince fled, Ghairat went off to Shah 'Ālam who sent him to court. On this account, he became an object of anger and was put in charge of Ihtimām K., in order that he might look after him in the Akbari<sup>2</sup> buildings (?). He was imprisoned there for a long time, and in the 43rd year, he was released<sup>3</sup> and received the rank of 3000 with 2000 horse and the faujdārī of Jaunpūr. A brother of his, Muḥammad Quli by name, in the 26th year of Shah Jahan had the rank of 1000 with 400 horse and went with Dārā Shikoh to Qandahar. In the 28th year he was made superintendent of the elephant stables, and in the 30th year he was made Mir Tūzuk and had the title of M'ata-

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 170. He was struck by lightning and injured in the leg. Six people were killed.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahātāt-Akbarī*. Maasir A. 205. Does the phrase mean Agra?

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A. 405. The text has *ghaibāna ruhāi yā'ta*, as if he were secretly released. But in the Maasir

A. from which the account is taken the word *ghaibāna* qualifies the appointment, i.e. *manṣab*, and means that he received the appointment without coming to court. The Maasir A. says his father Najābat had the title of *Khān*, 'Ālam:

qad K. In the 31st year he had the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse, of which 800 were two and three horse. He also had the faujdārī and the fief of Bahraich in Oudh. In the 10th year of Aurangzeb he had the faujdārī of Sultanpur Bilehri.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards he was for some reason censured and removed from his rank. In the 12th year he was given the rank of 2000 with 2000 horse and the office of superintendent of the *jīlau* (retinue, or grooms). Another brother, Muḥammad Ism'ail K., before Aurangzeb's time, had the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year had the title of Khān.

One of Najābat K.'s grandchildren was called Bahrawar K. In the 29th year of Aurangzeb he was made deputy of Muḥammad A'ẓim Shah in the province of Mālwa on the death of the Rai Raiān Mulūk Cand. Afterwards he had the title of Najābat K. and was made governor of Burhānpūr and faujdār of Baglāna. In the 47th year he had the rank of 2000 with 500 horse, and in the time of the power of A'ẓim Shah he was made governor of Mālwa. In the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Ḥusain 'Alī K. Amīru-l-Umarā when near his end<sup>2</sup> (?) confined him in the fort of Mulher to which he had been appointed. Two sons of his remained. One was Fathyāb K. who for a long time was the hereditary governor of Auranggarha *alias* Mulher. In 1156, 1743, he went with 'Abdu-l-'Aziz K. Bahādur—who had received a grant of the government of Gujarat from Muḥammad Shah—to that province. On the way a battle took place with the Mahrattas and he was martyred. His son had his title and for a time held a fief. At the time of writing he serves this man and that man. The second, Faiẓyāb K., was a dissolute man (*yārbāsh*).<sup>3</sup> He is dead.

#### GHĀLIB KHĀN BĪJĀPŪRĪ.

At first he was a servant of 'Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr, and was governor of the fort of Parenda which belonged to the province

<sup>1</sup> Text Malhari, but there is the variant Bilehri and this agrees with 'Ālamgīrnāma 1057 and with Jarrett II. 174. It was in Sarkār Audh.

<sup>2</sup> *Bar sir dādān 'amal*.

<sup>3</sup> See Forbes' dictionary, s.v.

of Aurangabad which was then subject to 'Ādil Shah. In the 3rd year of Aurangzeb he became suspicious of 'Ādil Shah and addressed himself to Shaista K., the Amīru-l-Umarā, and made<sup>1</sup> over the fort to the imperial government. As a reward he received the rank of 4000 with 4000 horse and the title of Khān, and became one of the officers of the Deccan. In the 9th year he in company with the Mīrā Rajah Jai Singh set about chastising the Bijāpūrīs and did good service in taking Kadhī<sup>2</sup> in the village of Dhūki belonging to Bijāpūr. Nothing more is known of him.

#### GHĀZANFAR KHĀN.

S. Ilawardī K. He was long separated from his father and served at the court of Shah Jahan. He obtained more honour than his brothers—with the exception of his elder brother M. J'aafar. He was first appointed to the post of Tūzuk. In the 16th year he was made superintendent of the artillery, and the Kotwāl of the camp. In the Balkh expedition Prince Murād Bakhsh sent Khalīl Ullah K.—who had been appointed to the charge of the left wing of the reserve—from Chārikār to take the forts of Kahmard and Ghorī. The Khān sent Ghāzanfar with a force as advance-guard against Ghorī. He along with Qubād K. Mīr Akhor attacked the fort and bravely dismounted and set himself to take it. Meanwhile the rest of the army came up and the governor had to surrender. In the 22nd year he was made superintendent of the elephant-stables and received the rank of 1000 with 500 horse, and the title of Khān. Afterwards he was deprived of his rank on account of delay in his proceeding to Bengal. In the 27th year he was made an officer of 1000 with 800 horse and the faujdār of the Duab. Suddenly a great and tusked elephant came from the slopes of the northern hills to pargana Chaurāsī<sup>3</sup> in the Sarkār of Saharanpūr. The Khān reported the circumstance, and huntsmen and elephants, etc., were sent there. The Khān caught the elephant and produced it before

<sup>1</sup> Maasir A. 33, 'Ālamgīrnāma 596.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma 1007 where the fort is called Galnī and the village Dohokī. Ghālīb is also mentioned at p. 1009.

<sup>3</sup> The Jaurāsī of Jarrett II. 292 and Elliot Supp. Glossary II. 128.

the king and received the title of Khāṣ Shikār. In the 28th year the above service and the looking after the buildings of Mukhlaspūr were taken from him and given to Husain Beg K. It happened that in the 30th year Muḥammad Ibrāhīm the son of Aṣālat K. was appointed to inspect the buildings of Mukhlaspūr,<sup>1</sup> and reported that the work was not being carried on according to the original plan. Accordingly the Khān was again appointed to the faujdārī of the Duab and had an increase of 200 horse and was sent off quickly in order that he might complete the buildings in a proper manner.

Let it not be concealed that on the bank of the Jumna near the foot of the northern hills which are near the hills of Sirmūr, at a distance of 47 *kos* from Delhi, there is a village known as Mukhlaspūr<sup>1</sup> and which is a dependency of Sāharanpur. It has a good climate and many other advantages. It can be reached from the capital by boat in seven days. In the 28th year an order was given to erect lofty buildings there, and in the 30th year these were completed at a cost of five lacs. The king (Shah Jahan) visited the place and gave it the name of Faizābād. The villages of the pargana yielding a revenue of 30 lacs of dāms were annexed to it. In the battle with Dārā Shikoh the Khān was on the right wing. When Aurangzeb became victorious, most of the sons of Ilahwardī were treated with favour either on account of their ability, or in order to conciliate their father who was with Shujā'. Ghazanfar in the beginning of the reign was made faujdār of the Duab, and in the end of the 2nd year he was made in succession to Mukarram K. Ṣafavi, faujdār of Jaunpūr. In the 7th year he was made governor of Tatta (Scinde) in succession to Qubād K. and had an increase of 500 with 1000 horse and so had the rank of 3000 with 3000 horse, of which 1000 were two horse and three horse. In the 10th year in the end of 1077, 1667, he died a natural death at Tatta. His brother<sup>2</sup> Hasan 'Alī K., who was

<sup>1</sup> See 'Ālamgīrnāma 849 for an account of Mukhlaspūr.

<sup>2</sup> This seems taken from 'Ālamgīrnāma 1048, but does not quite agree with the original. There it is Ilah-

wardī the elder brother of Ghazanfar, who is described as faujdār of Moradabad, while the younger brother is called Arslān K. and not Islām K.

faujdār of Moradabad, and Islām K., his younger brother, who was faujdār of Siwistan, and also his sons and other relatives, received (mourning) robes of honour.

### (MĪRZĀ) GHĀZĪ BEG (TARKHĀN).

S. M. Jānī Beg Tarkhān the ruler of Scinde. When M. Jānī died in Burhānpūr in attendance on Akbar, the latter encompassed M. Ghāzī, in his absence, with favours and restored the country to him, and he sate upon the masnad of his ancestors and enjoyed much prosperity. Khusrāu K., the Circassian, who had for a century been the vakīl of the family, and was a master of contrivance, had another idea in his head. Akbar sent S'aīd K with his son S'aīd Ullah K. to arrange the affairs of the province, and the Mīrzā had the good sense to come to Bhakar and wait upon S'aīd K. In company with him he at the age of 17 paid his respects to the emperor. Scinde remained as before. When Jahangir came to the throne, M. Ghāzī's horoscope was fortunate, and the province of Multan was added to his possessions. He had the title of son (farzand) and the rank of 7000. When Husain K. Shāmlū, the governor of Herat, besieged Qandahar, the Mīrzā was appointed with suitable force. Afterwards he was made governor of Qandahar. There he behaved well against the strife-mongers of Persia, and carried on a correspondence with Shāh 'Abbās. They say that the Shah sent him robes of honour several times. In the year 1018,<sup>1</sup> 1609, he died in his 25th year after a few days' illness. The chronogram is Ghāzī (1018). Men suspected Laṭīf Ullah Bahāī K.—who was the Mīrzā's companion and vakīl, and whose father Khusrāu K. the Circassian was disliked by the Mīrzā (Ghāzī Beg). M. Ghāzī was very fond of the society of literary men, and himself composed poetry. Waqārī (steadiness) was his *takhallas*.

They say that there was a poet in Qandahar who had this

<sup>1</sup> But see note 3. The alleged poisoning is referred to in the T. Tāhiri. There Laṭīf Ullah is called Laṭīf Ullah Bai Khān. De Laet, whose history was published in 1631,

tells the story of how Akbar wanted to poison M. Ghāzī, but inadvertently took the poisoned pill himself. The story is no doubt untrue.

sobriquet, and that the Mirzā bought the title from him by giving him Rs. 1000, a robe of honour and a horse, on account of its association with his father's takhalluṣ, which was Ḥalīmī (mildness). The Mirzā was unequalled as a singer, and player on the tambour. He could play all instruments. Mullā Murshid wrote about this.

(Verse).

They say that in Qandahar the Mirza's assemblies were full of distinguished men such as Mullā Murshid Yazdjadī, Ṭālib Āmalī, Mir Ni'amat Ullah Aṣilī and Mullā Asad the story-teller. They say that when Faghfūrī<sup>1</sup> Gīlānī resolved to come from Persia to India and come to Qandahar, the Mirzā treated him with great favour. Other distinguished men, especially Mullā Murshid and Asadī, inserted verses (*dakhilā*) in his poems. He was annoyed and went off to Lahore without taking leave. The Mirzā was vexed and wrote him a letter. He also caused Mullā Murshid and Asadī to write excuses, and he begged him to return. Faghfūr wrote excellently in reply.

(Verse).<sup>2</sup>

The Mirzā, like his father, was much addicted to wine. He spent days and nights in drinking. And he had made an arrangement with procuresses that they should bring him a virgin every night. He never saw their faces again. Hence it was that for a long time every bad woman in Tatta claimed to have had dealings with the Mirzā.<sup>3</sup>

### GHĀZĪ KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ.

His name was Qāzī Nizām. He studied the sciences under Mullā 'Iṣām, and was the unique of the age in traditional and

<sup>1</sup> See Taẓkira Ḥusainī, and Sprenger's Cat. 391. He was in the service of Prince Parvez. Mullā Murshid is mentioned in id. 508.

<sup>2</sup> The lines are very satirical. The Mirza is compared to a carcass contended for by two vultures, etc.

<sup>3</sup> B. 363. Rieu I. 292b. Tūzuk J. 109 and Iqbāl-nāma, 67. As pointed out by Blochmann, the Tūzuk, p. 109, puts M. Ghāzī's death into the 7th

year, 1021. If so, the chronogram Ghāzī must be wrong. See also Rieu 950a where the date given is II Safr 1021, 3rd April, 1612. The Tārīkh Ṭāhirī has a good deal to say about Ghāzī Beg. It says he was 16 when his father died, i.e. in 1008, or 1600. The Akbar-nāma puts the death into January 1601, 13 Bahman 1009. A.N. III. 783. M. Ghāzī died at Qandahar, and must have been about eight and

rational knowledge. He was also a pupil of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārazm. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Ṣūfism. As he was possessed of great ability he became an Amīr. At first, he was an intimate companion of M. Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, and was one of his chief officers. He received the title of Qāzī Khān. In the year when Humāyūn died, and M. Sulaimān took advantage of his opportunity and besieged Kabul, Mun'im K. defended it. He sent off messengers to India to obtain help, and when the siege had lasted a long time the Mirzā sent Qāzī K. to him with a deceitful message. The Khān kept the Qāzī for some days, and every day entertained him sumptuously, and produced many fruits such as the Badakhshānis were unacquainted with. The Qāzī was convinced that the taking of Kabul was an impossibility, and came out and told M. Sulaimān that the attempt to take Kabul was like hammering cold iron. The Mirzā was compelled to make peace and to return to Badakhshān. After that the Qāzī left Sulaimān and came to Kabul where he was respectfully treated by M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who made him a companion. In the 19th year (of Akbar) he went off to India and paid his respects to Akbar at Khānpūr<sup>1</sup> when the latter was returning from Jaunpur. He received a waist-dagger, a decorated sword, a robe of honour, and a present of ps. 5000, and was made Parwāncī (writer of orders).

As he had great tact he soon was encompassed with royal favours, and obtained much influence, and was raised to the rank of 1000. When he had distinguished himself in battles, he received the title of Ghāzī K. In the 21st year he accompanied Rajah Mān Singh and in the battle with the Rānā (at Goganda) he commanded the left wing. When the enemy made an onset and many of the imperialists gave way, Ghāzī K. turned back and joined the vanguard and fought manfully.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards he was in the fief of Oudh and distinguished<sup>3</sup> himself in putting down the Bihar

twenty. See Rogers' translation of *Tūzūk*, p. 223. The *Begīr-nāma*, Elliot I. 291, also gives 1021 as date of death.

<sup>1</sup> A village in Jaunpūr Sarkār, J. II. 163. According to A.F. III. 108,

Ghāzī K. joined Akbar at Gūna or Kūna. But see Badayūnī, Lowe 185.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī, Lowe 237, A.N. III. 174.

<sup>3</sup> A.N. III. 324.

rebels. In the 29th year, 992,<sup>1</sup> 1584, he died in Ayūdyā (Faizābād) at the age of seventy. He was the author of important books. Shaikh 'Allāmī<sup>2</sup> (Abu-l-faẓl) has written that his courage made illustrious his wisdom and that his sword exalted the dignity of his pen. Though sunk in the field of ordinary learning, he worshipped along with the pure Ṣufis, and so, though outwardly fettered, he achieved liberation. He always had a weeping-eye and a burning heart. They say that he was the first person who introduced the *sijdah* (prostration) in the presence of Akbar. There is a joke about this to the effect that Mullā 'Ālam Kabulī—who was one of the learned men of the time—said, "Alas that I did not invent this."

It appears from the authors of books that in the old religions the practice was to lay the forehead in the dust before the chosen ones of faith and the forerunners on the path of certainty, not out of worship but from submission and humility. Thus the angels performed the *sijdah* to Adam, and the father and brothers of Joseph did so to him. This method became current in former times under the guise of salām. When the lamp of other religions was extinguished by the effulgence of the sun of Islām, the *salām* and the joining of hands were substituted for this. Akbar—who was the founder of sovereignty and world-rule, and the author of many regulations and customs—introduced various kinds of homage. He ordained<sup>3</sup> the placing of the palm of the hand on the top of the forehead and the lowering of the head, and gave that the name of *kornish*; i.e. the head, which is the life of sensation and reason, was taken by the hand and made supplication, and made itself prepared for obedience. Also the palm<sup>4</sup> of the hand was laid on the ground and slowly raised, and then the man stood up and laid the palm of the hand on the top of the head. This Akbar called the *tastīm*. Upon<sup>5</sup> taking leave, or

<sup>1</sup> Text wrongly has 990. The day of his death was 15th July, 1584.

<sup>2</sup> A.N. III. 436. See also Bada'yūnī III. 153 who mentions the books he wrote.

<sup>3</sup> B. 158.

<sup>4</sup> The Ain has "the back of the right hand." B. 158.

<sup>5</sup> Taken from the Ain. B. 158. B. translates "but only one on all other occasions, when salaries are paid, or presents are made." For Akbar's prohibition of the *sijdah* in public darbār see B. 159 and note.



presentation, or upon receiving a *manṣab*, a *jagir*, or a dress of honour, or an elephant, or a horse, the rule was to make three *taslims*; on other occasions of liberality, or of distribution of favours, he was satisfied with one *taslim*. Afterwards, at the instigation of worldly men and flatterers, he introduced the *siydaḥ*, but apprehending the public censure he stopped the practice in the public dar-bār, and made it only to be performed in private and by his special intimates. For whenever an order was given in private for an officer to sit down, he performed the *siydaḥ*. And in the time of Jahangir, from carelessness and want of thought, this evil custom continued. When Shah Jahan ascended the throne—God be praised for his energy!—the first<sup>1</sup> order that he gave was the prohibition of the *siydaḥ*, as it was unfit for any but Deity. Mahābat K. the commander-in-chief represented that it was necessary for the distinction of ranks that the reverence to the king should be different from that practised towards the other servants of God. If for the *siydaḥ* the *zaminbos* were substituted, the positions of servant and master and of sovereign and subject would be fixed. Accordingly, it was ordered that both hands should be placed on the ground and that salutation should be made with the back of the hand. As the *zaminbos* resembled the *siydaḥ*, the emperor abolished it in the 10th year, and ordered a fourth *taslim* in lieu thereof. In return for favours which were granted in the Presence, or in absence, four obeisances were to be made. For Saiyids, Ulamā and great *Shaikhs*, they were to pay the authorised salām at the time of giving homage, and to recite the *fātiḥa* at departure.

Mir Hūsām-u-d-dīn was the brilliant son and representative of Ghāzi K. It is well known that he was one of the great *Shaikhs*. In the time of Akbar he attained the rank of 1000 and was appointed to the Deccan. There he became intimate with the *Khān-Khānān*. Suddenly, in his youth, the tumult of the Divine companionship seized him, and he was drawn away by attraction (*jaḥba*). He said to the *Khān-Khānān*, "A desire to forsake the world has taken possession of my soul. If you'll not let me go, I shall

<sup>1</sup> B. 213 N. Mahābat K.'s long speech and the orders thereupon are

given in the Pādshāhnāma I. III. et seq.

become mad. Write to H.M. and send me to Delhi in order that I may spend to rest of my life at the shrine of the Sultan of great Shaikhs." Though the Khān-Khānān was urgent with him to give up the mad idea, he would not be forbidden. Next day he stripped himself naked, and smeared mud and clay on his body, and went about in the streets and lanes. When the thing was reported to the king, he gave him leave to retire to Delhi. For thirty years he lived in complete abstinence and observance of the law. Though he had acquired all the sciences, he laid them all aside. He occupied himself in meditating on the Qoran and in the practice of Ṣūfism. From Khawājah Bāqī Billah of Samarkand, who was born in Kabul and died in Delhi, he received permission to guide travellers (on the path of piety). He died in 1043, 1633-34. His wife was a sister of Abu-l-fazl. By order of her husband she gave to the poor such gold and jewels as she had and cleansed her skirt from the defilement of worldliness. They say that every year she sent Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of Shah Ḥusāmu-d-dīn's monastery.

#### GHĀZĪU-D-DĪN K. BAHĀDUR FĪRŪZ JĀNG.

His name was Mir Shihābu-d-dīn and he was the son of Qilīj K. Khwāja 'Ābid. In the 12th year he came from Tūrān, and entered the service of Aurangzeb and received the rank of 300 with 70 horse. They say that one day Subhān Qulī K. the ruler of the country (Tūrān) came to see the melon fields and that Mir Shihābu-d-dīn said to Khwāja Y'aqūb Jūbārī and Rustum Beg Atāliq, "My father has called me to India, but the Khan does not give me leave." As a suitable time had occurred these two good men went to the Khān and procured leave for him. The Khān sent for him, and pronounced the *fātiha*, and said, "Go to India, you will become a great man." It happened that such good fortune attended him that the might and dominion of the princes of Balkh and Bokhara were nothing in comparison to it. In the 23rd year, when the royal standards were displayed in order to chastise the Rānā of Udaipūr, no news was forthcoming about Ḥasan 'Alī K. Bahādur 'Ālamgirshāhī who had gone into the hill-country in pursuit of the Rānā. At midnight the king sent for Mir Shihābu-d-

dīn—who was on guard then—and sent him off to get news. He went off at once without making inquiries about the nature of the country or regarding the dangers of the road, etc., and after two days brought and presented a report from the Khān. This good service was the cause of his promotion and he received the title of Khān and other favours. After that he was sent off to Sirohī to put down Durgā Dās and Sotak<sup>1</sup> and other turbulent Rāthors. As they had leagued with Prince Muḥammad Akbar and were leading him astray, the prince sent Mirak Khān—who was a servant known to the king—to the Khān and made promises and requests that the latter would join him. The faithful Khān travelled<sup>2</sup> 60 *kos* with Mirak in two days and came before H.M. and was approved of. He was made superintendent of the examination of petitions, and when the king came to the Deccan in the 26th year, the Khān was appointed to punish the rebels near Junair. In his absence he was made superintendent of the mace-bearers in succession to Mukarram K., and Saiyid Ughlān was made his deputy. As he in hard conflicts defeated the Mahrattas, he in the 27th year received the title of Ghāziū-d-dīn K. Bahādur. In the 28th year, he was sent off to take the fort of Rāhīrī—which was the abode of Sambhā—and he at once (*bārī*) set fire to it and killed many of the infidels. He received the title of Firūz Jang and the gift of drums. When, during the siege of Bijāpūr, there was scarcity and famine in the camp of Prince Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah so that to stay there seemed impossible, Khān Firūz Jang received<sup>3</sup> the dignity of the Fish and was sent there with abundant stores. Suddenly he fell upon 6000 infantry. Paidabā<sup>4</sup> Nāik the zamin-dar of Sakriyā<sup>5</sup> (?) had secretly sent stores for the relief of Bijāpūr, and put them to the sword, and brought tranquillity to the camp of the prince. Aurangzeb set down the taking of Bijāpūr to him. The chronogram was Sadd Sikandar girift, "He took Sikandar's<sup>6</sup> rampart." (1098—1687). With his own hand Aurangzeb wrote<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Variant Sonk and so in Maasir A. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Maasir A. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Maasir A. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Maasir A. 265 Paid Nāik. See Elliot VII. 377.

<sup>6</sup> The real name is Sāgar, 15 m. N.E. Wāinkera.

<sup>6</sup> Sikandar was the name of the young king of Bijāpūr.

<sup>7</sup> Khāfi K. II. 322.

the sentence for the record writer and sent it to be inserted in the records, viz., "It was taken by the help of the son (farzand) void of duplicity, *Qhāziu-d-dīn* K. Bahādur Firūz Jang." After that he took the fort of Ibrāhimgarha *alias* Īkar which afterwards received the name of Firuzgarha. He did good service in the siege of Haidarabad and was wounded. After it was taken he was raised to the rank of 7000 with 7000 horse. Afterwards, he took the fort of Adoni, which received the name of Imitiyāzgarha, after severe fighting, from Sidi Mas'aud Bijāpūri who was one of the high officers of 'Ādil Shah, and in the 32nd year added it and its territory to the imperial domains. In the same year he went off from Bijāpūr to extirpate Sambhā. As plague broke out and many who escaped from death lost their intellects, their eyes, their ears or their speech, the *Khān* too lost his eyesight. Though he in accordance with precedent<sup>1</sup> did not come into the Presence yet there was no change in his leadership. In the 42nd year Santā the robber, who had defeated the armies of Islām and had slain or made prisoners of royal officers, and who had fled after the taking of Ginjī, and gone towards Satāra, was, on account of an old grudge, defeated thoroughly by Dahinā Jādū, and was wandering about in a miserable condition. By chance Nāgobā<sup>2</sup> Miyān a Mahratta out of enmity cut off his head. He wanted to take it to Dahina Jādū, but on the way it fell into the hands of Firūz Jang's troops. The *Khān* sent the head to court along with *Khwāja* Bābāi Tūrānī who, in reward for his good tidings, received the title of *Khūsh* *Khabar* *Khān*. Firūz Jang received a thousand thanks and praises. In the 43rd year he was appointed to the affair of Islāmgarh *alias* Deogarha, and took it. After that he was appointed to guard the residence at Islāmpūrī. At the time that the victorious imperial standards returned from the taking of Khelnā to Bahādurgarha,<sup>3</sup> there was a review of the army which

<sup>1</sup> It was an order of Jahangir that blind men should not come before him.

<sup>2</sup> Nāgoji Manai in Elliot VII. 360, where the story is told at length according to the narrative of *Khāfi* K.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Birgānw, *Khāfi* K. II.

539 and Elliot VII. 383 and note. Presumably *Qhāziu-d-dīn* did not personally appear at the review on account of his blindness. The passage is taken from the *Maasir* A. 468.

Firūz Jang had drawn up and sent off from his quarters. It covered four measured *kos*.

They say that no general ever made such a display of troops. He also presented every kind of *peshkash*. After the king had looked at them, he confiscated much of the artillery and wrote<sup>1</sup> a letter of reproof to Prince Bīdar Bakht, saying, "You with double allowances have not such an establishment of guns, etc. as Firūz Jang has. He has all the things that he should have, or rather that he should not have." In the 48th<sup>2</sup> year Firūz Jang pursued Nima Scindiah as far as Mālwa, and underwent great fatigue. He received the title of Sipah Sālār (commander-in-chief) But for some reason the expedition was stopped. At the time of Aurangzeb's death he was in the province of Berar and stationed at Elichpūr. Though he had much loyalty and many connexions with Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah, yet that prince on account of innate pride did not cultivate him, and did not take with him so great a leader.

They say that when Muḥammad Ā'zim Shah left Aḥmadnagar after ascending the throne, Zūlfiqār K. waited upon him in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. He asked him to state what was proper to be done. Zūlfiqār represented that the proper course was to follow the example of Aurangzeb and to leave the women-folk in Daulatabad, and he also pointed out that the king's men were very badly equipped. They should be given two months' pay from the treasury in the seraglio in order that they might provide themselves with materials for the campaign. Also that the march should not be by the pass of Fardapūr, but by Dewal Khīyāt<sup>3</sup> (?) so that Firūz Jang might join them. The prince, who was, as it were, mad with arrogance, replied that to leave the women would be proper if he had an adversary like Dārā Shikoh. He knew M'uaẓẓam's nature, and had reliance on his own men. The

<sup>1</sup> Maagir A. 469. This was in the 46th year.

<sup>2</sup> Text 8th year, but apparently the 48th is meant. See Maagir A. under that year, p. 483. Khāfi K II. 456 mentions a pursuit by Firūz Jang of Scindiah in the 42nd year.

<sup>3</sup> The Deola Khatra of Jarrett II. 205. Said by Jarrett to be the Ketamā of the maps. Perhaps it is Deulghāt. Fardapūr is near the Ajarita Caves.

king's (Aurangzeb) men had nothing to do except to give good wishes and to be safe. Why should he leave the straight road for the sake of a blind man? What help would come from him? In fact, if we regard outward circumstances, a great mistake was made, and there was much want of planning in not taking a leader like Fīrūz Jang with him. He would have been a bond of union. Especially would all the Moghuls and Tūrānīs have followed him. When Muḥammad Ā'ẓīm Shah crossed the Narbada he wrote to Fīrūz Jang that he should come from Berar to Burhānpūr and stay there.

After the accession of Bahādur Shah he was made governor of Gujarat, and in the fourth year he died<sup>1</sup> a natural death in Aḥmadabad. His body was conveyed to Delhi and buried near the Ajmirī gate in the tomb and *khānqa* which he had made. He was easily first among the officers of Tūrān. He was of a pleasant disposition and dignified, victorious, and a master of tactics. His good fortune was wonderful. In former reigns it has rarely happened that princes have kept a blind servant at the head of their armies. He was of sound judgment and always occupied himself with great things. While marching, or in the council room, he preserved the same rules and regulations. As to what is reported, namely, that the king became acquainted with some of his secret desires and hinted to the physicians at the time of his eye trouble that they should deprive him of his eyesight, it does not bear the mark of truth. Aurangzeb was very choleric and vindictive. If he had found any such designs in Fīrūz Jang, he would not have left him in such glory. Fīrūz Jang's good intentions had become impressed on the king's mind. So much so was this that when at the last, Fīrūz Jang repeatedly showed connivance and slackness in the matter of punishing the Mahrattas and some one out of enmity represented the matter to the king, he in reply wrote: "Alas for *Khān* Fīrūz Jang that he should have come from such a state to this and that it has come to pass that he has been accused of favouring infidels (*Kafrān N'aamat*, also disloyalty) which is like being twice an infidel."

<sup>1</sup> *Khāfi* K. II. 681. He died in 1122 or A.D. 1710.

At first, in accordance with the commands of the king, he married the daughter of the very learned S'aad Ullah K. After her death he successively married two daughters of her brother Hifz Ullah K. *alias* Miyan K. He had no children by either of them.<sup>1</sup>

(AMĪRU-L-UMARĀ) GHĀZĪU-D-DIN K. BAHĀDUR  
FĪRŪZ JANG.

Eldest son of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and full brother of Nāṣir Jang. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Panāh. He was the son-in-law of Qamaru-d-dīn K., vizier. His father left him in early years at the court of Muḥammad Shah, and there he grew up. He was first the bakhshī of the aḥādīs. In the year 1153, 1740, when his father, who had been made Mīr Bakhshī on the death<sup>2</sup> of the Khān Daurān, went to the Deccan, he became his father's deputy in that high appointment (of Bakhshī). On his father's death, S'adāt K. was in the time of Aḥmad Shah Mīr Bakhshī for nearly three years. Afterwards that office and the title of Amīru-l-Umarā were conferred on Ghāziu-d-dīn. After the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang his heart inclined towards the Deccan. By chance, at the time that the ambassador of the Durānī Shah had arrived, Ṣafdar Jang at a hint from the king took with him Mulhar Rāo Holkar by the promise of a large sum and came to court. Before he came, Jāvid K. had agreed to the messages of the Shah and had sent away the ambassador. Ṣafdar Jang was perplexed<sup>3</sup> and did not know how to pacify Holkar. The Amīr-ul-Umarā made an arrangement with Holkar and got him to agree to the subahdārī of the Deccan being established in the name of the Amīru-l-Umarā (i.e. himself) and to his (Holkar's) coming to insist on payment of the stipulated sum. Accordingly he left for the Deccan with the title of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. After-

<sup>1</sup> This biography may be compared with Mr. Irvine's notice A.S.B.J. for 1898, p. 163. Fīrūz Jang died on 8th December. It is curious that this biography does not mention that by his first wife he was the father of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh.

<sup>2</sup> The Khān Daurān Khwāja Aṣim was killed in 1739. See Maasir I. 822.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Siyaru. M. III. 327. Ghāziu-d-dīn arranged with the Vizier that if he would give him his patents for the viceroyalty he would satisfy the Mahrattas' demands.

wards a sanad of the province of Khāndes for the Mahrattas was executed by him with his own seal, and then with the hope of their helping him, he in the height of the rains traversed the mud and slush of Mālwa and reached Burhānpūr. Afterwards he came to Aurangabad and halted for seventeen days. Then he suddenly died.<sup>1</sup> He had eaten and gone to repose himself when he came out and vomited and died, in 1165, 1752. He was imbued with learning, and at the end he had plucked up a spirit. His son is Ghāziū-d-dīn K. the 3rd, who had the title of Imādu-l-mulk and of whom a separate account has been given.

### (RAJAH) GOPĀL SING GAUR.

His ancestors held the zamindāri of Andarkhi (?) in the province of Allahabad, and were servants of the Orocha Rajahs. His grandfather Bihar Singh was killed by Mulūk Cand the manager of Mālwa—who acted for Muḥammad A'zim Shah—in the time of Aurangzeb, because he was a source of sedition. Mulūk Cand cut off his head and sent it to the emperor. After this, his father Bhagwant Singh, the son of Bihār Singh, was also killed in battle by Mulūk Cand. His family left their home. Gopāl Singh accompanied Nizāmu-l-Mulk Āsaf Jah. When he returned to the Deccan from Upper India with the intention of giving battle to Mubārīz K., Gopāl distinguished himself on the battle-day, and after the victory received a suitable rank and a fief, and the charge of the fort of Qandhar in Bidar—which is a distant place and is a strong fortress. In the time of Shah Jahan it was taken from the Deccanis by Khān Daurān. Since that time up to the time of writing, the fort has been mostly in the possession of himself and his descendants. He died in 1162, 1749.

After his death, though Dalpat Singh his eldest son died in his lifetime, there remained other sons, of whom the eldest was

<sup>1</sup> Siyaru-l-M. III. 329. He died in October, 1752, and according to Grant-Duff II. 62, he was poisoned by his stepmother, the mother of Nizām 'Alī. See also Siyaru-l-M. III. 324, note. There is an account of Ghāziū-

d-dīn in the Khazana 'Āmrā, pp. 49, 50. Newāl K. ed. He died on 7 Zī Hajja 1165, 5th October, 1752. Ghulām 'Alī's account has been reproduced in Maasir III. 883 so that there are two lives of Ghāziū-d-dīn.



Kuar Bishan Singh, yet at his own wish the fort and the hereditary jagir were assigned to Ajai Cand his second son. Narpat Singh the third son, who was Ajai's full brother, was joined with him. The first got his father's title, and became distinguished, and in the battle which took place with Roghanāth Rāo on the bank of the Southern Ganges<sup>1</sup> he was with the Nizāmu-d-daula Āṣaf Jāh. He stood firm and was killed. His eldest son held the hereditary fort and at the time of writing has the title of Rajah Gopāl Singh Hindūpat Mahindar. His two other sons Rajah Tej Singh and Rajah Padm Singh held *manṣabs* and fiefs, and afterwards held the fort of Kaulās in the province of Haidarabad. The second gradually attained to the high rank and title of Maharajah. For some time he was appointed to manage the Sarkār of Bīr, and afterwards he held the government of Nāndair in the province of Bīdar, and the governorship of the fort of Māhwar in Berar. He died two or three years ago. His sons Kuar Durjan Singh and Jūdha Singh attained suitable *manṣabs* and fiefs, and are in service.

#### HABSH KHĀN.

Sidī Miftah Abyssinian was one of the old servants of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, and was honoured and trusted by that family. He was for a long time governor of the fort of Ūdgīr which is a very strong fortress and built of stone and lime. When from the beginning of the reign of Shah Jahan the territory of the Nizām Shah was trodden by the imperial armies, gradually all the forts and estates were conquered by the imperial servants and the dynasty was altogether ended. Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr, in order to get possession of Ism'ail, his brother's son, who was imprisoned in Ūdgīr, made use of every stratagem and endeavoured by craft to win over Sidī Miftah, but failed.

This Ism'ail<sup>2</sup> was the son of Darvesh Muḥammad the eldest son of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah, and the sister's son of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭbu-mulk. When Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah was on his death-bed (in 1626) he showed his testament (or perhaps explained his

<sup>1</sup> Text Gang Kafa but the variant Dakhin Gang. i.e. the Godavery, is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, p. 219.

wish) to Daulat a *Kalāwant* (musician) slave, whom he fully trusted and whom he had made governor of the fort of Bijāpūr, to the effect that his second son Muḥammad should succeed him. When Muḥammad ascended the throne, he blinded Darvesh Muḥammad, and the wives of the latter secretly sent Ism'ail, who was then six years of age, to Nizām Shah in order that he might be safe from the clutches of his enemies. Nizām Shah, for fear lest the coming of Ism'ail should become known and the 'Adil Shah be displeased, did not see Ism'ail but sent him to Sidi Miftāḥ. He kept him in prison for ten years, and without submitting to 'Adil Shah he made strong the fort and maintained his independence.

In the 9th year, the month of Moharram of 1046, 1636, the Khān Daurān Bahādur set<sup>1</sup> about besieging the fort, and when the mines had been driven near the fort, the garrison lost courage. Sidi Miftāḥ became alarmed and sent a message to Khān Daurān to the effect that if they would include him among the royal servants he would surrender the fort. Khān Daurān accepted his request, and then he brought forward other wishes which were not suitable and commenced fighting.

They say that during the siege many of the materials of the defence had been expended and so Sidi Miftāḥ devised a plan. To Khān Daurān he proposed submission and a desire to enter service, and appointed a day for waiting upon him. Meanwhile he opened the gates of the fort so that his men frequented the royal camp and brought back to the fort what they wanted. On the day appointed for submission he closed the gates and made war. Khān Daurān then contrived to set fire to a mine which had been carried to the foot of the *sher ḥājī*<sup>2</sup> bastion. Though the stability of the citadel was not much affected, yet Sidi Miftāḥ had the foresight to see that there was no help but to submit, and come out to the commander. After a siege of three months and odd days, he surrendered the fort and made over Ism'ail the grandson of 'Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shah.

<sup>1</sup> Pādshāhnāma I, Part II, pp. 218-19. This was the Khān Daurān No. 2 of Beale, and his name was Khwāja Sābir. See Maasir U. I. 749 and 754.

<sup>2</sup> The name for an outwork. See Elliot VII. 23 and the Bahār 'Ajam 182, col. a.

Sidī Miftāh obtained from the emperor the rank of 3000 with 1500 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and the title of Habsh Khān (the Abyssinian K.) and was treated with favour. He also received a good assignment (tankhwāh). He was always enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Deccan, and the governors of the Deccan never failed to honour him. He too, though his figure and manners were strange, was of great physical strength and was not devoid of refinement. He was very fond of learned men and men of piety, and helped them, and spent money on deserving persons. He was also a zealous servant. In the 29th year Prince Aurangzeb, the governor of the Deccan, appointed him and all the other leaders of the Deccan, to accompany M. Khān the governor of Berar, against the zamindar of Deogarh. And when the prince proceeded to Golconda in the 30th year, Sidī Miftāh took part in the affair and did good service. He had much faith in Bābā Firūz who was a dervish in the town of Pāthrī, and every year and every month defrayed the expenses of the Shaikh's monastery (Khānqāh). When the said Bābā died, the Khān built his tomb in Pāthrī, which still is a shrine visited by people. He held in fief the pargana of Wākūr in the Sarkār of Nāndair. He made it his home, and settled many Arab Saiyids there and helped them in various ways. He also sent for many valuable books from Arabia, and stretched forth the arm of liberality. His son Aḥmad K. also obtained high rank. He was a young man of a noble presence, and was much patronized by Shah 'Alam Bahādur when he was viceroy of the Deccan. He bought the zamindari of the pargana above mentioned and united it with his jagir. He died in Aurangzeb's reign. His sons obtained a small rank. The villages of the pargana were assigned to other men. For a time they knocked at the door of turbulence and distinguished themselves by their presumption. In the time of the present emperor (Muḥammad Shah) 'Iwaz' K. Bahādur Qasūra Jang besieged their residence and took and imprisoned Sidī Husain, who was the elder of them. Afterwards by the order of Nizām-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jah he was released and went to his own Sarkār. His sons held the zamindari after him.

## HĀDĪ DAD KHĀN.

Brother of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī. In the time of Shah Jahan he rose to the rank of 500. In the 8th year he was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bārha to chastise Jujhār Singh Bandila. In the 9th year, when the Deccan became the abode of the sovereign, and three armies were appointed under the charge of three generals to chastise Sāhū Bhonsla and to devastate the lands of 'Ādil K., he was joined with Khān Daurān. In the 11th year his rank was 1000 with 1000 horse, and in the 22nd year, when his brother Rashīd K. died, his rank was 2000 with 2000 horse, and he was appointed in his brother's room to govern Telingāna—which consisted of Nāndair and other conquered districts, and his rank became 2500 with 1500 horse, and he had the title of Khān. In the 29th year he received a flag and a drum. In the same year he, in accordance with the orders of the king and the suggestions of Prince Aurangzeb, proceeded to Deogarha to collect the tribute due by Kīsar Singh the son of Kokha zamindar of Deogarha. M. Khān the governor of Elichpūr went from another direction. The zamindar became troubled and arranged with the governor of Elichpūr and came before the prince with the tribute. In the 30th year he in accordance with orders proceeded to Golconda with prince Muḥammad Sultan. After the arrival of Aurangzeb he distinguished himself in the batteries, and at the time of the prince's return he was sent off to Nāndair. In the same year, 1066, 1656, he died, and was buried in Nandair. Though he had thirty<sup>1</sup> (?) sons, yet Ilhām Ullah the son of Rashīd K., his brother, was the best for preserving his property. The king (Shah Jahan) gave him the rank of 1000 with 500 horse. His son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm held up to the thirtieth<sup>2</sup> year the rank of 500 with 120 horse.

## HAIDAR 'ALĪ KHAN BAHĀDUR.

They say that his ancestry goes back to 'Abdullah Ṣāḥib of Medina—may God's mercy be upon him!—who was one of the great

<sup>1</sup> So in text, but the MSS. seem to read *baṣī* "many" instead of *se* thirty.

<sup>2</sup> This life is by 'Abdu-l-Hayy. Steingass marks *si ūm* as unsupported

by examples as meaning the 30th year. But it occurs here and also in Akbar-nāma II. 12. This 30th year here presumably means the 30th year of Aurangzeb.

men of the Qoresh tribe. In the beginning of 1165, 1752, he acquired great authority and became superintendent (*matṣādī*) of the affairs of Mysore. He afterwards conquered many cities and forts and unfurled the flag of power. His dominions yielded six krors of rupees and extended from Karpa (Cuddaph) to Mangalore<sup>1</sup> (i.e. from E. to W.) and from Calicut to Dhārwar (i.e. from S. to N.), which is an extensive country. He acquired it by his strength of arm and held it firmly. When the hatwearing English came to his country he sent his cavalry to the Pāyinghāt<sup>2</sup> of the Carnatic and attacked and pillaged. Then he made an advantageous peace. Afterwards when there were signs of treachery in the house of the Mahrattas he in the first place looked after the strengthening of his thanas and gradually took the whole of their territory up to the river Kishna. Afterwards he besieged the fortress of Cital (Chitaldroog)—which was a zamindari place—and took it. At the time of writing, which is 1193, 1779, he has made a raid upon Karpa (Cuddapah) and taken possession of the forts of Sidhūt,<sup>3</sup> Kinjī (Ginji) Kot, etc., and seized ‘Abdu-l-Āakīm K. Miyāna, the governor there, and carried him off to Seringapatam. He has much treasure and a large income, and has collected many jewels. Still too he sends money to men and recruits them. He has a quick-firing (?) park of artillery and makes it a rule that when he has encamped, musketeers are placed round the camp in watches so that no stranger can enter without an order.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text Kozpāl, and there are variants. Mangalore is meant, of which the native name is Kodiya. It was Ḥaidar ‘Alī’s naval base.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *az* “from” but B. M. Add. 6665 has *dar* “into” and so has I. O. MS. No. 628.

<sup>3</sup> The Sidhout of I. G. XXII. 357. It is the eastern taluq of Cuddapah.

<sup>4</sup> In the table of contents at p. 47 this biography is omitted. Evidently the notice has been revised by ‘Abdul Ḥayy for it mentions 1193, 1779, as the date of writing, but it would seem that the body of the biography had been written by his father. In B. M. MSS. Add. 21, 470 and Add. 6565 and

in I. O. MS. 628 the biography is different from that in text. It says nothing about Ḥaidar’s alleged descent from ‘Abdullāh of Medina, but says his father was Ḥusām-d-dīn and that his ancestors were Qāzīs of pargana Gohir in Haidarabad and that he was at first an infāntry-jamadar in the fort of Kolār. Afterwards he entered the service of the Raja of Seringapatam. Ḥaidar succeeded his father in this employment, and eventually imprisoned and put the Rajah to death. The MSS. biographies say nothing about Kozpāl, which is a place I cannot find, but mention Ḥaidar’s taking Chitaldrug. The word in text after topkhana

HAIDAR<sup>1</sup> MUHAMMAD K. AKHTA BEGĪ.

One of the old servants of Humāyūn. In the journey to Persia which fate compelled that king to undertake, Haidar attached himself to the stirrup and was encompassed with favours. In the defeat at Balkh when Humāyūn's horse fell from being wounded by an arrow, Haidar presented him with his own horse. When the army of Humāyūn marched to extinguish the flames of sedition kindled by M. Kāmran who had fled from Kabul and was spending his time in vain hopes in Afghanistan, and arrived at the Surkh Āb, Haidar and many single-fighters were honoured by being appointed to the vanguard. They arrived in advance of the main body at the Siāh Āb, which is between the Surkh Āb and Gandamak, and encamped there. M. Kāmran saw he had not the power to fight a pitched battle, and so made a night-attack. Haidar<sup>2</sup> stood firm and fought manfully, and though wounded did not give way. In the march to Qandahar and the expedition to India he did not let go the saddle-straps of dominion, and when victory was gained he was made governor of Biāna. After he came there, as Ghāzi K. Sūr the father of Ibrāhīm K. was shut up there, and had vain thoughts, Haidar made an agreement with him. When Ghāzi K. came out of the fort Haidar from greed of his property broke his agreement and put him to death. This piece of bad faith displeased the just disposition of Humāyūn and he uttered the truthful prediction that Haidar would never again be able to gird<sup>3</sup> up his loins, and they say that to the day of his death his condition remained as the king had said.

After the accession of Akbar he on the occasion of Hemū

is *zūdazd* which seems unintelligible. The MSS. I.O. 628, etc. have *zūdrav*, which may mean quick-firing, but more probably means quick-moving. The best account of Haidar 'Ali seems to be in Colonel Mark Wilks' book. Haidar 'Ali died 7 December 1782.

<sup>1</sup> B. 384.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. translation I. 581. This was in 958 (1551) and a few days before the night-attack in which Hindāl was killed.

<sup>3</sup> See A. N. translation I. 638, text I. 354. Apparently the curse or prophecy was that Haidar would never be able to fasten on his belt again, and Bayāzīd Biyāt tells us that his arm became useless. According to A. F., whom the Maasir is copying, it was Ghāzī K.'s son Ibrāhīm and not Ghāzī K. himself who had vain thoughts.

joined Tardi Beg and had command of the left wing. After the defeat he came to Akbar's camp and was sent off with 'Alī Qulī K. Shaibānī to punish Hemū. After the victory he went for a purpose to Kabul, and when Mun'im K., after the overthrow of Bairām, proceeded to court, he left Haidar to manage the affairs of Kabul and to assist his son Qhanī K. As owing to want of capacity there was no friendship between the two, an order was sent at Mun'im K.'s request summoning Haidar to court. In the 8th year when Mun'im K. went off to Kabul to arrange matters there Haidar was appointed to go with him. After Mun'im K. was defeated and returned to the court, Haidar also returned and acted under Muni'm's orders. In the 17th year he accompanied the Khān Kilān *alias* Mīr Muḥammad K., who had been sent in advance to Gujarat. He had then attained the rank of 2500. His brother M. Qulī distinguished himself at the time when Humāyūn went to conquer Badakhshān and M. Sulaimān came forth to give battle. In the battle, when M. Kāmran under the pretext of having an interview behaved treacherously, he (M. Qulī) was wounded and fell from his horse. His son Dost Muḥammad made a brave single combat and was killed.<sup>1</sup> In the time of Akbar, in the 19th year, both brothers were appointed to accompany Mun'im K. in his conquest of Bengal. They were in the camp at Jinnatābād *alias* Gaur, which was formerly the capital. Afterwards it was deserted, and the climate became pestilential, and a whole world of men became the harvest of death. These two brothers also died there in 983, 1575.

### Haidar Qulī Khān Mu'izzu-d-Daulah.

He belongs to Isfārāin<sup>2</sup> and his name was Muḥammad Reza. In the beginning he was on the establishment of Sultan 'Azīmu-sh-shan and was known by a name derived from his (viz. 'Azīmu-sh-shānī). Afterwards when the sovereignty of India came to Farrukh Siyar he, through the intervention of Mīr Jūmla, received the title of Haidar Qulī K., and the appointment of diwān of the Deccan, together with the diwanship of its provinces, and the full charge of

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the Akbarnāma that both father and son were killed. See note to translation of A.N. I. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Isfārāin is in northern Persia. Haidar Qulī had the name of 'Azīmu-sh-shānī, Khāfi K. II. 740.

the *Khālṣa* property<sup>1</sup> and the superintendence of other allied sections was assigned to him. After reaching that province (*Sūba*), as he was very harsh-tempered, he could not pull on with Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the Viceroy of that province. He, therefore, hastened back to the Capital, and was exalted by being appointed as the *Divān* of Aḥmadābād, the revenue officer of the port of Sūrat and the deputy governor of Gujarāt<sup>2</sup>—this office in those days formed part of the assignment of Khān Daurān. And having efficiently performed his duties there, he showed a material increase in the realizations from the port dues and in the *Khālṣa* revenues, which had been assigned to his charge. And through his bravery he defeated Ṣafdar Khān Thānī who had a much larger force with him. But he was not popular with the public owing to his harsh temperament, and the sief-holders of the province all complained against him; this resulted in the displeasure of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. In the reign of Sulṭān Rafī'ud-Darajāt, on his transfer from Gujarāt he returned to Akbarābād, and after a time attached himself closely to Saiyid 'Izzat Khān Bārah, and with his approval made an alliance with Rāja Ratan Chand. Through the intermediation of Husain 'Alī Khān having been restored to favour with Quṭb-ul-Mulk, he became a close associate of both the brothers.

And when in the reign of Sulṭān Rafī'ud-Daula, Husain 'Alī Khān turned towards Akbarābād for dealing with the disturbance<sup>3</sup> caused by Nēkū-siyār, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzīb, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daula) was honoured by the grant of the title of Bahādur, and sent with the vanguard to clear the route, and was appointed to lead in the siege of the fort of Akbarābād. In the first year of the reign (1719 A.D.) of *Firdaus Ārāmgāh* (Muḥammad Shāh) he<sup>4</sup> was sent with a large army to chastise Girdhar Bahādur, who since the death of Rāja Chabilā Rām Nāgar had raised the head of rebellion in the *Sūba* of Allahābād. And when through the intermediation of Rāja Ratan Chand this affair was peacefully settled, he returned to the royal Presence, and in the same year was exalted to the post of *Mīr Atish* (Commander of the artillery), which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah. After Husain 'Alī Khān was killed and when Saiyid 'Izzat Khān Bārah and other associates of the above-mentioned Khān turned towards the royal residence, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daula) with all available infantry and cavalry served the royal cause with great courage and bravery. As a result his rank was advanced to 6,000, with 6,000 horse, and he beat the drum of triumph on being granted the title of

<sup>1</sup> The publication of the translation of the *Madāthir-ul-Umarā* by H. Beveridge was held in abeyance since 1914 after 600 pages had been printed. It is now continued from the incomplete manuscript left by the learned author. The account on this and the following pages is a translation of the biography of Haidar Quli Khān in Text III, pp. 747-751. For facilitating reference, the volume and page numbers of the various biographies in the Text edition are given, within brackets, under each name.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Haidar Quli Khān in Gujarāt, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 127-130. There is, however, no mention of his fight with Ṣafdar Khān in this account. Also see the same work, I, p. 413, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 414.

<sup>4</sup> See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 9-16.



Nāsir Jang.<sup>1</sup> In the battle<sup>2</sup>, which took place with Quṭb-ul-Mulk on behalf of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Rafī' -ush-Shān, he was appointed to the vanguard, and performed most valuable services through his artillery, and later with the sword he put to test the bravery of his opponents. Quṭb-ul-Mulk Bahādur, who had received a wound<sup>3</sup> on the hand, was carried by him on an elephant to the presence of the King. As a reward for these valuable services his rank was raised to 7,000, with 7,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daula. In the year 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.), the governorship of Gujarāt and the revenue accountancy of the port of Sūrat was transferred from Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān to him in addition to his office of the Mir Ātish. And in the next year, when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh was summoned from the Deccan and adorned with the robes of the premiership after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur I'timād-ud-Daula; he, who was well known for his eloquence and bravery, began to interfere in administrative and financial affairs. The Premier did not approve of it, and as he was favoured by the King, the latter prohibited him (from such interference). He was greatly annoyed and left for Ahmadābād, where he took possession of the revenues of the Khālṣa properties and the assessments of the fief-holders. Consequently his fief in the neighbourhood of the Capital was confiscated. On hearing this news he wrote to the officials at the Court, that as my fief has been confiscated, I can no longer remain in service or allegiance. The governorship of that area was consequently transferred to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur, and the latter started to take up his office. On receipt of this news and as the latter had collected a large army, he hastened to present himself at the Court, and on reaching it about two stages from Shāhjahānābād was appointed to recover the province of Ajmēr, which had meanwhile been occupied by Ajit Singh. And later when Garh Patilī<sup>4</sup> was also conquered, he returned to the Court. In the year 1137 A.H. (1724-25 A.D.) he was one night sleeping with his wife in the cold chamber (*Khas khāna*) when it caught fire, and he was burnt. He was capable of doing great deeds, and his great achievements had enhanced his reputation for bravery; but his temper was not devoid of harshness and conceit. It is stated that he used to take his food very hot, so much so that on his table they used to serve the cooked victuals placed on a chafing dish full of fire.

## HAKIM BĒG.

(Vol. I, pp. 573-576.)

He was the son-in-law of I'timād-ud-Daula Jahāngīrī. During the time of Jahāngīr when the friends and connections of I'timād-ud-Daula all became Khāns and Tarkhāns, Hākīm Bēg also obtained the insignia

<sup>1</sup> The editors of the Text add that, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Muṣaffarī*, he was given the rank of 7,000, six thousand one-horse cavalry, and the title of Haidar Qulī Khān Bahādur Nāsir Jang.

<sup>2</sup> Battle of Hasanpūr, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-96.

<sup>3</sup> The editors of the Text give as a variant the version of the *Tārīkh-i-Muṣaffarī*, according to which Quṭb-ul-Mulk had two wounds, one made by an arrow on his forehead and the other a sword cut on the hand. Only a single wound on the hand is mentioned in Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> For the mysterious Garh Patilī or Putlī, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, note \*.

and rank of an Amīr. His wife, Khadija Bēgam, was greatly honoured and respected as the sister of Nūr Jahān Bēgam. She lived to the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, and by the influence of Yamin-ud-Daula (Asaf Khān), her elder brother, she suffered no diminution in the consideration paid to her. She was continually gratified by royal favours, and in the 24th year *Firdaus Ashiyānī* (Shāh Jahān) presented her with Rs.30,000. As Hākim Bēg was a Moghul not devoid of culture and talent, he desired to lead an independent life in conditions of ease and comfort. *Jannat Makānī* (Jahāngīr) in consideration of his relationship excused him from personal attendance, and employed him chiefly on external affairs. For a time he was the governor of Mathurā, but later was removed from this post. The cause of this was that a *sanyāsī* named Achad Rūp Asram, who was an ascetic and a monotheist, and who had dug a cave for his dwelling in a ridge (*pushta*) situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and in a corner of the desert removed from human habitation. The mouth of the cave measured  $5\frac{1}{2}$  *giriḥ*<sup>1</sup> long and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  broad. He entered by extending forwards his arms, and then inserted his head. After that he drew his body inwards like a snake. He came out in the same way, to the surprise of the spectators. He had neither a mat nor any straw that he might spread below him when the wind was cold, nor had he a fire in winter, or any breeze (*bād*) in hot weather. He had half-a-cubit of cotton cloth with which he covered his body in front and behind. Every day he went out twice to the river to bathe, and carried in his hand a copper vessel with which to drink water. He frequented in Ujjain seven Brahman (? Hindū) houses where there were women and children, and where beggary and contentment were respected, and once a day he came without warning to three of these seven households and stood like a beggar. They put into the palm of his hand five mouthfuls of the food which they had prepared for themselves. These he swallowed without tasting, on condition that there was not in the house any menstruous woman, or feast, or calamity or birth. The Hindūs call the maintainer of such a position (*maqām*) *Sarb nāsī*,<sup>2</sup> i.e., abandoner of

<sup>1</sup> The *giriḥ* is three finger-breadths. It also means a knot. According to Gladwin there are 24 fingerbreadths in a *gas* or yard, and, if so, a *giriḥ* would be one-eighth of a yard. But in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in I* (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, it is stated that it is commonly calculated as 16 *giriḥ* to a yard (*gas*). Perhaps the cave at Ujjain mentioned in Mr. Tawney's preface, p. 6, to his translation of *Bhartrihari's Centuries* and called *Bhartrihari's Gumpā* was occupied by Jadrūp.

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 355-357, 359, where the ascetic is called Jadrūp, and from the *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 94, where he is called Ajahad. Perhaps the account on p. 129 of Price's *Jahāngīr* of a visit that Jahāngīr paid to a recluse at Mathurā refers to the same ascetic, as Ajada afterwards went there. The Sanskrit word is *Sarvanāśin* all-destroying, and *sar tārīk* in the text should apparently be *sarba tārīk*, i.e., all-forsaking. The statement about the seven Brahman houses—where probably the word Brahman merely means Hindū—may be compared with the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett's translation, III, p. 275, where it is said the ascetic sets out begging and solicits from three, five or seven houses. Jahāngīr mentions that Akbar visited the ascetic on his way back to Āgra after the taking of Aśirgarh. Apparently *Asram* is no part of the hermit's name, but is *āśrama*—a hermitage. Perhaps the name should be Achdrūp, i.e. of flawless favour.

Jadrūp or Chatrūp is mentioned in the *Dabistān*, pp. 228, 229 of Calcutta edn. It is said there that 'Abd-ur-Rahīm paid his respects to him, and that he died in 1047 (1637-38 A.D.) at Benāres. The author of the *Dabistān* was taken to him when a child.

everything. When in the eleventh year (of his reign) Jahāngir passed the city of Ujjain, he went to visit this ascetic. Though the latter was not greatly inclined to human society, he had long conversations with Jahāngir. He was well versed in the philosophy of the Vedānta. By his understanding and lofty comprehension he harmonised the technical terms of the Sufism of Muhammadans with his own views and discoursed on them. Jahāngir came to have full faith in him. After some time he moved from Ujjain to Mathurā, which is one of the centres of worship for the Hindūs, and on the banks of the Jumnā worshipped God after his own fashion. When<sup>1</sup> in the 14th year Jahāngir paid his first visit (as Emperor) to Kashmīr he again visited him, and had a long private interview with him. His words made a great impression on the Emperor's mind. He was successful in every request that he made for the people. For instance Khān A'zam Kōka was much vexed at the long imprisonment of Sultān Khusrāu, and in spite of religious bigotry he paid a solitary visit<sup>2</sup> to the ascetic and made an urgent request to him to intercede for the liberation of Khusrāu. He spoke convincing words to the Emperor and induced him to be gracious. He forgave the Prince's offences, and ordered that he should be admitted to pay his respects. So difficult a matter became easy through the representation of this disinterested man. Inasmuch as the King had trust in him, many people flocked to see him.

Though he had no dealings with anyone, and lived tranquilly without joy or sorrow, yet Hākīm Bēg either moved by zeal for the Muhammadan faith or thinking that the resort of the people to the ascetic injured his power, one day had that helpless man severely scourged. The Emperor on hearing this was very angry. Though no one had so much influence over him as the Bēgam (Nūr Jahān), yet he dismissed him from his presence, and deprived him of his office, his rank, and his *jāgir*. Hākīm Bēg lived after this as a private individual in Āgra, and near the *Nakhkhās* (cattle-market) made a garden which for beauty was the envy of the rose-garden of Kashmīr. There he died. His son, Mirzā Nūr-ud-Dahr, also did not care for royal service; but lived on the wealth of his mother and maternal uncles, and spent his days in perfect comfort.

#### HAKIM HADHIQ.<sup>3</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 587-590.)

He was the son of Hākīm Humām Gilanī, and was born at Fathpūr Sikrī during the reign of *Arash Ashiyānī* (Akbar). His father died when he was still young. As his ancestors were all possessed of ability and knowledge, he also spent his time in acquiring the ordinary sciences and became famous for his knowledge of literature and poetry. Though he was not deeply skilled in medicine, he gained a name by his skill and was reputed in Jahāngir's time for his judgment and reliability. When the throne acquired new lustre by the accession of *Firdaus Ashiyānī*

<sup>1,2</sup> *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 129. This was at Mathurā.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 530. The account of his father Hākīm Humām is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 563-565, and its translation immediately following this biography on pp. 606, 607.

(Shāh Jahān), he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and in the same year was sent<sup>1</sup> on an embassy to Tūrān. Imām Qulī Khān, the ruler of that country, had set in motion the chain of love and friendship, and sent 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khwāja Jūaibārī (Naqshbandī) as his representative to Jahāngīr, and had written that "Shāh 'Abbās Šafavī has not respected the old ties and has taken Qandahār from the imperial servants. It is fitting that the Prince, the heir-apparent (Shāh Jahān), should be sent with a large army and proper equipment to retake it. We also will hurry there with the army of Transoxiana, Balkh and Badakhshān, and shall fulfil the conditions of loyalty. After the victory let us take Khurāsān, and whatever you wish of that country may be included in the imperial domains and the remainder granted to us". The death of Jahāngīr occurred suddenly during these negotiations. The Khwāja came in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign from Lāhōre to Akbarābād (Āgra), and had an audience; shortly afterwards he died of a disease of long standing. It became necessary to send from this side an affectionate letter and to appoint an ambassador. The Hakīm, whose father had gone as an ambassador to 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeq in the time of Akbar, was sent with gifts to the value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees and rarities of India. On his return in the 4th year he was appointed to the office of Reviser of Petitions—an appointment which requires ability in composition and tact—in the room of Hakīm Masīh-uz-Zamān (Hakīm Šadra). Afterwards, by successive increases, he attained to the rank of 3,000, and then for certain reasons he lost his office and lived in retirement in Akbarābād, but received a fixed pay of Rs.20,000 a year, which in the 18th year was increased to Rs.40,000. In the 31st year, 1068, he died. The author<sup>2</sup> of the *Mirāt-ul-'Ālam* says: he died in 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

The Hakīm was very hot-tempered and very haughty and pompous. He was very conceited, and had mistaken ideas about himself. The quatrain of Mir Ilāhī<sup>3</sup> of Hamadān (about him) is well known. This Mir was one of the clever writers and went to call on the Hakīm at Kābul when the latter was returning from Tūrān, but did not have a pleasant interview.

#### Quatrain.<sup>4</sup>

Stone and jug cannot long agree,  
In the eye of comradeship there cannot exist a flaw,  
Companionship with Hakīm Hādhīq is not wise  
You cannot face a host of horses.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vambery's *Bokhara*, pp. 315, 316, where Hakīm Hādhīq is stated to have been sent by Jahāngīr, but see *Bādshāhnāmā*, I, pt. 1, p. 233 and Rieu, *Supp. Cat.*, p. 206. *Bādshāhnāmā* of 'Abdul Hamid Lāhaurī is usually referred to as *Bādshāhnāmā*, but as the edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series cited in this work was called *Bādshāhnāmā*, this name is followed.

<sup>2</sup> See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 530, and Rieu, *Supp.*, p. 206, No. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu, *Cat. II*, p. 687b. Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 435.

<sup>4</sup> *Sang-u-sabūr* is a phrase for servitude, but here it seems equivalent to the proverb that the earthen and brazen pots cannot float down together. The word for flaw is *mā* a hair, and "a hair in the eye" is a phrase used in describing a sty. In the third line there is a play on the word *hādhīq* which has the two meanings: clever, and sour as vinegar. The phrase *lashkar-i-Khāb* in the fourth line is obscure; for *Khāb* has several meanings. It means a blow and also to

Though he had not mastered the science of medicine, several officers in view of his name and reputation consulted him for remedies. He began to write the events of the reign of *Shāhib Qirān Thānī* (Shāh Jahān), but withdrew his hand when other abler writers took up the task. His poems<sup>1</sup> are clear and good, and he has combined the style of his predecessors with that of more recent date. They are not devoid of sweetness, but he thought himself a better poet than Anwarī! He got up his *Divān* in a very elegant manner and placing it on a decorated stand, brought it with him into every assemblage. Whoever did not choose to honour it, was, irrespective of his rank, treated with discourtesy. He put it on a golden reading-stand and had it read out. This verse of his is well known:

Verse.

My heart, O Hādhiq, cannot be comforted by any consolation;  
I've seen Spring and flowers and Autumn.

HAKIM HUMĀM.<sup>2</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 563-565.)

He was the (younger) brother of Hakīm Abūl Fath Gilānī. His name was Humāyūn. When he entered Akbar's service, he first, out of respect, took the name of Humāyūn Qulī and afterwards acquired the name of Hakīm Humām. He was unequalled for his knowledge of calligraphy (*khāṭ shīnāsī*) and understanding of poetry. He also had some knowledge of physical sciences and medicine. He had a pure nature, and was open-browed and pleasant of speech, and an agreeable companion. Though officially he only had the rank of 600 and the position of *Bakāwal Bēg*, he really enjoyed a higher rank in his intimacy with the King. In the 31st year, as his skill in business and his loyalty were known to Akbar, he was sent on an embassy to 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān. Mirān Šadr Jahān Muftī was sent along with him to offer condolences on the death of Sikandar Khān—'Abdullāh Khān's father—who had died three years earlier. Out of great affection for the Hakīm, it was mentioned in the letter that "We had no intention of sending away to a distance from us that asylum of instruction and talent, cream of devoted loyalists, best of our confidants, the skilful Hakīm Humām, who is a right-speaking and right-acting man, and who, from the commencement of his service, has been in close attendance on us. But we have sent him as an envoy, because he holds such a position with ourselves that he submits matters to us without the intervention of anyone else. If in your honourable interviews you treat him in a similar manner, they will be like direct communications between you and me".<sup>3</sup>

stamp with the feet. The word is used here apparently to mean a body of trampling cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> See Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 413. Copies of his *Divān* are available in the Bānkipore Library, Patna, and in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. The Calcutta copy bears additions and corrections in the author's hand.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 529, he was the son of Mir 'Abd-ur-Razzāq of Gilān.

<sup>3</sup> See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 760.

During his absence Akbar often remarked: "Since Ḥakīm Humām has gone, my food<sup>1</sup> has not the same taste." And he said to Ḥakīm Abū Fath: "I do not think that you can be more grieved at his departure than I am. Where can one find the like of Ḥakīm Humām." When he was returning from Kashmīr<sup>2</sup> in the 34th year, Ḥakīm Humām, as he was returning from Tūrān, met the Emperor at the station of Bārik Āb. After he had paid his respects, Akbar in condoling with him (for the death of Abū Fath) said to him: "You had one brother and he has gone to another world. We have lost ten."

*Verse.*

According to the calculation of the eyes, one person has gone.  
According to wisdom's calculation, more than thousands.

In the 40th year, 1004 (30th October, 1595 A.D.) he died of tuberculosis (*tap-i-diqq*) after two months' illness.<sup>3</sup> He had two sons. One was Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq of whom an account is given separately. The other was Ḥakīm Khushhāl. He attained the rank of 1,000 in Shāh Jahān's reign and went as the Bakhshī to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān when he was the governor of the Deccan was very kind to him.

ḤAKĪM-UL-MULK.

(Vol. I, pp. 599, 600.)

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, and his native country was Ardīstān. In the year of Aurangzīb's march from the Deccan towards the capital, Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk accompanied him and received the rank of 1,000. Later he received the title of Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, and in the 11th year attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the 37th year, when Muḥammad A'zam Shāh (the third son of Aurangzīb) was ill with dropsy, and the disease had proceeded so far that even a sleeve nearly fourteen *giraḥs*<sup>4</sup> in circumference was narrow for him, and the circumference of his trousers<sup>5</sup> was one yard and six *giraḥs*, Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk was sent to prescribe for him. When the Prince arrived, the King out of paternal affection had a tent set up for him inside of the palisade (*gulālbār*)<sup>6</sup> and visited him once every day. He and Zib-un-nisā<sup>7</sup> Bēgam, the Prince's full sister, were contented with having a strictly ascetic meal in his

<sup>1</sup> As Ḥakīm Humām was *Bakāwal Bēg* or Steward of the Kitchen, he must have been present during Akbar's meals. In *Ā'in* (Blochmann's translation, I, 2nd edn., p. 59) he is called *Mīr Bakāwal* or Master of the Kitchen.

<sup>2</sup> In the Text Kābul, but Akbar was then on his way to Kābul from Kashmīr, vide Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 1041.

<sup>3</sup> He was buried at Ḥasan Abdāl beside his brother. For Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq, see ante, pp. 604-606.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), p. 94, note 3, says 16 is the common number of *giraḥs*, or knots, in a yard, but the dictionaries say that a *giraḥ* is three finger-breadths, and Gladwin says there are twenty-four finger-breadths (and consequently 8 *giraḥs*) in a yard.

<sup>5</sup> The text has *pāaicha*, but *Maādhir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 362, has *pārcha*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kulālbār* in the text appears to be a misprint.

<sup>7</sup> See *Maādhir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 361, where there is the conjunction between *Kāud* and the *Navvāb-i-Qudsīya*. The name of the sister in that work is Zinat-un-nisā.

company. Hakim-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed to attend on the Prince, displayed great skill both during the journey and after coming to the Court. After the Prince's recovery he obtained an increase of 1,000 *dhāt* and became an officer of the rank of 4,000.

The author of the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*<sup>1</sup> reports that the Prince said to his father as follows: "One day when the disease was very violent, and all were full of despair and thought my body would burst, suddenly a radiant figure appeared to me when I was between sleeping and waking, and said: 'Heartily repent and you will be cured!' Accordingly I repented. When I had done so, I felt a desire to make water, and two large vessels were filled, and the seven<sup>2</sup> members were freed of the swelling. On the next day<sup>3</sup> the Āzād Walī (the independent saint) Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahmān *darvish* wrote that *Murtadā* (the Chosen One, i.e., 'Alī) had announced that on this night he had given dust<sup>4</sup> (from his tomb), and that cure from death would occur during the day."

(SAIYID) ḤAMID BOKHĀRI.<sup>5</sup>

(Vol. II, pp. 396-399.)

He was the son of Saiyid Mīrān, son of Saiyid Mubārak. Saiyid Mubārak was one of the great officers of Gujarāt. They say that he came from his home Uc (Uch) to Gujarāt with one horse. One day a *maṣt* elephant met him and the Saiyid lodged an arrow (so deep) in its forehead so that nothing but its notch remained visible. From that day the people of the place swore by his archery. Gradually he rose to high office, and when I'timād Khān Gujarātī for his own ends set up Nanhū—a child of low origin—as the son of Sultān Maḥmūd and gave him the name of Sultān Muzaḥfar, and assigned some territory to each of the officers, Saiyid Mubārīk obtained many estates in Pattan and Dandūqa. Among them Dūlqa and Dandūqa<sup>6</sup> reverted after his death to Saiyid Mīrān, and after him to Saiyid Ḥamīd.

When Akbar marched in the 17th year to conquer Gujarāt and came to Pattan, the Saiyid<sup>7</sup> came with his following, did homage, and was received with favour. Afterwards when the government of Gujarāt was assigned to the Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka, the Saiyid was appointed to assist him. In the battle between the Khān A'zam and the Mīrzās he was left in charge of the defence of Aḥmadābād. In the 18th

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> *Haft hīssa*: The seven portions, used like *haft andām* for which see Steingass. The seven portions are the head, breast, belly, arms and legs.

<sup>3</sup> The *Darvish* wrote from Adoni forty *kos* distant, see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> In the Text *tōba*, but the correct reading seems to be *turba*, dust from a tomb, as in the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 363. It does not appear from the *Maāthir* that the Prince gave this account to his father, but used to tell the story. The notice does not tell when Hakim-ul-Mulk died. Presumably this was before the 49th year of Aurangzib, 1116 (1704-05 A.D.) for we find in that year, Khāfi Khān, II, p. 539, that a physician of the name of Šādiq Khān received the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk.

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 433-435. Apparently Mubārak, his grandfather, is the Ifṭikhar-ul-Mulk of Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> Dholka and Dhanduka in Aḥmadābād district, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, pp. 321, 285.

<sup>7</sup> At Jutāna, see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 9.

year he was given<sup>1</sup> the government of Dūlqa and Dandūqa. Afterwards he hurried to Cambay to help Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Muḥammad Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed<sup>2</sup> to the government of Multān, and in the end of the same year he, in company with Mīrẓā Yūsuf Khān Radāvī, did good service in Balūchistān where the chiefs had revolted. In the 25th year when Mīrẓā Muḥammad Ḥakīm came from Kābul and besieged Lāhōre, the Saiyid and the other fief-holders were shut up there. After the arrival of the imperial army there when Prince Sulṭān Murād was appointed to pursue Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the Saiyid received the command of the left wing. When the royal army reached Kābul, and as Akbar proposed to halt there for some time, he sent<sup>3</sup> on the elephants to Jalālābād and appointed the Saiyid and some others for their escort. On the return from Kābul when they encamped at Sirhind, the Saiyid obtained leave to go to his fief. In the 30th year he was appointed to Kābul along with Kunwar Mān Singh. When he came to Peshāwar, which was in his fief, his soldiers returned to (his fief in) India, and he spent his time negligently with a few men in the fort of Bīkrām (near Peshāwar). He left<sup>4</sup> the affairs to a man named Mūsā, who was not very discreet. Without making sure of his character, he was appointed in charge of the government and the administration of justice, and he out of avarice oppressed the Mahmand and Ghūrī tribes, of whom there were 10,000 householders in Peshāwar, and injured their property and their honour. They, from folly and wickedness, made Jalālā' Tārīkī their leader and stirred up a rebellion near Bīkrām. Ḥamīd, on account of the smallness of his force, wanted to wait in the fort till the arrival of soldiers from Kābul and Atak (Attock), and of his brothers, but following the advice of shortsighted people he could not carry out this plan. He sent a man to ascertain full facts about the enemy. He, out of folly or wickedness, reported that they were few and disorganized. Without due reflection he came out with 150 men and lighted the flames of conflict. Though in the very beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not stay his hand. His horse fell into a hole<sup>5</sup> and he was killed in 993 (1585 A.D.). Forty of his relatives fell with him. He held the rank of 2,000. Afterwards the Afghāns surrounded the fort, but his young son, Saiyid Kamāl, bravely defended it with the help of a few men.

Kamāl held the rank of 700 in Akbar's time and on Jahāngīr's accession this was raised to 1,000. In succession to Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhāb Bokhārī he was made the governor of Delhi. Afterwards he went along with Farīd Bokhārī in pursuit of Khusrāu, and was in command of the left wing in the battle against him. When the Bārah Saiyids, who were in the van, were hard pressed, Kamāl came to their help and distinguished himself. Saiyid Ya'qūb, son of Saiyid Kamāl, attained

<sup>1</sup> Vide Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 335.

<sup>3</sup> See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

<sup>4</sup> See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 777. The text has Ghariyā instead of Ghcri as the name of the tribe.

<sup>5</sup> The *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 510, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 778, has *jū*, a canal or stream, but there is the variant *gav*, a hole. The date 993 is wrong. The *Akbarnāma*, III, puts it into the 31st year, 994, and so does Badāyūnī, Lowe's translation of *Muntakhbat-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 366. In the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, De's translation II, p. 619, it is included in the account of the 32nd year, 995.



the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and died in the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

(Mu'izz-ud-Daulah) HĀMĪD KHĀN BAHĀDUR ṢALĀBAT JANG.  
(Vol. III, pp. 765-769.)

He was a half-brother of Khān Firūz Jang. In his father's lifetime he became known to Aurangzib, and obtained a suitable appointment. In the 29th year of the reign he received the title of Khān and the gift of a female elephant, and was ordered<sup>1</sup> to convey treasure to Muḥammad A'zam Shāh who had been appointed to besiege Bijāpūr. At the end of the reign he held the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse.

After Aurangzib's death he accompanied A'zam Shāh to Upper India, and in the battle with Bahādur Shāh had the command of the reserve of the left wing. After A'zam Shāh was killed, he entered the service of Bahādur Shāh, and, in the 3rd year of the reign, was made governor of Bijāpūr. After his dismissal from the post he came to the Court. In the beginning Muḥammad Shāh's reign, when Nizām-ul-Mulk went from Mālwa to the Deccan and encountered the creatures of the Saiyids, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah who had gone to Delhi with Saiyid 'Abdullāh Quṭb-ul-Mulk was deprived of his fief and retired into private life. When Ḥasan 'Alī, the Amīr-ul-Umarā, was killed, Quṭb-ul-Mulk summoned a prince from among those imprisoned in Salimgarh and set about consolidating his party. He conciliated Mu'izz-ud-Daulah by restoring his fief to him. He also gave him a sum of money and took him with him. When Quṭb-ul-Mulk was made prisoner, I'timād-ud-Daulah Amīn Khān Bahādur placed Mu'izz-ud-Daulah on his own elephant and brought him to the King. Afterwards when the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥaidar Qulī<sup>2</sup> to Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daulah) was made his deputy, and received the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ṣalābat Jang. This was reported (by Aṣaf Jāh) to the Emperor.

When in 1136 (1723-24 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was taken from Aṣaf Jāh and given to Sarbuland Khān, Shujā'at Khān and Rustam 'Alī, the sons of Muḥammad Kāzim Jama'dār—who had formerly been a servant of Shujā'at Khān Muḥammad Bēg and whose sons on account of their ability had received royal appointments and the title of Khān through the influence of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān—were made the deputies of Sarbuland Khān in Gujarāt and Sūrat. Both of them were killed in the fight with Mu'izz-ud-Daulah. At last Sarbuland Khān came himself and the Bakhshī<sup>3</sup> of Ḥamīd Khān was killed. Thereafter Ḥamīd Khān was summoned by Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh (his nephew) to the Deccan and was made the governor of Nāndē<sup>4</sup>. After some time he died in 1140 (1727-28 A.D.) at Gulbarga during the time when Aṣaf Jāh was engaged in the Karnātak. He was buried in the cemetery of Shāh Banda

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> See Ḥaidar Qulī Khān's account, *ante*, p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> The editors have furnished some notes to this biography. In one they state on the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffari* that the Bakhshī's name was Amān Bēg. For full details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, pp. II, 176-189.

<sup>4</sup> Nāndē district in Ḥaidarābād, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 349.

Nawāz—May his grave be holy!—outside the dome. He was possessed of good qualities, and was magnanimous, soldier-like and high spirited. In speech he was audacious. His sons, who distinguished themselves, were Khair Ullāh Khān, Hafiz Ullāh Khān and Marhamat Khān. Each of them on account of their near connection with Āṣaf Jāh had suitable fiefs and also an allowance in cash for expenses. Generally they were notorious for their wicked modes of living. They were excused soldier, and spent their days at home. Each of them had descendants who subsisted on remnants of their fiefs. The sons of Marhamat Khān, who himself was well known for his simplicity, acquired culture. The elder received the title of Fathyāb Jang, and the younger that of Zafaryāb Jang, and had a fief in the pargana of Mālkanda<sup>1</sup>; the writer was acquainted with them.

## HAMID-UD-DIN KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 605-611.)

He was an officer of Aurangzib's time and was the son of Sardār<sup>2</sup> Khān Kōtwāl and grandson of Bāqī Khān Chelā Qalmāk of Shāh Jahān's time. By the help of good fortune and the influence of his stars he, in the end of Aurangzib's reign, became the centre of the affairs of India, and had the power of binding and loosing in all matters of high politics. While thus the arrow at the top of the quiver of the reigning Sovereign, he was appointed sometimes to the batteries raised against forts, and sometimes to camps and distant places for the punishment of bandits, and, wherever he went, he by his rapidity and vigour smote and subdued the enemy and then returned safe and sound and rich with plunder, and his rank was raised with commendations. Hence it was that he was known as *Nimcha-i-Ālamgīr* or 'Ālamgīr's Sword. In the beginning of his career when his father was an object of royal favours, he too became known and acquired reputation. In the 28th year of the reign, he, in succession to his father, became the Superintendent of the engraving<sup>3</sup> department. At that time, when his father's title was changed from Ihtimām Khān to Sardār Khān, he got an increase of 200 and obtained the rank of 400 with 50 horse. In the 32nd year he became, in succession to his father, Superintendent of the elephant-stables, and as he had become a *persona grata*, his rank was gradually increased. When he received the order in Iklūj<sup>4</sup> to bring the wretched Sambhā who had been seized, along with his wife and child, by the excellent efforts of Khān Zamān Haidarābādī, he, in accordance with the royal order, put a wooden cap (*takhta-kulāh*) on Sambhā two *kos* from Bahādurgarh (or Bīrgāūn),

<sup>1</sup> The variant Bālkonda in Warangal division, Haidarābād, is the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Ihtimām Khān, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīr*, p. 252. In Khāfi Khān, II, p. 381, he is called Sarbarāh Khān.

<sup>3</sup> *Dārgha-i-khātimbānd khāna*. See Bahār Ājam and *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīr*, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> اكلوج Iklūch in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīr*, p. 319, and Iklūj in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 383. South of the river Nirā, about half way between Bijāpūr and Punna, vide Elliot, VII, p. 340. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 387, says the *takhta-kulāh* was a Persian custom. For Shambhūjī's capture, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 399-407.

which was the camp, and dressed up his followers in fantastic garments, and placed them on camels, and pilloried them throughout the camp with drums beating and trumpets blowing, and then brought them into the Presence. In the 33rd year he received the title of Khān. When his father died, he, in succession to him, became the Kōtwāl and was also given other offices. At this time he received the present of a *jighā'* (a jewelled ornament for the turban) and an elephant, and was repeatedly sent to chastise the enemy. In the 37th year it happened that some of the servants of (Prince) Mu'izz-ud-Dīn<sup>1</sup> behaved improperly to Faḍl 'Alī, the Divān of his establishment, and their improprieties ended in a fight. An order was given that Hamīd-ud-Dīn Khān should go and punish them. When the Khān went against them, his elephant got alarmed at the uproar and carried him off to the distance of a *kos* from the battlefield towards the imperial granaries. He chanced to see some large sacks which they fill with corn at the granary, and, as his elephant was passing, he jumped out of the howdah and alighted on them. He then got another elephant and returned to the field of battle and punished the rioters. In the 39th year he, at Islāmpūrī, was raised to the rank of 2,000. In the same year Santā routed Qāsim Khān, Khānazād Khān and other officers and besieged them in the fort of Dhandērī. Hamīd-ud-Dīn was sent with a large force to relieve them. Near Adonī he met the defeated officers and gave them proper help. Meanwhile Santā had defeated Himmāt Khān<sup>2</sup> and gone on with his evil ways. The Khān (Hamīd-ud-Dīn) pursued him and drove him out of the imperial territories. When he came to the Court, he was honoured and rewarded and received the title of Bahādur. In the 42nd year, he was appointed to an office near the Emperor, being made the Superintendent of the *Ghusalkhāna*. Afterwards, he was also made Superintendent of the jewel room. In the 43rd year, on the death of Ikhlās Khān, who fell a martyr in a battle with the enemy, he was made Master of the Horse, and received an adorned belt<sup>3</sup> and a cushion from the Emperor. During this time he was sent on several occasions to bring provisions and to harry the seditious; he performed his duties to the Emperor's satisfaction. Though in all his takings of fortresses he did good service and was a zealous servant, but he especially distinguished himself in the capture of Rājgarh where (Shivājī) after taking it from the 'Ādil Shāhis had, in the day of his occupation, made three forts on the three sides (of the hill). Together with Tarbiyat Khān, Mīr Ātish, he came out on the ridge opposite the triangle (?) of the fort which experts call *Sūnda*<sup>4</sup> and prepared the equipment for the battle. A battery was made on the top of the hill and was extended to the *sang-i-chīn* (heap of stones). Though the besieged did not fail to

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 367. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was the name of Jahānḍār Shāh, a grandson of Aurangzib.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 379, Himmāt Khān was shot in the moment of victory. Also Khāfi Khān, II, p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> In place of *Kamar u muttakā*, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 423, has *Khil'at-i-khāṣṣa bā kamar muttakā*.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 479. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 513, makes the first capture as on 15 Shawwāl and the final surrender twelve days later. The event is put into the year 1114 (February 1703), see Elliot, VII, p. 373. The fort was afterwards called Banī Shāgharh. The word is probably *sūndh*—an elephant's trunk. It was a spur or ridge extending out from the plateau of the hill. The description, which is not very intelligible, is condensed from p. 479 of the *Maāthir*.

discharge muskets and to throw rockets and stones yet the gallant men came out on the top of the tower—which had been built on the point of the said *Sūnda*, and arrived within the wall. When the garrison beheld such boldness, they lost courage and asked for quarter. On 21st Shawwāl, in the beginning of the 48th year, 1115 A.H. (27th February, 1704 A.D.), the four forts received the name of Banī Shāhgarh. Hamīd-ud-Dīn, who had attained the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, received, as a reward for his exertions, the gift of drums. He also distinguished himself in the taking of Törnā.<sup>1</sup> He bound the rope round his waist and entered the fort.

In fine Hamīd-ud-Dīn was greatly distinguished at the close of Aurangzib's reign, and was second to none in influence and intimacy. Though Amīr Khān was not wanting in all these respects, he was still inferior to Hamīd-ud-Dīn. 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was equal to him in administrative matters, but he had not so long been attached to the Court.

Aurangzib died<sup>2</sup> in his quarters (*dar fāna*) at Ahmādnagar in the first watch of Friday 28 Dhul Qa'da, 1118 (A.H.) after a reign of 50 years, 2 months and 28 days, at the age of 91 years and 13 days. After the body was laid out, and prayers had been offered, it was watched in the bed-chamber (*Khwābgāh*). Next day on hearing of the event Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, who had been sent off to Mālwa, returned from his camp twenty-five *kos* distant, and performed the mourning ceremonies. On the following day he took the body on his shoulder to the outside of the *Diwān-i-Adālat* (Hall of Justice), and it was then conveyed to the blessed shrine known as the *Rauḍa*, which is a cultivated place eight *kos* distant from Aurangābād, and three *kos* from Daulatābād. Hamīd-ud-Dīn neglected<sup>3</sup> no point of ceremonial etiquette or lamentation, and went with the corpse on foot and pulling out his hairs. In accordance with his will Aurangzib was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Zain-ud-Dīn. May the mercy of God be upon him!

The date of Aurangzib's death was found in the noble verse:<sup>4</sup>  
*Rūh u Raiḥān u Jannat Na'im*—Rest, Fragrance and the Paradise of Delights (1118).

His title became *Khuld Makān* "Dwelling in everlasting bliss", and the village was called *Khuldābād*. The Khān put on a darvīsh's dress, and swept the tomb of his benefactor and teacher. He built a residence for himself there, which is still known by his name. When Muḥammad A'zam Shāh came to Aurangābād from Ahmādnagar he went to his father's tomb and said prayers. He took the hand of Hamīd-ud-Dīn and brought him with him, and spoke soothingly to him and confirmed him in his office. In the march to Upper India, which

<sup>1</sup> In the text *Pūrnā*, but the variant *Törnā* is correct. *Törnā* was taken in the 48th year, 1115 (20th March, 1704). For a detailed account of Aurangzib's campaign for the capture of Maratha forts, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 159-192.

<sup>2</sup> Aurangzib was born at Dōhad on the borders of Mālwa on 24th October, 1618 and died on 3rd March, 1707. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 18, 19, and his edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 1.

The expression *dar fāna* may mean that he died in the courtyard.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 566.

<sup>4</sup> *Sūrah* 56, verse 88: "His reward shall be rest and mercy and a garden of delights" (Sale).

was necessary for the making of war upon Bahādur Shāh, he took Hamid-ud-Dīn with him. They say, that when on the march news came that Muḥammad 'Azīm had come to Āgra from the Eastern Provinces, Muḥammad 'Azām Shāh said: "A great evil (*Balā-i-'azīm*) has reached Āgra", and that the Khān Bahādur replied: "It will be removed by the blessing of the Great Name" (*Ism A'zam*; also punning on the name). On the day of battle after much contest signs of defeat manifested themselves. When Dhūlfāqār Khān had retired from the battlefield, Hamid-ud-Dīn also withdrew. He also at that time was wounded by an arrow. He afterwards came from Gwāliyār, and his cheek resumed its pristine hue when he was graciously received by Bahādur Shāh. He received a gilded staff and was made 1st *Mir Tuzuk* and Superintendent of the mace-bearers. He received the title of Bahādur 'Ālamgīrī, and passed his days with honour till the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

When the juggling heavens gave Jahāndār Shāh the rule and the dice of Dhūlfāqār Khān threw sixes, he practised the rancour which had long existed, but had not manifested itself so far; he tormented Hamid-ud-Dīn and imprisoned him and put him in chains<sup>1</sup>. At length Dhūlfāqār Khān got the reward of his deeds, but though the fall of that tyrant released Hamid-ud-Dīn from confinement, he had no place in the Court of Farrukh-siyar. Out of regard for his former influence or due to respect for the old ties, Saif-ud-Daula 'Abd-us-Ṣamad Khān, who had been made governor of the Panjāb, took him with him. When after the extirpation of a noted sect (the Sikhs), the said governor returned in glory to Lāhōre, the writer<sup>2</sup> of these lines witnessed the spectacle. Hamid-ud-Dīn brought up the rear of the equipage. He was in a palanquin and had few followers, and it was plain that he was dejected at having suffered at the hands of fate. After that, he came to the Presence and was received with royal favour so that he renewed his feathers. In the time of the present ruler (Muḥammad Shāh) by virtue of the same (old) intimacy with Aurangzīb he again received the high rank of Superintendent of mace-bearers. *The water which had gone away returned to its channel.* This lasted for a long time until he died at his appointed period. He had a son who held an office, and had means (*dasgāh*). But his biography is unknown.<sup>3</sup>

#### HAQIQAT KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 590, 591.)

He was Ishāq Bēg of Yazd. At first he was the major-domo (*Khān-i-Sāmān*) in the establishment of Mumtāz-uz-Zamān (Shāh Jahān's queen). In the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when that chaste lady

<sup>1</sup> See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, p. 187. Dhūlfāqār Khān's murder is described on p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> For details of the Sikh campaign and capture of the leader Gurū Banda at Gurdāspūr, Panjāb, see Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 307-315. The author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* was then a boy of 15, and soon left Lāhōre for the Deccan.

<sup>3</sup> In the table of contents the biography of Hamid-ud-Dīn is entered as having been written by 'Abd-ul-Hayy, it being marked Q. But the writer here referred to could not have been 'Abd-ul-Hayy, for he was not born till 1142, and probably he never was in Lāhōre. The life must then be by his father who was born in 1111 A.H. (1700 A.D.).

went from the transitory to the enduring world, the King appointed him—as he was a good housekeeper—to the service of the Bēgam Šāhiba. In the 9th year he was appointed,<sup>1</sup> along with Makaramat Khān and Bāqī Khān Chēlā to Datyā<sup>2</sup> to search for the hidden treasures of the rebel Jujhār Singh who had been killed. By their excellent investigations they brought out from wells in that neighbourhood twenty-eight lacs of rupees and paid them into the royal treasury. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 12th year he received<sup>3</sup> the title of Ḥaḳīqat Khān and was appointed Examiner of petitions in succession to 'Aqīl Khān 'Ināyat Ullāh. In the 13th year he had<sup>4</sup> an increase of 150 horse and had<sup>5</sup> the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse. After that, he got<sup>6</sup> an increase of 500 and his rank was 2,000 with 300 horse, as appears in the last list of the *Bādshāhnāma*. In the 28th year, as he had attained to a great age, the King relieved him of his employment, and allowed him to repose in retirement. He died in retirement in the 7th year of Aurangzīb's reign in the year 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.).

(IKRĀM KHĀN, SAIYID) ḤASAN.

(Vol. I, pp. 215, 216.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers or bodyguards) of Aurangzīb. For a long while he was *faujdar* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh which Shāh Jahān had given to Aurangzīb when he was a prince. Afterwards when Aurangzīb for making inquiries about his father's illness moved from Burhānpūr to Mālwa, Ikrām Khān, in accordance with orders, joined him and was graciously received. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh, which occurred near Sāmūgarh, he distinguished himself and did good service. In the first year of the reign, he received the title of Ikrām Khān. In the battle<sup>7</sup> with Shujā', when Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who had charge of the right wing, played the game of deceit and at night took the road to his home, and Islām Khān was appointed in his place, he along with Saif Khān was in the vanguard and stood firm and behaved courageously. When the King had proceeded towards Ajmēr to engage Dārā Shikōh, Ikrām Khān was appointed governor of the Capital in succession to Ra'adandāz Khān. Later, on being relieved of that charge, he became *faujdar* of Āgra in succession to Saiyid Sālār Khān. In the 5th year of the reign, corresponding to 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.) he closed his eyes, and ceased to behold the rose garden of existence.

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 121, where he is called Ishāq Bēg.

<sup>2</sup> لڌي in the text is a misprint for لڌي.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 198, has the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 336, has the rank of 1,500 with 250 horse.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 627.

<sup>7</sup> Battle of Khajwa (Khajuhā in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 227) on 14th January, 1659. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, II, pp. 486-495.

(MUQARRAB<sup>1</sup> KHĀN, SHAIKH) ḤASAN, KNOWN AS ḤASSŪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 379-382.)

(He was) the son of Shaikh Phaniyā, son of Shaikh Hasan of Pānīpat. It is well known that, in the service of Akbar, he (the father) as a physician and especially as a surgeon was without a rival. He was very skilful in treating elephants and acquired much celebrity for it. Muqarrab Khān also had no equals or rivals in this science; he used to take part with his father in the work and assist in the treatments. In the 41st year, 1004 A.H., a buck, in the course of a deer-fight, ran towards Akbar, gored him with its horns, and inflicted a wound on his testicles. They swelled up, and for seven days he did not go to the privy. There was a great commotion in the country. Though the case was in the hands of Hakims Misri and 'Alī Bāz, but the father and the son in putting on and taking off plasters and bandaging did good service. Shaikh Ḥassū, from his early years, was brought up in the service of Jahāngīr and did excellent service. Accordingly Jahāngīr used to say<sup>2</sup> that few kings possessed a servant like Ḥassū. While Jahāngīr was a prince, Ḥassū, though he (the Prince) pressed him, took nothing from his establishment. Afterwards when the Prince became the King, the first person who got an office was Ḥassū. After his accession Jahāngīr gave him the title of Muqarrab Khān and the rank of 5,000. During his reign the King was careless, and did not exercise much judgment and discretion in the appointment of officers. Inasmuch as Muqarrab Khān was a connoisseur of jewellery, he (the King) gave him the important province of Gujarāt, which has ports such as Sūrat and Cambay, each of which is a mine of rarities and a centre of wealth. He could not manage the province or the soldiery, and so he was recalled and the province was given in fief to Shāh Jahān. In the 13th year, 1027 A.H., he was appointed governor of Bihār, but, in the 16th year that province was transferred to Sulṭān Parvīz. Muqarrab Khān returned to the Court, and was made governor of the province of Āgra. After that he was made the 2nd Bakhshi, and became more and more intimate with Jahāngīr. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he, on account of old age, was excused service, and allowed to retire to the town of Kairāna, which was his native place and had been in his fief, so that he may enjoy his old age in peace and plenty. They say that time dealt with him kindly and he never received a blow from Fortune. After retirement he spent his days in perfect pleasure and freedom from care with 1,000 beautiful women friends (*sahēlīs*), who were also in charge of his workshops. They say, there was not another rich man in those days who had so much virility, and who, free of cares, could devote so much time to enjoyment. As he was the custodian of the shrine of Shāh Sharaf<sup>3</sup> of Pānīpat, he made his tomb there. He died in his native place in the 19th year.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 613. For an account of the deer-fight, see *Akbarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation, pp. 1061, 1062; the name in that work is wrongly given as Hansū.

<sup>2</sup> Price's translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Alī Qalandar died at Pānīpat, 1324 A.D. (vide Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881 edn., p. 11). See also Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, III, p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> He died in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.), vide *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 613.

Kairāna<sup>1</sup> is a pargana of Sahāranpūr in the province of Delhi. It has a good climate and fertile soil. He erected fine buildings there, and he made a *puccā* wall round a garden, 140 *bighas* in extent. There was in it a tank 220 cubits long by 200 broad. He planted both hot and cold weather trees. They say that pistachio trees flourished there, and wherever he heard of good mango trees, whether in Gujarāt or in the Deccan, he brought the seed and planted it. Accordingly the mangoes of Kairāna are celebrated in Delhi above all others up to the present day. Rizq Ullāh,<sup>2</sup> his son, attained the rank of 800 in Shāh Jahān's reign. He was a skilful physician and surgeon. In Aurangzib's reign he was granted the title of Khān and an increase of rank. He died in the 10th year. Masihā-i-Kairānavī, whose (real) name was Sa'd Ullāh, was Muqarrab Khān's adopted son, and was known as a poet. From his poem on Sītā, the wife of Rāja Rām Chandra, here are three verses:

## Verses.

When water was sprinkled on the head of that intoxicated person,  
Water also escaped from his hands.  
When she steps out of the water after a bath,  
A fiery tree appears out of the water.  
The Indian saying has been confirmed  
That without doubt the moon has come out of the edifice.

## HASAN 'ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 593-599.)

He belonged to Aurangzib's time and was the eldest son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khān<sup>3</sup>. As his countenance resembled that of a lion (*shēr-babar*), in its strength and majesty, he was styled in his childhood Mirzā Bāgh. He was distinguished for the strength of his hands and arms and was eminent among his brothers for his noble qualities. He with his approval always accompanied his father. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shujā' behaved in an unseemly manner, Ilāhvardī Khān with his sons, willingly or unwillingly, took his side, and there was a battle at Bahādurpūr-Benāres<sup>4</sup>, between Shujā' and Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, who had been sent from the Court with many of the royal troops to encounter him. Shujā' was defeated and went to Bengāl, and Hasan 'Alī separated from his father and joined the royal army. After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh and when the storm of dispersion scattered Sulaimān Shikōh's forces, and every one of the royal officers and of his servants left his companionship and chose their own course, Hasan 'Alī obtained access to Aurangzib through Rāja

<sup>1</sup> In the Muzaffarnagar District. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 10785. Allāh Diyāh, the nephew of Muqarrab Khān, was the author of *Siyar-ul-Aqāb*, vide Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 3586.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 207-215. Another Ilāhvardī Khān (*id.*, pp. 229-232) is described as the second son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khān on p. 229, but on p. 231, Husain 'Alī, whose biography is given above, is described as his uncle. Apparently there is some mistake in this account.

<sup>4</sup> 24th February, 1658; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 222.



Jai Singh, and by the increase of 500 and the augmentation of his troopers attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was the recipient of glances of favour. In the same year on the occasion of Aurangzīb turning his attention to the battle of Khajwa<sup>1</sup>, he received an increase of 500 and the appointment of *Qūshbēgi* (falconer). After the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, when the Capital was illuminated by the arrival of the Emperor, Hasan 'Alī, in addition to holding the office of *Qūshbēgi* was made *faujdar* of the territory of Shāhjahanābād in succession to Kirat Singh. As the office of *Qūshbēgi* necessitated constant attendance on the royal stirrups, Hasan 'Alī was always with the King both in journeys and at Court and was a *persona grata*. In the 9th year, he was made Superintendent of the servants of the *jilau*.<sup>2</sup> When in the end of the 12th year the King left the Capital, Hasan 'Alī was made *faujdar* of Mathurā, in succession to Saf Shikan Khān, and had the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, and was sent off with a force to chastise the turbulent elements in that neighbourhood. He showed great energy and courage in seizing and slaying the recalcitrants and in plundering their habitations and destroying their forts, etc. He assigned their estates to his companions and others. He arrested the robber Kōklā Jāt—who was responsible for the killing of 'Abd-un-Nabī Khān *faujdar* (of Mathurā)—and for the ravaging of the pargana of Shādābād<sup>3</sup>, along with his companion, the rebel Sankī, and sent them to the Court. The royal wrath ordered and both, in retribution for their crimes, were cut to pieces limb by limb. The son<sup>4</sup> and daughter of Kōklā were made over, for their upbringing, to Jawāhir Khān Nāzīr. The daughter was later given in marriage to Shāh Qulī Chēla, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fāḍil and became a *Hāfiz*. In Aurangzīb's opinion no other *Hāfiz* was so reliable, and the King, who, since his accession, had taken to reciting the Qur'ān, used to honour him by hearing his recitations.

The Khān in reward for his good services received the gift of drums, and afterwards was appointed governor of the province of Allāhābād. In the 20th year he was appointed governor of Āgra, but in the 21st year, he was removed from that appointment and returned to the Court. In the 22nd year, when the royal standards were directed for the first time towards Ajmēr, the Khān was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bahādur to subdue the country of Jōdhpūr and other territories of the deceased Rāja Jaswant. When in the 23rd year the royal army proceeded from Ajmēr towards Udaipūr for purposes of castigation, a large and richly and properly equipped army was sent under the leadership of Hasan 'Alī to punish the Rānā. In this campaign he did excellent service and one day while crossing a ravine fell upon the Rānā. The latter could not withstand the attack and went away leaving his tents and goods. The Khān destroyed the idol-temple in front of the Rānā's palace and also 172 other temples in Udaipūr, and obtained the title of Bahādur 'Ālamgirshāhi. Afterwards, when the royal standards proceeded to

<sup>1</sup> 14th January, 1659; *id.*, p. 224. The name is spelt there as Khajuhā.

<sup>2</sup> According to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 150, note 2, "The *jilau*bēgi is the superintendent of horses selected for presents".

<sup>3</sup> In the text Shādābād, but Sa'dābād in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> This account is also included under Churāman Jāt, *vide* Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p. 437.

the Deccan, Hasan 'Alī Khān was appointed to accompany Prince Muḥammad A'zam for the siege of Bijāpūr. As every day there was constant fighting in the batteries with exchanges of positions, and scarcity and dearth of provisions pressed heavily on the camp, an order was sent, in the 29th year, to the Prince, that as things were in this condition he should raise the siege and join the imperial army which was then at Shōlāpūr. The Prince took council<sup>1</sup> with the leading officers of experience. He first took the opinion of Hasan 'Alī, observing to him "The transacting of the affairs of the campaign rests upon the concord of the officers. An urgent order has come from the Court to the above effect. Your opinion in matters of peace or war, of rapid action or of endurance is valuable, as you have seen and heard and lived through many such scenes of stress and difficulty. What do you think in this affair?" The Khān replied: "Considering the situation of the army, and the general good, it is advisable to raise the siege. When in the Balkh campaign Prince Murād Bakhsh, on account of the severity of the weather could not remain, he, willingly or unwillingly, withdrew from the siege without orders from Shāh Jahān, and returned to the Court. The state of the troops at present is apparent, and Your Highness has an order (to retire)." After this the others spoke and all agreed with Hasan 'Alī's opinion. The Prince said: "You have spoken for yourselves, now hear my sentiments. I, Muḥammad A'zam, with my two sons and the Bēgam<sup>2</sup> will not move from this place of danger as long as we have life. Let the King come afterwards and bury us. My companions can choose for themselves about going or staying. The preservation of the realm and religion is what is looked to by men of honour; fate depends upon the heavens!" Nothing evil occurred, and by the fortunate circumstance of the Prince's steadfastness, Khān Fīrūz Jang arrived with a large army and abundant provisions, and hardship was changed into happiness (*'usr ba yasr tabdil yāft*). In the same year Hasan 'Alī was appointed governor<sup>3</sup> of Berār on the death of Īrij Khān. As he was hotly engaged in the siege of Bijāpūr and was doing good service, Raḍī-ud-Dīn Khān (who was) Shaikh Raḍī-ud-Dīn, and belonged to a noble family of Bhāgalpūr in Bihār and who had charge of Hasan 'Alī's domestic affairs and of those of the imperial troops, was appointed to act as his deputy.

The Shaikh was a very learned man, and took an active part in editing the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. He received three rupees a day as his pay. As he was also skilled in many sciences he helped in military affairs, in the collection of revenue, and as a companion, etc. Further, by the instrumentality of Qāḍī Muḥammad Husain of Jaunpūr, the Court *Muhtasib* (censor), his merits were brought to the notice of Aurangzib and he received the rank of 100. Gradually through his auspicious star and his good qualities and the help of Hasan 'Alī he attained to the rank of an Amir and Khān. He became *peshkār* of Hasan 'Alī and did good service in extirpating the Jāts of Mathurā and in the affair of the Rānā.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 233. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 315-317; the name of Hasan 'Alī Khān is wrongly given as Ali Khan on p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Jāni Bēgam, the wife of Prince Muḥammad A'zam, vide *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 187.

beginning of the 30th year, he was killed<sup>1</sup> during an altercation with the soldiery. The government of the above province (Berār), where the Shaikh (Raḍi-ud-Dīn) was acting as his deputy, was given to Muḥammad Mū'min,<sup>2</sup> the son-in-law of Īrīj Khān.

As the siege of Bijāpūr lasted a long time, the King became indignant and said: "What worldly advantage is there in the number of princes, they are nothing but a name. We hoped one of our sons would do something. This has not come about. Let us see why this wall does not crumble down". He advanced from Shōlāpūr, and as deeds are pledged to fortune, he encamped on 21 Sha'bān, 1097 A.H. (13th July, 1686 A.D.), at Rasūlpūr, three *kos* from Bijāpūr, and on 4 Dhul Qa'da (22nd September, 1686 A.D.) of that year Bijāpūr was taken<sup>3</sup>. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Bahādūr, who was seriously ill, departed to the other world after one day. He carried off the ball of courage and military skill from his contemporaries. He was a model for benevolence and for right acting and speaking. His sons, Muḥammad Muqīm and Khair Ullāh, did not attain any distinction.

#### HASAN<sup>4</sup> BĒG BADAĀKHSHĪ SHAIKH 'UMARĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 565-568.)

He was one of the old servants (*Bāburiyān*) of the dynasty, and possessed military talents. When in the 34th year, Akbar, after visiting Kashmīr, proceeded to Kābul by way of Pakhlī—which is a country 35 *kos* long and 25 broad, and lies to the west of Kashmīr—Sultān Ḥusain Khān, the ruler of Pakhlī—who belonged to the tribe of Qārlygh (Qārlyghs), some of whom had been left to guard this country by Timūr when he was returning to Tūrān—did homage, and after a few days absconded. Akbar<sup>5</sup> gave the country in fief to Ḥasan Bēg, and sent him to punish the chief. He behaved with courage and skill and brought the country into subjection. When in the 35th year, he came to the Court, the Pakhlī chief again raised his head and created a disturbance. He foolishly took the name of Sultān Naṣir-ud-Dīn, and recovered possession of Pakhlī from Ḥasan Bēg's men. Ḥasan Bēg was again sent with a force, and inflicted suitable punishment on him. In the 46th year, he did good service in Bangash and was promoted to the rank of 2,500. In the end of Akbar's reign, he obtained Rohtās (in the Panjāb) in fief, and was directed to guard Kābul. In the first year of Jahāngir's reign, he was summoned to the Capital, and was met at Mathurā by Sultān Khusrāu, who, on the night of Sunday, 20th<sup>6</sup> Dhul Hijja 1014 A.H., had escaped from the fort at Āgra. Ḥasan Bēg was not sure about Jahāngir and

<sup>1, 2</sup> *Maāthir-i-Jahāngirī*, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-325, for further details of the fall of Bijāpūr.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 504, 505.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 565, Beveridge's translation III, p. 855.

<sup>6</sup> 8th as a variant in some MSS. is given by the editors. This corresponds to the date in the *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngirī* (Rogers and Beveridge) I, p. 52, and in view of Blochmann's note 3, p. 504, and Khāfi Khān, I, p. 250, 8th appears to be the correct date; this would be 6th April, 1606, and not 6th April, 1605, as given by Rogers and Beveridge. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngir*, p. 140, (1930), gives evening of April 6th, 1606, as the date.

suspected that there was something unfavourable about these summons. Also as turbulence and plotting are innate with Badakhshis, he was carried away by the inducements and flatteries of Sultān Khusrāu, and agreed to accompany him. Together with 300 active Badakhshis he joined him in the path of error. Khusrāu addressed him as Khān Bābā (the Khān father) and made him the centre of his power.

When Khusrāu opposed the royal forces on the bank of the Biyāh (Beās) with the troops he had collected, and after a little fighting was defeated, and with Hasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm—the *Divān* of Lāhōre who had joined him and obtained the title of Malik Anwar<sup>1</sup>—became a wanderer in the desert of disappointment. Most of the Afghāns who had assisted him, urged him to proceed to the Eastern districts. Hasan Bēg said: "This proposal is wrong, you should go towards Kābul, for in that country there is no lack of men or horses. Whoever has Kābul, will have every kind of servant and equipment. Bābur and Humāyūn, though they had no money, conquered India with the help of Kābul. I have four lakhs of rupees in Rohtās and will give these as a contribution, and as soon as we arrive there I will supply 12,000 capable horsemen. If the King follows us, we shall give battle, and if he gives up that country to us we shall arrange for sometime with our fortune and wait for the opportunity". As Khusrāu, in ignorance of the consequences, had placed the reins of affairs into his hands, he agreed and was arrested by the laws of retribution on the bank of the Chenāb. At that time Jahāngir was encamped in Mirzā Kāmran's garden in the suburbs of Lāhōre. On the 3rd Šafar 1015,<sup>2</sup> Khusrāu was brought, according to the custom of Chengiz, with tied arms and fetters on his feet into the royal Presence. Hasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm were placed on his right and left, and Khusrāu stood between them trembling and weeping. Hasan Bēg, thinking that it would help him, began to talk wildly and foolishly. As his object became apparent, he was not allowed to continue, and the order was issued that Khusrāu should be kept chained and imprisoned, Hasan Bēg be put into the skin of an ox, and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm in that of an ass, and they be paraded (through the streets) seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tails.<sup>3</sup> As the skin of the ox dried (and shrank) sooner than that of the ass, Hasan did not survive more than four watches (12 hours). The other, after a night and a day (i.e., eight watches), and as he was still alive, was, at the entreaties of those who had the right of audience, liberated from the wrath of the Sovereign—which is a sample of the wrath of God. For the sake of warning and punishment, two rows of stakes were set up from the gate of the Kāmran garden to the gate of the citadel. And all who had joined Khusrāu were impaled there. Next day when the King entered Lāhōre, he ordered

<sup>1</sup> The title is given as *Malik-ul-Vuzarā* in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 10 and *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 251. It is Melek Anwar in Price's *Memoirs*, p. 81. See also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngir*, p. 141, where the title is given as Anwar Khan, and it is stated that he "was made the vazir".

<sup>2</sup> In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers and Beveridge), I, p. 68, the date is given as 3rd Muharram, but it is 3rd Šafar in *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 16. In *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 253, it is stated that towards the end of Muharram, Amir-ul-Umarā was sent to bring the captives to the royal Presence, and so 3rd Šafar appears to be correct.

<sup>3</sup> See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 69, and note 1, for further details. Also Beni Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

that Khusrau should be placed on an elephant, and be led between the stakes, and that the cry should be raised on both sides: "Your associates and servants do homage to you." May heaven preserve me from such an end! The son of Hasan Bēg, by name Isfandyār Khān, obtained in Shāh Jahān's time the rank of 1,500; he died in the 16th year of the latter's reign.

(MIRZĀ) HASAN ŠAFAVĪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 477-479.)

He was the third son of Rustam of Qandahār. In Jahāngir's time he attained to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse. After Shāh Jahān's accession he came with his father from Bihār and did homage.<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd year, he was appointed to Bengāl<sup>2</sup> and served for a long time, along with his son, Šaf Shikan, among the auxiliaries of that province. On being summoned to the Court, he offered his allegiance to the august conqueror, and later on return carried on his duties satisfactorily, and as a result of the trust in his fidelity his rank was exalted. In the 19th year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was granted the fief of Fathpūr. In the 20th year he became *faujdar* of Jaunpūr in succession to Shāh Nawāz Khān Šafavī, his younger brother. Along with his son, Šaf Shikan, he received a drum and his rank rose to 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 21st year he came from Jaunpūr with his son and did homage, and again they went to Bengāl. In the 22nd year, he was, at Shāh Shujā's request, appointed to Kūj (Cooch Bihār), and received an increase of 1,000 horse. In the 23rd year, and end of 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.) he died. He did not accept the title of Khān. Mirzā Šaf Shikan, after his father's death, served as the *thāmadār* and *faujdar* of Jessōre<sup>3</sup> in Bengāl. After that, he retired and was for a long while one of the pensioned supplicants for the welfare of the reigning King. He died in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.), the 5th year of Aurangzib's reign. He was married to the daughter of Mir Mirān Yazdī, the sister of Nawāzish Khān 'Abdul-Kāfi, who was half-brother of Khalil Ullāh Khān. His heir was Šaif-ud-Dīn Šafavī, who, on account of his being the son-in-law of Khalil Ullāh Khān, was an object of royal favour and received the title of Kāmyāb Khān<sup>4</sup> in the 7th year. For some reason he was removed from his rank. In the 14th year he was restored.

HĀSHIM KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 940, 941.)

He was the son of Qāsim Khān Mir Bakr (admiral). When his father was killed,<sup>5</sup> in Kābul, in the 39th year of Akbar's reign, and the

<sup>1</sup> He had the same rank of 1,500 with 700 horse in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign. See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> In the first year he seems to have been attached to Bihār, vide *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 205. He went to Bengāl in the 2nd year.

<sup>3</sup> Hasar in the text is apparently a mistake of the copyist for Jessōre.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 113. In the 20th year he was made *faujdar* of Sahāranpūr, op. cit., p. 158; in the 26th year he was made Bakhshi of the Deccan, op. cit., p. 223; and in the 49th year he was the governor of the fort of Gulbarga, op. cit., p. 503.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 652, and *Beveridge's* translation III, p. 1001.

government of that province was assigned to Qulij Khān, he came to the Court and was favourably received. In the 41st year, he was sent along with Mirzā Rustam of Qandahār to punish Rāja Bāsū and other land-holders of the Northern hills. He distinguished himself at the taking of Mau' and afterwards came to the Court. In the 44th year he was sent with Shaikh Farid Bakhshī to take Asir. After that he was sent, with Sa'adat Khān, who held the forts of Kālāna and Trimbak on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan, and had the good fortune of presenting himself at the sublime Court at Nāsik. After taking the fort of Trimbak, he came to the Court, in the 46th year, and performed the *kōrnish*. In the 47th year he held the rank of 1,500. In the first year of Jahāngir's reign, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. He also received the present of a horse. In the 2nd year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was made the governor of Orissa. In the 5th year, he was appointed, while absent from the Court, as the governor<sup>1</sup> of Kashmir. Khwājagī Muḥammad Husain, his uncle, was sent off there so that he might take charge of the country till Hāshim Khān's arrival. In the end of the same year he came to the Court and was sent<sup>2</sup> off to Kashmir. His son is Muḥammad Qāsim Khān<sup>3</sup> Mir Ātish Shāh Jahānī, of whom an account has been given separately.

## HAYĀT KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 583, 584.)

He was the Superintendent of the still-room (*Ābdārkhāna*) and head of the domestic servants (*khidmatgārān*) of Shāh Jahān. He was much trusted and made an intimate, and continually admitted to the Presence. For a long time he was the Superintendent of the palace (*Daulatkhāna*)—an office which was only given to reliable men, and also Superintendent of the *chēlās* (slaves) and of the pages (*khwāsān*). Probably he is the same Hayāt Khān<sup>4</sup> who was Superintendent of the still-room in the time of Jahāngir, and who, on the day of the tiger-hunt when Anī Rāi Singhdalan displayed great valour, and Prince Shāh Jahān helped him and struck the tiger with his sword, was also in attendance on the King's stirrups. In the 6th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he obtained the rank of 800 with 200 horse, and in the 15th of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the 19th, an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so attained the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse. Afterwards he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and of *Aḥadī*<sup>5</sup> officers. In the 20th year, he had an increase

<sup>1</sup> *Qhā'ibāna* meaning that the appointment was conferred on him while he was away in Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that neither the *Maāthir* nor Blochmann makes any mention of Hāshim's disastrous campaign in Tibet. It is also not mentioned in the *Tūzūk*, but see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 281 and Khāfi Khān I, p. 547.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 95-99.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 493. Jahāngir was hunting with *chēlās* in pargana Bārī. It was Anūp who thrust his hand into the tiger's mouth. Jahāngir gave him the title of Anī Rāi Singhdalan (the lion-cleaver), *loc. cit.*, p. 495. There is the variant *Ahanrāi* iron-souled. Hayāt Khān also gave the tiger some blows. See *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 185-188, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 12, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Warrant Officers in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 20, note 1, 260; but gentleman troopers of Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 282, appears to be more appropriate.

of 200 horse, and afterwards was made the Superintendent of the grooms (*mardum-i-jilau*), and had an increase of 200 horse and had an office of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After that he got an increase of 500 personality, and, in the 21st year he had another increase of 500 and a rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and, in the 24th year, he received a flag, and afterwards had an increase of 300 horse and so attained the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 29th year, he got a drum, and, in the 30th year, when he was 70 years of age, he, on account of paralysis, was relieved from attendance. The King, out of regard for his servants, gave him villages worth 20 laes of *dāms* in the neighbourhood of the Capital as *Sayurghāl*<sup>1</sup>, with succession to his son and grandson. The office of waiting on the King was transferred to others. In the 31st year, on 27 Sha'bān 1068 (19th May, 1658 A.D.), he died in the city (Delhi).

(SAIYID) HIDĀYAT ULLĀH ṢADR.

(Vol. II, pp. 456, 457.)

He was the son of Saiyid Aḥmad Qādirī, who was the Chief *Ṣadr*<sup>2</sup> in the time of Jahāngir. In the 20th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān when the *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr* Saiyid Jalāl died, and as the good qualities of Hidāyat Ullāh, who was the *Divān* of Qandahār, had been repeatedly brought to the notice of the King, he received the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse and was summoned to the Court. In the 21st year, he was admitted to an audience and received the robe of the *Ṣadārat* and an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500. In the 26th year, his rank was 2,500 with 200 horse. After the battle of Sāmūgarh when Aurangzib's army arrived<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of the Capital, he, in accordance with orders (from Shāh Jahān), came twice with Fāḍil Khān *Mir-i-Sāmān* before Aurangzib. He produced a royal letter and a sword called '*Ālamgīr*' which had been given (to Aurangzib by Shāh Jahān), and communicated a verbal message (from Shāh Jahān). In the early part of the reign (of Aurangzib) the *Ṣadārat* was taken<sup>4</sup> from him and transferred to Mirak Shaikh Haravi. He for some years remained in retirement and then died.

HIMMAT KHĀN MIR 'ĪSĀ.

(Vol. III, pp. 946-949.)

He was the heir of Islām Khān Badakhshī. From his very early years he was a favourite of Aurangzib. He was an aggregate of talents and perfections, and a paragon of good qualities. He was always a patron of the learned men. He was of a gentle disposition and a well-wisher of humanity. The erudite and the talented of every quarter came over to him and were duly rewarded. He was a poet, and (this couplet) is his:

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-281. These were hereditary grants of land.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of *Ṣadr* see Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 254-288.

<sup>3</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 473. This occurred in the fourth year.

## Verse.

Save the thorn that Majnūn had in his heart,  
The desert held no thorn of madness.

He enjoyed the influence and respect which his father had enjoyed during the time when Aurangzib was a Prince. After the battle with Jaswant he was raised to the rank of 2,000, and had the title of Himmat Khān which his father also had for a time. When in the 6th year his father was made governor of Āgra, he became the *faujdar* of the district, and 500 of his 1,000 horse were two-horse and three-horse. After his father's death he came to the Court and was made *Qurbegi* (in charge of royal standards). In the 9th year he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and in the 12th year Superintendent of the *Divān-i-Khāṣṣ*. Afterwards he had the rank of 3,000, and was made the 3rd Bakhshī. In the 14th year, he was exalted to the post of the 2nd Bakhshī in succession to Asad Khān, and in the 15th year he became *faujdar* of Āgra in succession to Sarbuland Khān. In the 17th year, at the time when the King went to Ḥasan Abdāl, he was made the Superintendent of the *Ghuskhāna*. In the 19th year he was made the governor of Allahābād in succession to Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, and received a present of a lac of rupees. In the 23rd year, he did homage at Ajmēr and took leave at Udaipūr and went to his lands. In the same year Sarbuland Khān *Mir Bakhshī* died, and Himmat Khān was sent for. On 10th Shawwāl of the 24th year (4th November, 1680 A.D.) he was made in Ajmēr the 1st Bakhshī, and received a gold-embroidered robe of honour (*Khil'at dōpatta-ī-zarrīn*). When Prince Akbar joined with the Rāthors and some leaders of the army and came near his father's camp with the intention of fighting with him—who had not more than 10,000<sup>1</sup> horse in attendance—Aurangzib left Himmat Khān, who had been struck with illness, in charge of Ajmēr, and marched out of the city. On 5th Muharram 1002 A.H. (16th January, 1681 A.D.), the Khān died. He was one of the worthies of the age and eminent among his contemporaries, and was eloquent in verse and prose. He also had a taste for Hīndī and was well versed in it. His pen-name was Miran. His sons were Muḥammad Masīḥ Murīd Khān and Ruḥ Ullāh Nēknām Khān. The first, in the 26th year, was made *Mir Tuzuk*<sup>2</sup>, and afterwards had the title of Khānazād Khān, and in the 28th year was made the Superintendent of the stables in succession to Ṣalābat Khān. After that he was the governor of the citadel of Aurangābād, and at last was the governor of the fort of Sūrāt. The other held the rank of 1,000 and was the Bakhshī of the army of Prince Bidār Bakht.

HIMMAT KHĀN MUHAMMAD ḤASAN AND SĪPAHDĀR KHĀN  
MUHAMMAD MUHSIN.

(Vol. III, pp. 949-951.)

They were the sons of Khān Jahān Bahādūr Kōkaltāsh. At first they had suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Afterwards, the first had

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 273.



the title of Muzaḥfar Khān, and the second the title of Naṣīrī Khān. In the 27th year of Aurangzib's reign, when a report<sup>1</sup> of the Khān Jahān was laid before the King to the effect, that the Mahrattas had assembled on the bank of the Kistnā with evil intentions, and that he had marched thirty *kos* and attacked them and killed and made prisoners of a great many, an approving *farmān* was sent to him, and his relatives received increase of rank and also titles. Among them Muzaḥfar Khān received the title of Himmat Khān and Naṣīrī Khān that of Sipahdār Khān. In the 29th<sup>2</sup> year, the first received a robe of honour, a sword and an elephant, and was sent off to Bijāpūr. After Bijāpūr was taken, he, in the 30th year, received a horse with decorated trappings, the rank of 2,500 with 2,200 horse, the title of Bahādūr and the gift of 80 lacs of *dāms*, and was put in charge of Allahābād. In the 33rd year, when Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh was made the governor of Allahābād, Muzaḥfar Khān was appointed governor of Oudh and *faujdar* of Gōrakhpūr. In the 34th year, he was again appointed to Allahābād, and afterwards was summoned to the Court. In the 37th year, he waited upon the King, and was sent off to the fort of Parnāla to convey the family<sup>3</sup> of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (to him). In the 39th year, when Rūh Ullāh Khān and others were defeated by the Mahratta leader, Santā Ghōrpare<sup>4</sup> (in Ghōrpara), as is detailed in the biography of Qāsim Khān Kirmānī (Text, III, pp. 123-126), Muzaḥfar Khān in accordance with orders, made a rapid march and engaged Santā. A great battle took place and though he defeated the foe, a bullet struck him in the chest and he was killed<sup>5</sup> in 1106 A.H.

The second (Sipahdār Khān) was appointed in the 30th year to the government of the Deccan<sup>6</sup> in succession to Mukarram Khān, and in the 37th year to Allahābād. On the death<sup>7</sup> of Buzurg Ummid Khān, the *faujdar* of Jaunpūr was put in his charge, and his rank became 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of a *kror* of *dāms*. In the 41st year he was removed from there.

The author of the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* writes,<sup>8</sup> that in the 48th year Sipahdār Khān, the governor of Allahābād, received, as a reward for his chastisement of Mahābat, a landholder of Jaunpūr, the rank of 4,000 with 3,500<sup>9</sup> horse, and that in the 49th year he had<sup>10</sup> an increase of 1,000 personal (*ghāt*). From this it appears that he became

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 241. The name of the younger son is given there as Naṣrat Khān who had the title of Sipahdār Khān.

<sup>2</sup> In the text only 9th, but it appears from the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 273, that this is a mistake for 29th.

<sup>3</sup> In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 360, also the word used is *معلقل*, but Mu'izz-ud-Dīn is designated as Prince instead of Sulṭān.

<sup>4</sup> Text wrongly represents Ghōrpare as the name of the battlefield. See Elliot, VII, p. 355; and Khānī Khān, II, p. 428. He is the famous general Santaji Ghorpare of Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of Maratha People*, pp. 166, 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 370, where the year of his death is given as 1107 A.H., Khāfī Khān, II, p. 434. The date 1106 A.H. is incorrect as Himmat Khān was killed in 1696 A.D. (= 1107 A.H.); see Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 167 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 294, 295.

<sup>6</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 283, has Lāhōre.

<sup>7</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 481.

<sup>9</sup> 3,000 in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 481.

<sup>10</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 486.

the governor of Allahābād a second time. After the death of Aurangzīb and in the reign of Bahādur Shāh he received the title of Khān Jahān 'Izz-ud-Daula Bahādur. Probably in the 3rd<sup>1</sup> year of the reign he was made the governor of Bengāl. The date of his death is not known. There were memorials of him in Aurangābād near the Delhi gate: a lofty building, and opposite to it a bath (*Hammām*) of exquisite purity; but now they are in ruins.

(SAIYID) HIZBR KHĀN.

(Vol. II, pp. 415, 416.)

He was one of the Saiyids of Bārah. In the 8th year of the reign of Jahāngir he was appointed along with Prince Khurram to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh. In the 13th year, his rank was 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 18th year he was sent with Sultān Parviz in pursuit of Shāh Jahān. In the year of Jahāngir's death he was in attendance on Yamīn-ud-Daula and was present at the battle with Shahriyār.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the reign he had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received his former rank and went with Mahābat Khān to Kābul as Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was creating a disturbance there. In the third year, when the King was encamped in the Deccan, he went with Yamīn-ud-Daula to Bālāghāt and distinguished himself. In the 11th year, he went with Khān Daurān Naṣrat 'Jang to Kābul where Sultān Shujā' had stayed to protect the fort of Qandahār in case of a probability that Shāh Ṣafi, the King of Persia, might invade that place. At this time, corresponding to 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) he died. His son, Saiyid Zabardast, had in the 30th year the rank of 800 with 400 horse.

HIZBR<sup>3</sup> KHĀN, SON OF ILĀHVARDI KHĀN.

(Vol. III, p. 946.)

In the reign of Aurangzīb he was, in the 7th year, the governor of the fort of Rohtās. Afterwards he was *faujdar* of Benāres in succession to Arslān Khān, his brother, and his rank was 1,500 with 700 horse. In the 18th year, 1085 A.H., he was the *thānadār*<sup>4</sup> of Jagdalak and was killed there, with his son, in a battle with the Afghāns.

<sup>1</sup> According to Khāfi Khān, II, p. 707, 'Izz-ud-Daula—who is there called Khān—Khānān and not Khān Jahān—was made the governor of Bengāl in succession to Farrukh-siyar in the fifth year of Bahādur Shāh's reign corresponding to 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). Sipahdār *aliās* 'Izz-ud-Daula is not mentioned in Stewart or in the *Riyāṭ-us-Salāṭīn* among the governors of Bengāl.

<sup>2</sup> Battle about three miles from Lāhōre where Ṣaf Khān defeated Shahriyār's army, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 145. Hizbar is frequently mentioned in the '*Ālamgirnāma*. It was Rohtās in Bihār of which he was the governor, p. 360. In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 146, it is stated that the disaster was reported on Jumāda II, 1086 A.H., so that apparently it occurred early in August 1676 A.D. The place of the disaster is not mentioned.

## HÖSHDĀR KHĀN MIR HÖSHDĀR.

(Vol. III, pp. 943-946.)

He was the son of Multafat Khān who was called A'zam Khān 'Ālamgiri. In the 27th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was appointed, in succession to his uncle Muftkhr Khān Khān Zamān, *Dārōgha* of the Deccan artillery. His rank was 900 with 400 horse. At the end of the reign his rank was 1,000 with 600 horse. When the victorious banners of Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, proceeded towards Āgra and reached Burhānpūr, Hōshdār's rank was raised to 1,500 with 700 horse, and he was granted the title of Khān. In all the conflicts he was attached to Aurangzib's stirrups. When his father<sup>1</sup> died on the day of the battle with Dārā Shikōh from the heat of the air, the King increased his rank and made him the Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna*, and he carried on the duties of this office in an efficient manner. After the battle with Shujā' his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 5th year, it became 4,000 with 3,000 horse. When at this time the King desired to go to Kashmīr, Hōshdār Khān was made governor of Delhī. In the 6th year, he was made governor of Āgra on the death of Islām Khān Badakhshī, and, in the 8th year, he was also made *faujdār* of the adjoining territory and received an increase of 1 000 horse. As his good service and strict religious principles were approved by the King, he long governed Āgra, and, in the 14th year, he was made the governor of Khāndēsh. In the 15th year (1082 A.H.), he died at Burhānpūr. He was the best shot, with a gun, of the age, and was for a time the instructor of Prince Muḥammad A'zam (as constant practice is necessary for skill). His sons, Kāmgar and Ja'far,<sup>2</sup> came and kissed the threshold after their father's death and were received with favour. The first was distinguished for his courage, and devotion to military duty. His pillow and counterpane were never without his coat of Mail. He had a body of companions whom he called "The Forty"<sup>3</sup> (*Chihāl-tan*). In the pride of his being a house-born servant he was often guilty of presumption, and was, therefore, censured. In the 23rd year, when Ajmēr was the seat of royalty, he was, for some reason, removed<sup>4</sup> from his rank and he gave<sup>5</sup> himself four wounds in the belly with a dagger. The King restored him to favour in view of the regard he had for the houseborn ones. He was very athletic, and wonderful stories are narrated about him. His fight with a crocodile when he was the governor of the fort of Chunār is well known. He died while he was governor of the fort of Rā'isīn in Mālwa. He left no descendants.

(AMIR-UL-UMARĀ, SAITYID) HUSAIN 'ALI KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 321-338.)

He was the younger brother of Quṭb-ul-Mulk 'Abdullāh Khān, an account of whose life has been given in its place (Text, III, pp. 130-140).

<sup>1</sup> He died of exhaustion after 'he victory of Sāmūgarh in 1658.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Chihāl-tan* or forty folds is a name for a doublet.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 192. Apparently he wounded himself some four years after his dismissal.

Quṭb-ul-Mulk was the Prime Minister of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar and Saiyid Husain 'Alī was the Amīr-ul-Umarā. They belonged to the great family of the Saiyids of Bārah,<sup>1</sup> and were of the noblest rank in India. The two brothers were the *Farqadain* (the two Calves) stars of the heaven of Saiyidship, and the twin lights of the sphere of Amīrship. They were adorned with many sublime virtues and charming qualities, especially courage and generosity, in both of which they were pre-eminent. From the beginning of their rise to its culmination they led ideal lives and had a good reputation. By watering India with justice and goodness they made it the envy of eternal paradise. But in the latter days of their power they trod the path of error and fastened upon themselves the stain of an evil name, which will last till the day of judgment. In the opinion of just persons, however, their design in deposing the Emperor (Farrukh-siyar) was merely to preserve their own lives and honour. They had throughout their lives even sacrificed their lives and fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. The Emperor shut his eyes to their claims and designed to ruin them. He had this idea as long as life lasted, and at last this weak notion destroyed the sovereignty and overthrew the prosperity of the Emperor and of both the Saiyids.

Qāḍī<sup>2</sup> Shihāb-ud-Dīn the prince of the 'Ulamā—May his grave be holy!—says with regard to the virtues of Saiyids that the true notes of Saiyidship are: the demeanour (*khulq*) of Muḥammad, the generosity of Hāshim<sup>3</sup> and the courage of Haider. A true Saiyid must possess all these qualities. Then if by chance and by reason of the carnal spirit, transgressions occur, there should, at the end, be some motive which should lead to final deliverance. There is an illustration of these words in the fates of the two brothers, for they departed from this world as victims, and their countenances were reddened by the hue of martyrdom. The real name of Quṭb-ul-Mulk was Ḥasan<sup>4</sup> 'Alī, and that of the Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain<sup>4</sup> 'Alī, the first was martyred by being poisoned, while the martyrdom of the second was effected by a dagger.

Though the Amīr-ul-Umarā was the younger brother, he in generosity, courage, magnanimity, gravity and modesty was superior to Quṭb-ul-Mulk. In the time of Aurangzib he was the governor of Rantanpūr (Ranthambhōr) and at the close of the reign he was *faujdar* of Hindūn<sup>5</sup> Biyāna. When his brother, after the death of Aurangzib, was encompassed with favours by Shāh 'Ālam at Lāhōre, Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān entered the service of the King with a suitable force at Delhi, and in the battle with Muḥammad A'zam Shāh did great deeds and was

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 425-428, where a doubt is expressed on the question of their lineage.

<sup>2</sup> The remark comes from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 944, where Shihāb-ud-Dīn is called Daulatābādī, and his book the *Bahr Mawwāj* is a commentary on the Qur'ān.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad's great grandfather who was renowned for his liberality. Haider is a name of 'Alī.

<sup>4</sup> These names are mentioned on account of the manner of the death of Ḥasan and Husain, the Prophet's grandchildren. Ḥasan was poisoned by his wife, and Husain was killed on the plain of Karbalā. Similarly the elder Saiyid Quṭb-ul-Mulk, whose real name was Ḥasan 'Alī, was poisoned by the orders of Muḥammad Shāh, and Husain 'Alī, the younger Saiyid, whose title was Amīr-ul-Umarā, was killed by an assassin.

<sup>5</sup> In the Āgra division, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 902. Hindūn is twelve kos S.S.W. of Biyāna (Tiefenthaler).

promoted to a commission of 3,000 and given a drum, and by the influence of Prince 'Azim-ush-Shân was made *Nā'ib Subadār* of Patna. About the end of the reign of Bahādūr Shāh, the governorship of Bengal was transferred to Sipahdār Khān, known as 'Izz-ud-Daula Khān Jahān Bahādūr in place of Prince 'Azim-ush-Shân. Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the heir of 'Azim-ush-Shan, who was his father's deputy in Bengal,<sup>1</sup> was summoned to the Presence and came to Patna. As for a long time he had been independent, and did not enjoy with his father and grandfather the same favours as his brothers, he felt it disagreeable and repulsive to go to the Presence, and put off the visit under the pretext<sup>2</sup> of want of funds. Meanwhile Shāh 'Ālam died, and Muhammad Farrukh-siyar read the *Khutba* and struck coins in the name of his father, and started to collect men. Then came the news that his father had been killed, and in Rabi' I, 1123 A.H. (April, 1711 A.D.) he himself ascended the throne. He won over by promises of favours Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khān, *Nāzim* of Patna, and made him his companion, and by this means Saiyid Hasan 'Ali Khān, *Nāzim* of Allahābād, also took his side. In a short time a large army was collected, but from want of funds, until Āgra was reached, he did not have more than 12,000 cavalry. Husain 'Ali Khān on the day of the battle, which took place with Jahāndār Shāh, near Āgra, was opposed, along with Hasan Bēg Safshikan Khān, the *Nā'ib Subadār* of Orissa, and Zain-ud-Dīn Khān, son of Bahādūr Khān Rōhila, to *Dhūlfagār Khān*, who had taken up a position with many guns and culverins. He urged on the cavalry and attacked the line of guns. When he saw that the battle was going against him, he, in accordance with the practice of the Indian soldiers, dismounted,<sup>3</sup> and fell to the ground and fainted because of his wounds. The other two leaders and the *Jama'dār* were slain. After the victory Husain 'Ali Khān obtained<sup>4</sup> the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and the post of *Mir Bakshi*. In the second year he was sent with a large army to chastise Ajit Singh Rāthōr, who was behaving rebelliously in his native country. Up to Mirtha<sup>5</sup> he devastated the country. The Rāja was terrified and retired *via* Bikānir to strongly defended country. This is what they say about the Amīr-ul-Umarā's orders in this expedition: that as the villages of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh were intermixed, and the peasants of the first fled in terror, he directed the plunderers to sack the deserted villages and set fire to them, but not to injure the inhabited ones. Ajit Singh's peasantry saw this, and came forward and made peace through the peasantry of Jai Singh. Thereupon *Sazimāls* were appointed to make the plunderers extinguish the flames, and return what had been plundered. This was done without delay. Certain reliable persons, who examined the villagers, unanimously declared that they sustained no injury except that caused by arson.<sup>6</sup> When the Rāja saw his own loss, he reflected on the final issue, and sent

<sup>1</sup> Farrukh-siyar was at Rājmahal.

<sup>2</sup> In *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkharin* it is stated: He pleaded that his wife was about to be confined, and that the rains were at hand. He came to Patna from Rājmahal.

<sup>3</sup> From his elephant, see Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 702 and 722.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 728.

<sup>5</sup> Maithra in Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 288.

<sup>6</sup> See Irvine, *The Later Mughals in the Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, p. 47 (1903); and *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 289.

responsible agents with presents, and agreed to send Kunwar Abhai Singh, his eldest son, to the Court, and give his daughter—called the *Dōla*<sup>1</sup> (bride?) in the language of the country—to the King, and begged pardon for his offences. As Mir Jumla was at the Court and had control of the King's signature and gave commissions and fiefs to whoever came to him, and as every day the King became more and more alienated from the Saiyids, the Amīr-ul-Umarā accepted the proposal of peace and took the Kunwar with him, and hastily returned. He left a body of troops in order that the bride might be brought later on. In this journey a wonderful accident occurred.

They say that when the Amīr-ul-Umarā came within sixteen *kos* of Mirtha, the Rāja's confidential agent arrived with 1,500 cavalry to carry out the peace terms, and they wanted to encamp. As it was reported that their statements were not true, and that they were preparing some stratagem so that the Rāja might get away with his baggage, Husain 'Ali Khān sent a message that if the peace was a reality, they should agree to be made prisoners, and put in chains until the arrival of the Prince. They at first, out of regard for their honour, were unwilling to do this, but at last agreed. The Amīr-ul-Umarā put chains on four influential men and made them over to the leading *jama'dārs*. When the *jama'dārs* came out of the *Divānkhāna* (hall of audience) with their prisoners, the rabble of the camp, on seeing the state of things, rushed to their tents and a fight took place. Though men were sent to repulse them, yet the vagabonds in a twinkling of an eye destroyed life and property. The Amīr-ul-Umarā released the four men, and begged their forgiveness. They too were convinced that this mischief had taken place without the Amīr-ul-Umarā's wish and wrote to this effect to the Rāja. But he had already fled on hearing of what had occurred. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless and hastened to Mirtha, and stayed there till peace had been restored. After he arrived at Delhi the question of the government of the Deccan came up. Husain 'Ali Khān wished that he should remain at the Court, and that the deputyship should be given to Dā'ūd Khān according to the precedent of Dhūlfaqār Khān. The King, at the advice of his intriguing counsellors, did not agree to this. The dispute lasted a long time. At last<sup>2</sup> it was agreed that Mir Jumla should at first go to the government of Patna, and that after that Amīr-ul-Umarā, who had charge of the appointing and removing of all public servants in the Deccan, should take leave. Accordingly in the 4th year, 1127 A.H. he set off for the Deccan. At the time of taking leave he represented to the King that if, in his absence, Mir Jumla should come to the Court, or if any difference was made in the position of Qutb-ul-Mulk, he (the King) should understand that he would come back in the space of twenty days

<sup>1</sup> *Dulhā* means a bridegroom in Hindustāni and *dulhin* means a bride. Ajit was afterwards killed by his son Abhai. According to Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 49, *dolāh* is a Hindi word for an informal marriage. The girl's name was Bāi Indar Kunwar. *Dōla* or *Dōlī* is given in Wilson's Glossary as meaning a swing or sedan chair, and also as the case when a woman of inferior rank is married to a man of superior rank. She is carried home privately without any ceremonial or procession. It was perhaps as much out of deference to Rājput feelings as of the rank of Farrukh-siyar that the marriage received the name of *Dōla*. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 741. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 301-303.

When he reached Mālwa, Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i, the governor, retired, so that there should not be an interview. The Amīr-ul-Umarā wrote to the King, "If this movement is in accordance with an intimation (from you), let it be ordered that I return from this place. Otherwise Dā'ūd Khān will behave in the same way to-morrow". In the beginning of the reign the Saiyids had been the means of saving the life of Dā'ūd Khān and recently the Amīr-ul-Umarā had procured for him from the King the deputy governorship of Burhānpūr, and he had come from Gujarāt and was established there. In answer to Amīr-ul-Umarā's report an order came saying that with regard to the misbehaviour of Jai Singh, he (Amīr-ul-Umarā) had been invested with the power of appointing or dismissing him. What likelihood was there that Dā'ūd Khān would behave in a similar manner? If he does, he should send him to the Court. But from pusillanimity and the meanness of disposition, the King, through Khān Daurān, secretly instigated Dā'ūd Khān to oppose Amīr-ul-Umarā. When the latter crossed the Narbadā it was evident that Dā'ūd Khān had severed the thread of amity, and had no intention of coming for an interview. Husain 'Alī attempted to reform him, and, as has been related in the biography of Dā'ūd Khān<sup>1</sup>, sent messages to him. The purport<sup>2</sup> of these messages was that an interview was necessary for concord, but that if he was disposed to join the opposition, he should proceed to the Court, and he (Amīr-ul-Umarā) would not prevent his doing so. Dā'ūd Khān advanced the foot of ignorance and brought the affair to a battle on 11th Ramaḍān (10th August, 1715 A.D.); an engagement took place near the city (Burhānpūr). Though Dā'ūd Khān had been severely wounded by a musket-ball, he faced the Amīr-ul-Umarā and was killed. After this victory, which inspired terror into the hearts of the leading rebels of the Deccan, Amīr-ul-Umarā made Aurangābād his headquarters and appointed Dhūlfaqr Bēg Bakhsī to chastise Khāndī Dharbaray,<sup>3</sup> the general of Rāja Sāhū, who had built forts in Khāndēsh and established *thānas*, and had disturbed the country by his demands of *Charuth* and had plundered the caravans. He met the robbers in the pargana of Bhamber,<sup>4</sup> and fought with them. The Mahrattas following their rule dispersed after a brief fight and fled. The army, which had not seen a Deccan-battle, and was not acquainted with the crooked ways of the Mahrattas, pursued them, rejoicing, when suddenly those rascals made such a hot attack that Dhūlfaqr Bēg, who had rashly advanced too far, was killed with a number of others, while the rest of the army fled. Though Saif-ud-Dīn<sup>5</sup> 'Alī Khān and Rāja Muḥkam Singh were appointed to punish that contentious tribe and hastened to the

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 63-68, Beveridge's translation, pp. 458-462.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 751. See also *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkhirin*, Calcutta reprint I, p. 92 *et seq.* In *Khāfi Khān* the date is given as the beginning of Ramaḍān, while in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 303, it is "8th Ramaḍan 1127 H. (6th September, 1715)".

<sup>3</sup> Grant Duff (1921 edn.), I, p. 348, has Khunde Rao Dharbaray and Khande Rao Dābhāde in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338. In the text it is *Khandū Dihāriya*, see *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 778 where it is *Khandū Pabāriya*.

<sup>4</sup> In the text *Bhāner*, but apparently the place is the Bhamber of Grant Duff's Map, N.N.W. of Aurangābād and S.E. of Nundoorbār. See Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 208. It was in the Sarkār Nadarbār.

<sup>5</sup> A younger brother of Husain 'Alī.

port of Sūrat, and afterwards Muḥkam<sup>1</sup> Singh went as far as Satāra, which was Sāhū's home<sup>2</sup> and abode, and omitted nothing in the way of plundering, yet the defeat was not remedied in a manner worthy of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's dignity and position. If we look only to apparent circumstances, namely, that he had ample treasure, a large army, a lofty mind, and inborn courage, the vagrant handful of Mahrattas should have been cuffed, and their account settled by drubbings, but, as the Emperor, at the instigation of the destroyers of the dominion, himself encouraged opposition to the Amīr-ul-Umarā—as in the instance of Dā'ūd Khān—and secretly and openly intrigued with the leaders of the Deccan, and even with Rāja Sāhū Bhōnslē, who had forcibly become the Rāja of the Deccan, and as in Delhī there were every day fresh disagreements with Qutb-ul-Mulk so that every moment cries of "Seize him and kill him" were heard, and he in his loneliness and alarm was writing letters to his brother and pressing him to come, the Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless, and, therefore, joined alien foes against the household ones. In 1130 A.H., he, through the intermediation of Shankrāji Malhār and Muḥammad Anwar Khān of Burhānpūr, made peace with Rāja Sāhū. The terms were that in consideration of abstaining from attacking and plundering the country, and troubling the routes and highways, and keeping up 15,000 cavalry for the *Nāzim*, *sanads* were given for the *Charuth*<sup>3</sup> and *Dēshmukhī* of the six provinces of the Deccan. Husain 'Ali's own seal was affixed to the *sanads*, and the revenues (*tankhwāh*) of the Kōnkan (Concan) and other territories, which Sāhū called his old kingdom, were made over to him and his agents were made co-partners and put into possession. Though he (Husain 'Ali), in view of the situation at the time, thought that this trafficking was to his advantage, but considering the final outcome, it resulted in a great loss. He drew the black mark of a bad name over his record for a succession of epochs. Though the desertion of religion and the abasement of Islām—God forbid that such a thing should happen!—were not contemplated by Husain 'Ali in this transaction, yet the consequence was that the power of the infidels was increased tenfold, and every day they raised their heads higher and higher. But a clear-sighted arbitrator perceives that in this shameful business, fortune and the state of the times had a great share. As the peace with the Mahrattas and the making of treaties and agreements with them and admitting them to fellowship, and the resentment of the Emperor with Qutb-ul-Mulk were all motives for the Amīr-ul-Umarā's removing from the Deccan, and as his approach to Upper India was also bruited abroad, the Emperor, from a vain thought and in order to obstruct his coming, sent off Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādūr on the pretext that he should settle Mālwa which lay on the road from the Deccan. Afterwards, as by the contrivances of I'tiqād Khān, the game of deceit was renewed between the Emperor and his minister, the former sent Ikhlās Khān—who, it was said, was held in regard by both the brothers—to soothe Husain 'Ali and to restrain him from coming to the Court. The Amīr-ul-Umarā,

<sup>1</sup> Maokoob Sing of Grant-Duff, I, p. 333. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 779, has Muḥkam.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Sambhāji and grandson of Shivāji.

<sup>3</sup> Or *Sardeshmukhī*, 10 p.c. on the collections of the six provinces, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 784. See also Grant-Duff (1921 edn.), p. 334, Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (1900), p. 192, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338, and S. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), pp. 111-118.



who had firmly resolved on coming, stopped on hearing of the new friendship between the Emperor and his minister, and waited for further news. When he heard that there had been a fresh disagreement, he, on 1st Muharram, 1131 A.H. (24th November, 1718 A.D.) left Aurangâbâd in great pomp with the army of the Deccan and with the Mahrattas. He took with him Mu'in-ud-Din,<sup>1</sup> a person of obscure origin who was represented to be a son of Prince Akbar, and wrote to the Emperor along with expressions of loyalty and fidelity that "he (Prince Akbar's son) had raised a commotion in Râja Sâhû's territory (*ta'aluqa*) and been imprisoned; I sent for him. As caution and circumspection are proper in such matters, I am bringing him myself to the Court". About the end of Rabi' I,<sup>2</sup> Husain 'Ali, encamped at Delhi near Firûz Shâh's Lât. Contrary to the etiquette<sup>3</sup> he beat his drums, and then entered his tent. He several times repeated in a loud voice that he had left the Emperor's service. Afterwards, when through the intervention of Qutb-ul-Mulk there were some negotiations and some conditions and promises were laid down, he, on 5th Rabi' II, waited upon the Emperor, and enumerated his grievances. He was received with favour and allowed to depart. Again on the 8th he mounted (his horse or elephant) with the intimation that he intended to make over the fictitious prince, and entered the house of Shâyista Khân, which had been given to him by the Emperor. Qutb-ul-Mulk and the Mahârâja (Ajit Singh) hastened to arrange about the fort and allowed no one to enter it. As the letting slip<sup>4</sup> of an opportunity may be interpreted as bad planning and as the shutting of one's eyes to such a chance would be bidding farewell to life and honour, they arranged a great coup, and entered upon a great enterprise, as has been specially described in the biography of Qutb-ul-Mulk (Text, III, pp. 135, 136). Two months had not elapsed when Nêkû-siyar,<sup>5</sup> the son of Muhammad Akbar—who was imprisoned in the Âgra fort—with the concurrence of the attendants there raised the standard of opposition. Amîr-ul-Umarâ came on the wings of swiftness and besieged the fort for three months and some days, and by the contrivance of the officers of the guards (*Ahshâm*)<sup>6</sup> got possession<sup>7</sup> of the fort and seized the property there. When Qutb-ul-Mulk had an interview at Fathpûr with Râja Jai Singh Siwâ'i—who had come from Amber to offer opposition—the Amîr-ul-Umarâ also went there. After the Râja had made peace between the brothers, there arose disputes about the goods in Âgra (fort), and angry

<sup>1</sup> Prince Akbar was the rebel son of Aurangzib. He fled to the Mahrattas and afterwards to Persia where he lived till his death. For Mu'in-ud-Din, see Khâfi Khân, II, pp. 793, 795, 807, and Grant-Duff (1921 edn.), I, p. 337, note 2, and Irvine *The Later Mughals in Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal* for 1904, p. 319, and Irvine's *Later Mughals*, op. cit., I, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338, the date of arrival outside Delhi was 16th February, 1719.

<sup>3</sup> This was one of the prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, n. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Khâfi Khân, II, pp. 808, 809.

<sup>5</sup> This was not the son who had been with the Mahrattas. For Nêkû-siyar, see Elliot, VII, pp. 308, 408 and Khâfi Khân, II, p. 825; etc. He had been imprisoned for forty years. This affair took place after Farrukh-siyar's deposition. See *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, Calcutta reprint, I, p. 144; and Irvine's *Later Mughals*, (Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 409-412.

<sup>6</sup> For *Ahshâm* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 160.

<sup>7</sup> Khâfi Khân, II, p. 836. See also Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 422-428.

and bitter messages were sent on both sides. But at last, by the tact of Rāja<sup>1</sup> Ratan Chand, an open rupture was avoided. With much disgust (on the part of Husain 'Ali) a small<sup>2</sup> portion of the property fell to the share of Qutb-ul-Mulk. As it was the design of the incomparable Deity—Whose counsels who can fathom?—that each of the brothers should wet his lips with the wine of success and then should quaff the dregs of saline water of failure, and that after having hastened some way towards fortune they should tread the path of failure, a great neglect, or a gross mistake was committed in that when after such troubles so great a thing had been brought to them by the wheel of Heaven they did not compromise with one another and mount the throne of India! If one had submitted to the other, or if the Amīr-ul-Umarā, who was universally renowned for loftiness of soul, majesty, genius and transcendent courage had got rid of Qutb-ul-Mulk and had seated himself on the throne of sovereignty, it is probable that he would have been successful, and that dominion would have long remained in his family in the same way as ancient histories narrate of other personalities! In fine, in consequence of the disturbance caused by Chahilā<sup>3</sup> Rām and Girdhar Bahādur, the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from Fathpūr to Āgra with the King Muḥammad Shāh and Qutb-ul-Mulk and remained there until the affair was settled. When Girdhar Bahādur, after the death of Chahilā Rām, was scratching the head of presumption, Haidar Qulī Khān and Muḥammad Khān Bangash were appointed, and by the intervention of Rāja Ratan Chand a peace was made and they were freed from apprehensions from that quarter (Girdhar). At this time Heaven drew a new design on the page of Fortune. Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang (Āṣaf Jāh) who, for his excellent planning, and strength of mind was a favourite officer of Aurangzib, showed an inclination to rebel against the Saiyids, and marched rapidly to the Deccan. In a short time Dilāwar Khān, the *Bakhshī* of Amīr-ul-Umarā, who had followed him with a well-equipped force, and 'Alam 'Ali Khān, the brother's son and adopted son of Husain 'Ali Khān, who had been made the *Nā'ib Ṣubadār* of the Deccan, and who with a Mahratta army and his own force had gone to encounter Nizām-ul-Mulk, were in successive battles<sup>4</sup> disposed of by the latter, losing both their properties and their lives. A strange state of things now presented itself to Husain 'Ali Khān. He did not know what the end would be. His mind became confused and every day he resolved on some new plan. Some said<sup>5</sup> that as his wife was in the Deccan he should send a *farmān* for the government of the Deccan to Nizām-ul-Mulk and so conciliate him. After that he should amend matters gradually. Meanwhile news came that Saiyid Mubārak Khān Bokhārī, the hereditary governor of Daulatābād, although he was

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 837. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> He got twenty-one lacs of rupees, after four months, *vide* Khāfi Khān, II, p. 837.

<sup>3</sup> Jhila in the text; his name was Chahila Rām Nāgar, *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 328-330, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 429, 430. Girdhar was his nephew, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 842.

<sup>4</sup> Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, in which Dilāwar 'Ali Khān was defeated, and Battle of Bālpūr, 9th August, 1720, in which 'Alam 'Ali Khān was defeated by Nizām-ul-Mulk. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-34, 47-49.

<sup>5</sup> See account of Diyānat Khān, *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 75; Beveridge's translation, p. 480, note 1.

offended at Husain 'Alī Khān having deprived him of his *jāgīr*, had, out of respect for the Saiyids, given shelter in the fort of Aurangābād to the Amīr-ul-Umarā's family and possessions, before the arrival of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and so was protecting them against enemies. This news restored in some measure the Amīr-ul-Umarā's composure. After much consultation and reflection he took the King with him and proceeded from Āgra towards the south on 9th Dhul Qa'da, 1132 (12th September, 1720) with 50,000 horse. Besides this, he also sent money everywhere to collect troops.

Good God! Those two brothers, and especially the Amīr-ul-Umarā, possessed generosity, kindness, gentleness, and innate goodness. They were never unjust or tyrannous to a single soul, and yet the Turner of hearts (God) had so disposed the minds of men, that the Saiyids' own protégés, though they knew that their ruin involved their own destruction, used to say among themselves: "O God! may this boat sink!" What then shall we say of the feelings of strangers? As I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādūr suspected,<sup>1</sup> that on account of his near relationship with Nizām-ul-Mulk, they would not in the end stay their hands from him, he, in spite of the oaths and promises of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, meditated rebellion. He stirred up Mīr Haidar<sup>2</sup> Kāshgharī—who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Dughlāts, and whose great grandfather, Mīr Haidar, was the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashādī*,<sup>3</sup> and had been always associated with Bābur and Humāyūn and for a time had been the ruler of Kashmir and the members<sup>4</sup> of whose family had the title of Mīr on account of their being hereditary sword-bearers (*Mīr-i-Shamshēr*)—to be on the watch for an opportunity of cutting the thread of the life of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, by fraud and guile.

They say, that except for the Emperor's mother, the Ṣadr-un-Nisā (Superintendent of the harem), and Sa'adat Khān Nishāpūrī—who had come to the Court, from the *faujdarī* of Hindūn-Biyāna and had been made partaker of the secret by Muḥammad Amīn Khān—no one knew about the plot. Though it was ascertained that on the night which was pregnant with the catastrophe, Mīr Jumla had, as his well-wisher, informed the Amīr-ul-Umarā, the latter had answered, "I suppose I am a melon that anyone may strike with a knife", and so paid no heed. Anyhow, on 6th Dhul Hijja, 1138 (9th October, 1720) in the second year of the reign when the camp was at Tōra<sup>5</sup> which is 35 current ('*urfī*) *kos* from Fathpūr, I'timād-ud-Daula, on the pretext of nausea and upsetting of his stomach, alighted at the advance-tents (*pēshkhāna*) of Haidar Qulī Khān, the head of the artillery (*Mīr Atīsh*). Husain 'Alī Khān (the Amīr-ul-Umarā)

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 902.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 903.

<sup>3</sup> For this work, see Prashad, Preface to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. xxx. As noted there an English translation with annotations of the work was published by N. Elias and E. D. Ross in 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the meaning is that they were called Mīrs on account of their skill in swordsmanship, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 903. It seems doubtful if Haidar Gūrgān was the great grandfather of the assassin; probably more than three generations had elapsed.

<sup>5</sup> Tōra is the Thora Bhīm of Tiefenthaler, and the Toda Bhīm of the Indian Atlas. It is 45 miles W.S.W. Fathpūr Sikri (Irvine). It lies in Rājputāna in Jaipur territory and is on or near the river Gambhīr.

after the Emperor had entered the female apartments turned back and was going in his palanquin to his quarters. When he came near the gate<sup>1</sup> of the enclosure (*gulālbār*), Mīr Haidar who was known, and was admitted to conversation, presented to the Amīr-ul-Umarā an account of his case, and began to make a verbal representation of his miserable circumstances. When he saw that Amīr-ul-Umarā was engaged in reading his petition, he so quickly and forcibly struck him with his dagger in the side that he was at once done for. Nūr Ullāh<sup>2</sup> Khān, the son of Asad Ullāh Khān known as Nawwāb Auliya, who was accompanying on foot, killed Mīr Haidar with his sword. The Moghuls ran together from every side and killed Nūr Ullāh Khān, and cut off the head of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and took it to the Emperor. As Husain 'Ali Khān's men, on arriving at the stage, had all taken up their places in ignorance of what was impending, they could not come to the spot in time. But Saiyid Ghairat<sup>3</sup> Khān as soon as he heard of what had happened, without waiting to collect men, hurried with a few followers and was killed. Another party also strove vainly. Later the body of the Amīr-ul-Umarā—which had lain in a dishonoured state, and the bodies of Ghairat Khān and Nūr Ullāh Khān were, by the King's orders after the recital of funeral prayers, placed on biers covered with gold brocade and directed to be conveyed to Ajmēr and laid in the tomb of Amīr-ul-Umarā's father, Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān.<sup>4</sup>

It has been stated by some reliable men, that before this occurrence, a pious man beheld in a dream that the martyred 3rd Imām (Husain)—Peace be upon him and his ancestors!—addressed the Amīr-ul-Umarā and said "*balagha wa'daka wa ghalba 'adāwaka*: Your time is finished and your enemies have triumphed." After the occurrence when a calculation was made, each sentence was found to form a chronogram,<sup>5</sup> each being the other inverted. Mīr 'Abdul Jalil Husaini Wāsiṭi Bilgrāmī (Mercy be upon him!) composed a splendid elegy<sup>6</sup> on Husain 'Ali. It also contains a chronogram.

### Elegy.

The signs of the Karbalā are apparent from the forehead of India,  
The blood of the descendants of the Nabī is gushing out of the soil of India.

Mourning for Husain 'Ali is current all over the world,  
The Saiyids are oppressed in India.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Siya-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Cousin of Amīr-ul-Umarā.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 905, calls him 'Izzat Khān and says he was Husain 'Ali's sister's son. But Ghairat Khān seems correct.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Siya-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, I, p. 181. For details of the conspiracy and murder, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61.

<sup>5</sup> Both sentences contain the same letters differently arranged and both yield 1132; cf. *Siya-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, I, p. 198. The Arabic words are بلغ وعدك (و) غلب عدوك. The conjunction *wa* is not part of the chronogram, and the inversion is not perfect. He is supposed to refer to both of the Saiyid brothers, but one was killed in 1132, and the other was defeated in 1133 and died of poison given in his food on 1st Muharram, 1135 or 12th October, 1722. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> The elegy consists of 36 lines, the last being the chronogram.

The lights of tears are being fed by the fires of the heart,  
 The flower of the fire of India is blooming.  
 Why does not the world become dark through the clouds of grief,  
 The lamp of the happy tidings of India has been extinguished.  
 On this count the dress of the Arabs is blue,  
 But the sleeves of India have become red with blood of sorrow.  
 Rustam-like Husain 'Ali has been murdered  
 By a dagger which lay in ambush in India.  
 That brave warrior, who, with the pen of the Sword of Bārah  
 Used to write the treatise of the conquest of India,  
 The rebels of the world have become his obedient followers  
 He has impressed the mark of authority throughout India.  
 His sword on the day of battle with unfortunate enemies  
 Used like thunder to split the steel-like forces of India.  
 Son of Mustafā, true follower of Murtaḍā  
 His name served as an oath for the pride of India.  
 India through his murder has become a soulless body,  
 In other words he was the emblem of the life of India.  
 The world has become dark like a grave to the eyes of the people  
 Since this precious stone of India has fallen out of its setting.  
 He was murdered by the son of Muljam II.  
 They say the sorrowing flower of India is from Kūfā.  
 India has never before faced such a tragedy;  
 We have looked through all famous histories and chronicles of India.  
 Patience has languished and sorrow become strong;  
 This is our Fortune at the hands of the great and small of India.  
 O friends of the family of the Prophet and the sincere lovers of the  
     descendants of the Prophet,  
 Be sorrowful for the Husain of afflicted India  
 Till God grants succour to the Saiyids  
 Against the conspiracies of their enemies.  
 The date of his martyrdom was written by the pen of Wāsītī  
 Husain was murdered by the wicked, accursed of India.

The truth is that there were few officers of his time who were equal to him in goodness. He was eminent for many excellent qualities, and was unique for his genius and humanity. Abundance of food and its ample distribution in his establishment were well known. He established *bulghūr khānas*<sup>1</sup> (barley houses) for raw and cooked grain, and held assemblies on the 11th and 12th of the month in the great cities of the Deccan; these are still carried on. In these assemblies he, with humility and reverence, personally served *shaikhs* and *faqirs*. Before he came to the Deccan, he never took money for transacting any business (*Zar-i-muḥimsāzi*). Afterwards Muḥkam Singh and the other clerks induced him to do so by making representations regarding the smallness of his income and the heavy nature of expenditure. For instance, they say that Haidar Qulī Khān, the Superintendent of the port of Sūrāt had confiscated the property of Mullā 'Abdul Ghafūr Bhōra,<sup>2</sup> the chief merchant (Malik-ut-Tujjār) of that port, although he had heirs. At the same time there

<sup>1</sup> *Bulghūr* is a Turki word meaning bruised barley or wheat.

<sup>2</sup> Properly Bōhrā. See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 91. The story is told in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 943. See also Elliot, VII, p. 520.

had occurred a change,<sup>1</sup> of sovereignty. His property was worth a krór of rupees and his son 'Abd-ul-Hayy came to the Court to seek redress and petitioned; he presented to the Amīr-ul-Umarā fifteen lacs of rupees. One day at early dawn he sent for him and made a gift to him both of the presents and the property. He also gave him a robe of honour and dismissed him. He said (to Diyānat Khān, the *Divān*), "This night I had a struggle with myself about this man's property, but at last I prevailed over my covetousness."

(IKHLĀS<sup>2</sup> KHĀN) HUSAIN BĒG.

(Vol. I, p. 151.)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān after his accession, in the first year, made Ikhlās Khān an officer of the rank of 2,000 with 800 horse, and bestowed on him a present of Rs.6,000. He was appointed to the *Divānī* of Burhānpūr. In the 3rd year, his rank was increased by 200 horse. In the 4th year, he was made *ṣaujḍār*<sup>3</sup> of Ajmēr, and in the 13th year, 1049 (1639-40 A.D.) he died. His son, Na'im Bēg, received the rank of 500 with 220 horse and died in the 15th year (1641-42 A.D.).

HUSAIN BĒG KHĀN ZIG.<sup>4</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 591-593.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law (*khwēsh*) of the famous 'Alī Mardān Khān. When Sa'id Khān, the governor of Kābul, came to Qandahār in accordance with the request of 'Alī Mardān Khān, he found the inhabitants and the subjects in a wavering condition of goodwill. He perceived that it would not be possible to make proper arrangements while the Persian troops were in the neighbourhood of Bust, and so he left 'Alī Mardān Khān in the citadel of Qandahār with a body of troops, and took with him, under the leadership of Husain Bēg, 3,000 cavalry and engaged the Persians. The latter almost overpowered 'Alī Mardān's men and made them waver, but Sa'id Khān came up in time and defeated the enemy. Then Husain Bēg with 'Alī Mardān Khān waited on Shāh Jahān and was rewarded with princely favours. As signs of capability were apparent in Husain Bēg, he was removed from the companionship of the said Khān and made Master of the Horse—a charge which is not granted to any but really trustworthy men. In the 18th year, he received, in addition, the employment of the *Tuzuk*, a decorated staff and an increase of rank. In the 21st year, he was sent away from the Court and made the governor of Kashmīr, with the title of Khān and an increase of 500 personality (*dhāt*) with 500 horse, and was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the gift of a flag and an elephant,

<sup>1</sup> See Elliot, VII, p. 520. The change, apparently, was the death of Farrukh-siyar. Khāfi Khān mentions that Husain 'Alī made the remark to Diyānat Khān.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 727.

<sup>4</sup> In the list at the beginning of the volume Zig is wrongly printed as Ūzbez.

and went off there. In the 28th year, he was made the *faujdar* of the *Miyān Dūāb* in succession to Ghaḍanfiar Khān and was sent to take charge of the buildings of Mukhlispūr, the foundation of which had been fixed for 17th Muḥarram, 1065 A.H. In the 31st year, he was again appointed to a confidential position and made *Mir Tuzuk*. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he had charge of the royal artillery. Dārā Shikōh's artillery was under the charge of Barqandāz Khān and was on the right, and the royal artillery was on the left and both were in front of the armies. Neither yielded to the other in kindling the flames of battle and in the heat of contest. But what remedy was there for a ruined leader! After Dārā Shikōh's flight, and when the business of the state fell to Aurangzib's servants, Ḥusain Bēg was exalted by kissing the threshold of the Caliphate. In the year of the accession he was appointed as the *faujdar* of Bangash, but in the end of the second year he was removed. In the 18th year, he was made the *faujdar* of Jaunpūr, and in the 19th year in the end of the year 1086 A.D. (1676 A.D.) he died. His sons, Mirzā 'Aṭā Ullāh and Mirzā Amān, were long in attendance on the Emperor. The former died after attaining the rank of 700, while the other was appointed to Kābul and there distinguished himself and was given the name of Nāṣir Khān. His biography has been given separately (Text, III, pp. 833-835).

(SAIYID) ḤUSAIN KHĀN BĀRAH.

(Vol. II, pp. 500-502.)

He was one of the officers of Bahādur Shāh. When the management of the affairs of the kingdom passed into the hands of this King, and differences arose between Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i and his brother, Bijai Singh, who were with the royal forces in Kābul, the King, who was innately complaisant, decided for the sake of removing the differences to confiscate Amber<sup>1</sup> as a royal possession, and appointed the above-mentioned Khān as the *faujdar* of that area. During this period Bahādur Shāh started towards the Deccan for opposing Kām Bakhsh. Rāja Jai Singh and Mahārāja Ajit Singh, without permission, left the victorious army for their homes, and having collected forces on arrival took possession of several of the royal *thānas*. On perceiving this state of affairs, Saiyid Husain Khān reviewed the old and new forces, and with his three sons, Abū Sa'id Khān, Ghairat Khān and Hasan Khān, and his brother-in-law Mahābat Khān, and his two nephews, Muhammad Zamān Khān and Saiyid Mas'ūd Khān, proposed to fight in Amber. But as the very large ant- and locust-like hordes of fanatic Rājputs created disturbances all over, the new recruits of Ḥusain Khān losing courage took to flight. Consequently the said Khān with a small army came out of Amber and faced Durgā Dās Rāthōr in the field of Kāla Dahra. The Rājputs on being vanquished fled, but the baggage of the said Khān was plundered, and one of his sons, who was accompanying it, was made a martyr. Next morning the aforesaid Khān without much equipment reached Nārñol, and after collecting further forces engaged in battle

<sup>1</sup> انبیر Anbīr in the text. This happened during Bahādur Shāh's invasion of Rājputāna in 1707; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, pp. 46, 47.

once again with Rājā Jai Singh near the town of Sāmbhar<sup>1</sup>. In the beginning the said Khān was successful, but suddenly two to three thousand musketeers, who were lying in ambush below an embankment, came out and started fire. The aforesaid Khān, who had only a small force and most of which was also wounded, was killed with other officers. And of his nephews, Muḥammad Zamān Khān and Saiyid Mas'ūd Khan who were captured, the first was killed, and the second, who was not more than 16 years old, was taken before the Rājā. The Rājā gave urgent injunctions for the dressing of his wounds, and Saiyid Husain Khān was buried in the field of martyrs. This event occurred in the 2nd year of the reign of Bahādur Shāh corresponding to the year 1120 A.H.<sup>2</sup> It is stated that the Rājā had a very elegant garden laid out and a suitable building erected over the grave of the said Khān on the bank of the Sāmbhar Lake. No information regarding the rank of the said Khān has come to hand.

### HUSAIN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ.<sup>3</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 600-605.)

He was the eldest son of Sultān Aḥmad A'zam Shāhī. When his father at the summons of Aurangzib intended to proceed to the Court from the town of Qaṣūr (south of Lāhōre) which is the native place of the Khwēshgīs, and died, Husain Khān's two brothers, Bāyazīd Khān and Pīr Khān, reached the Court and received offices. But Husain Khān himself and the fourth brother returned to their accustomed abode and did not try at all to secure service. Although he nominally held an office (*mansab*), yet he never stirred from his home, and what others obtained by hard endeavours he received, in double and quadruple measure, by merely sitting in his house. He remained reclined on the pillow of dominion of that country and with a large army and numerous followers unfurled the flag of: I and not another. He did not render any accounts to the government of Lāhōre, but sent them offerings of some things which he took from their fiefs in that quarter. And though he gave himself out as a mad man, yet he was prudent in business and paid proper respect to the holy family of the Saiyids. He never made the least failure in offering all respects to the Saiyids. He was specially devoted to a notorious devotee known as Batak,<sup>4</sup> and did whatever he said. He never refused him, and while he was seated, every hour they brought him the news that the Miyān Sāhib is well, and he responded by thanking God. That devotee was called Muḥammad Khān, and belonged to the Batakzā'is. Suddenly madness took possession of him, and he became violent. For a long time he was kept with his feet chained. At last he got into companionship with Husain Khān.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the battle and death of Saiyid Husain Khān Bārah see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 321, 332, for an account of the rebellion of Rājā Jai Singh. The date of the battle is given there as September, 1708, which would correspond to the latter half of Jumāda II or earlier half of Rajab, 1120 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> See Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it should be Bhik, as in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 864.



## Verse.

The madman is pleased when he sees a madman.

In his state of rapture he occasionally said true things and this increased Husain Khān's respect for him.

The Batakza'is are descended from Shaikh Batak, and he, according to all, was the son of Khwēshgī. Some make him the grandson of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Maudūd Chishtī, but according to the disciple Wattū Shūriyānī<sup>1</sup> Batak is sprung from Wattū. He is known as the great Pīr (*Pīr Kabīr*). Shūriyān was the name of his father who was the son of Khwēshgī. Batak had three sons, Wattū, Husain, and Khalaf. The first was seized by the attraction of Divine love. He went forth to seek his teacher, and when after surmounting many difficulties he came to the town of Chisht (in Khurāsān) he entered the service of Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī, with whom Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Sanjarī (the Ajmēr Saint)—May his grave be holy!—is connected through two generations. His wishes were gratified there, and he remained long in the service of the saint. He regarded that place as his real home, but when the Khwāja died, Wattū returned to his native country. Many of the hill-men, and all the Khwēshgīs and the Jamand<sup>2</sup> (tribe) became his adherents. One of his perfect disciples was Shaikh Batak, who was his father's brother and one of the pious men of the age. He (apparently Wattū) uttered a prayer in reference to him to the effect that till the Day of Judgment his descendants might be masters of knowledge and holiness. Accordingly<sup>3</sup> many of this branch have been masters of perfection, and the clan is also known as the *Pirādaqī*.

They say, that Pīr Wattū's dress was black, and that when Shaikh Batak attained the highest degree of sainthood, Wattū gave him his own clothes and adopted white for himself. Hence it is that the Batakza'is regard everything black as blessed while the Watūza'is regard it as unfortunate. The standard of the Khwēshgīs is black and white, in memory of the two saints.

In short, Husain Khān beat the drum of independence in the town of Qasūr and its neighbourhood, and said nothing to the leading *jāgirdārs* or to their inferiors but what savoured of arrogance and presumption. At last Bahādur Shāh came to Lāhōre and set up his abode there. Afterwards there occurred contentions among the royal princes. Husain Khān did not refrain from commotion and fighting—which were inevitable at such a time—and carried on his evil practices. When in the beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign the government of the Panjāb fell into the hands of 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Khān Dilār Jang, he opened communications of sincerity and harmony with the Khān and came to Lāhōre to interview him. He also entrusted to him the *faujdarī* of Lakhī Jangal. This only increased Husain's arrogance and his turbulence was augmented. When the governor perceived that Husain swallowed up the revenues of Lakhī Jangal, as he had done those of Qasūr, and rendered no accounts, and

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Shūrbānī. The MSS. seem to have a *b* instead of a *y*.

<sup>2</sup> Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 402. See Bellew, *loc. cit.*, p. 19, where the word is spelt Zamand.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 777; for an account of a descendant of the Khwēshgīs.

that he got nothing but regret and disappointment from his move, he appointed Qutb-ud-Dīn Rōhila to proceed to his domain. Husain behaved perversely to him also and insulted him. Not content with that, he led any army against him and destroyed his life and property. Nevertheless 'Abd-us-Ṣamad for a time neglected to take further measures.

When Husain's immoderation passed all bounds, the governor resolved to settle the affair. He marched out with 7,000 cavalry from Lāhōre and wrote to Husain Khān: "Qaṣūr and its territory have been given to you. Refrain from interfering with other estates." He did not stay at home, but came out to oppose with 3,000 horse. Some are of opinion that the Saiyids, who were the centre of imperial affairs, instigated him by the bait of his obtaining the government of Lāhōre to give battle to Dilēr Jang. And some say that Qutb-ul-Mulk (the elder of the two Saiyids) wrote to 'Abd-us-Ṣamad on receipt of a letter from Saiyid Hasan Khān Bārah, the *Ṣubadār* of Lāhōre—who had gone by way of Qaṣūr and who was acquainted with his arrogance and infatuation—that he should not withhold his hand from (attacking) him, and also made him an assignment for the troops on the treasury of Lāhōre. Anyhow, an engagement took place near the town of Jhūnī<sup>1</sup>—which is 30 *kos* from Lāhōre and 18 from Qaṣūr, on 6th Jummāda II, of the 2nd year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1132 A.H. = 15th April, 1720): There was a severe contest. The furious Afghāns so smote upon the guns that sparks flew out of them. After hand to hand fights the vanguard on both sides—commanded on Husain's side by his brother's son Muṣṭafā Khān, the son of 'Alī Khān, the son-in-law (*khwēsh*?) of Bāyazid Khān, and on the other by Karīm Qulī Khān, the Bakhshī of Dilēr Jang's army—manfully gave their lives. Āghar Khān, the pride<sup>2</sup> of the Moghuls, who, along with 'Arif Khān Chēlā, was on the left wing, encountered Husain Khān. With 50 or 60 unerring<sup>3</sup> archers he (Āghar) stood firm and discharged arrows. Husain Khān got away from him and attacked Dilēr Jang, and there was a severe fight. At last the governor's men could not resist and Dilēr Jang was nearly defeated. Leading officers like Jānī Khān, Hifz Ullāh Khān displayed activity, and Āghar Khān came forward a second time and started fighting. Just then Husain Khān's elephant-driver was killed and the darvish<sup>4</sup> formerly mentioned, who was helping in the driving of the elephant, was killed by an arrow. When Husain Khān was wounded, the Moghuls made the elephant the target of arrows and bullets and put an end to him (Husain Khān). This occurred in the year 1130<sup>5</sup> A.H.

<sup>1</sup> In the text Jhūnī. Perhaps this is Chūniān in the Lāhōre district. In Elliot, VII, p. 491, where Khafī Khān is partially translated, it is Jhūnī.

<sup>2</sup> *چشم منور* literally eye of the Moghuls.

<sup>3</sup> *Tir-andāz qadr-andāz*, lit. archers who were throwers of cannon-balls.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the early part of the article where a madman named Muḥammad Khān is mentioned. Khafī Khān, who gives a full account of the battle (II, pp. 861-864), says that the name of Husain Khān's favourite who was killed was Shāh Bhik. In the Index to the *Maṭṭiṭir*, p. 47, the notice is described as "Husain Khān Khwēshġ" and "the account of Shāh Bēg!"

<sup>5</sup> This date is incorrect as in it it is stated earlier on that the battle took place in 1132!

## HUSAIN KHÂN TUKRIYĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 551-554.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Mahdī Qāsim Khān<sup>1</sup>. In the beginning of his career he was a servant of Bairām Khān Khānān. When in the second year of his reign Akbar, after the capture of Mānkōt, stayed four months and four days in Lāhōre for the arrangement of affairs in that province, and in Šafr 965 A.H. proceeded to Delhī, Husain Khān was appointed as the governor of Lāhōre. One day he, while transacting public business there, saluted a long-bearded Hindū under the impression that he was a Muhammadan. After that he passed an order that Hindūs should sew a badge<sup>2</sup> (*ghiyārī*) on their dress near the shoulder, and that, with a *kasr* under the first letter, is a yellow patch which the Jews used to wear on their shoulders for distinguishing themselves. This in Hindī is called *tukrī*. Consequently he became known by the name of the Tukriyā (the patcher). At the time when Akbar became alienated from Bairām Khān, and the latter's soldiers left him and joined the royal stirrups in the town of Jhūjhar, no person of influence remained with him except Husain Khān Tukriyā and Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram. After Bairām Khān was overthrown, Husain Khān entered the Emperor's service. In the 11th year, when Mahdī Qāsim Khān became disgusted with the government of Garh and went off by the route of the Deccan to the Hijāz, Husain Khān escorted him for part of the way. When, as he was returning, he came to the town of Satwās (not Santwās)<sup>3</sup> in Mālwa, the commotion of the rebel Mīrzās took place. Husain Khān was obliged to take shelter in the town along with Muqarrab Khān who was the *Tiyūldār* there. When Muqarrab Khān<sup>4</sup> hastily gave up the struggle Husain Khān came out and waited upon Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, but did not agree to take up service under him, though urged to do so. In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to extirpate Khan Zāmān Shaibānī, he served under him, and as there was then a brisk market of appreciation, and as the King was impressed by his courage, good service and zeal, he encompassed him with varied favours. And though he did not know how to manage<sup>5</sup> any complicated affairs he was raised to the high position of an Amīr and received the rank of 3,000. Inasmuch as the world's wine overthrows men, and a narrow capacity

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 199-202. Husain Khān quarrelled with Mahdī Qāsim when the latter on his return from the Hijāz was granted Lucknow as his fief.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *'iyayārī* عياري, and there is the variant *Ghubārī*, but the true reading is *ghiyārī*, *ghiyār* being the Arabic word for a badge, such as is worn by the Jews, etc., see Lane's *Dictionary*, p. 2316. The *Maāthir* has taken the passage from Badāyūnī, Text, II, p. 223, see Lowe's translation, II, p. 227, where the word is explained and spelt by the author. The Jew colour mark was yellow, but apparently all that Husain ordered was that it was to be of a different colour from the rest of the stuff. Badāyūnī says that Husain by mistake rose up to greet the Hindū.

<sup>3</sup> The chief town of Nemāwar, Indore District, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> In the text *dasbāgha*, but the variant *daspācha* is adopted here.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the text is rather obscure. Blochmann has "His contingent was not ready". The literal translation seems to be: He did not know how to manage a number of men. The words are from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 143.

cannot digest it, he could not control himself. He practised violence and oppression in his fief and exceeded his powers. When, in the 19th year, the royal standards moved to the Eastern districts, his misfortune kept him back from that service. One day Akbar inquired about him and asked why he was not present. It was represented that he had been seized with a frenzy, and that he was employing himself in attacking and plundering the peasantry. As there was work in hand, no one was sent to chastise him, but measures were taken to confiscate his fief. After the conquest of Patna and Hājipūr, when Akbar was returning towards Āgra, Husain Khān came to the camp, but was not admitted to an interview. In his madness he bade adieu to worldly affairs, and chose to be a *qalandar*. Royal favour again succoured him and an arrow<sup>1</sup> from the royal quiver was given to him in order that by this he may take possession of the fief which had been made crown-land, and address himself to the collection of recruits. When for this purpose he obtained leave from the Presence, he, in his madness, resumed his blameworthy practices and plundered and ravaged the country. One day he came to Basantpūr belonging to Kumāñ, as its mines and prosperity had excited his fancy. As the forehead of the final affairs of evil-doers is marked with failure, he fought a battle without organization and was defeated, and wounded by a bullet. Previous to this Šādiq Khān had been despatched to put a stop to his commotions. Though his severe wound had already brought him to his senses to some extent, the fame of the victorious army (of Akbar) made him still more sensible, and all the vagabonds left him. Through the efforts of his well-wishers it appeared to him that the proper course was to betake himself by boat from Garh Muktesar<sup>2</sup> and present himself before Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by his mediation his offences might be covered with the scarf of lenience. Active men came to the town of Mārharā,<sup>3</sup> and laid hands on him, and in accordance with orders he was taken to Āgra and put into<sup>4</sup> his (own?) house in the year, 983 A.H., where he died of his wound. His son, Yūsuf Khān,<sup>5</sup> was included among the Amīrs in the time of Jahāngīr.

(KHĀN<sup>6</sup> JAHĀN) HUSAIN QULI BĒG.

(Vol. I, pp. 645-653.)

He was the sister's son of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān. His father, Walī Bēg Dhūl Qadr, in the time of Bairām Khān's prosperity had fine *jāgīrs* and was supreme over all other officers. In the battle at the town of Dikdār Jālandhar, which took place between Bairām Khān and Shams-

<sup>1</sup> See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> In Meerut District, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> In the text Bārāh, but *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 144, has Mārharā and the variant Bārharā. Mārharā in Etah district appears to be correct.

<sup>4</sup> According to Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, p. 224, he was placed in Šādiq Khān's house.

<sup>5</sup> Yūsuf Khān died in 1621 A.D., in the 18th year of Jahāngīr, vide Roger and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, p. 202. He had become extremely stout and died suddenly after paying his respects to Shāh Jahān. The author of the *Maathir-ul-Umarā* apparently did not know the 2nd volume of *Tūzūk*.

<sup>6</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 348-351.

ud-Dīn Khān Atka, he was wounded and made a prisoner, and afterwards died of his wounds. Akbar, who knew that all the turmoil and confusion of Bairām Khān was due to his instigation, had his head cut off and sent to the Eastern Provinces. Husain Quli Bēg, who was of sound judgment and good sense, was sent by Khān-Khānān with the insignia of his office at the time when the King's mind was alienated from him, to the Presence from Mēwāt, in the hope that he might by submission and supplication achieve something. At the same time, the departure of Khān-Khānān to the Panjāb, which was an indication of sedition and rebellion, became known. Accordingly Husain Quli was put in charge of Āsaf Khān 'Abdul Majid who was the governor of Delhi, to be treated compassionately, and to see that no harm came to him. After the termination of the affair of Bairām Khān, Husain Quli Khān was released, and was always treated with favour in view of his loyalty and services. In the 8th year, 971, when Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ahrārī fled from the Court without cause, Akbar gave Husain Quli Bēg the title of Khān and the fiefs of Ajmēr and Nāgōr in supersession of the Mirzā and sent him to pursue the latter. As the Mirzā left the imperial territories without fighting, Husain Quli Khān without difficulty took possession of the fiefs and arranged for their settlement. In a short time he took the fort of Jōdhpūr, which was the residence of Rāi Māldēv—who was distinguished from the other Rājas of India by splendour and by the number of his followers—and which after his death was the seat of his younger son, Chandar Sēn. During the siege of Chittōr, Husain Quli Khān displayed great energy in pursuing Rānā Udai Singh, and was thanked and praised.

When in the 13th year, the officers of the Atka Khail were summoned to the Presence from the Panjāb, the government of that territory, which is one of the great domains of the empire, was given to Husain Quli Khān. But on account of the emergence of the affair of Ranthambhōr, he did not leave Akbar and acquired glory by being attached to the stirrups of victory. After the fort was taken and Akbar had gone to Āgra, he obtained leave to look after his estates. In the 17th<sup>1</sup> year, he went to take the fort of Nagarkōt which was in the possession of Rāja Jai Chand, and whose son Badi Chand, after his father was imprisoned, regarded himself as his father's successor, and believing the latter to be dead, became rebellious. When he came near Dhamtūrī<sup>2</sup> Janū (?), the governor of the place became suspicious on account of his relationship to Jai Chand and withdrew. But he sent agents and undertook to provide guides. The Khān left a party of his men to form a guard (*thānadārī*) in the village on the road and pressed forward. When he came to the fort of Kōtilah (or Kūtilah)—which was a sky-high fortress—he discharged some cannon from the top of a hill which was over against the fort and terrified the besieged. At night they took to flight. Inasmuch as this fort was formerly the property of Rāja Anam Chand, the Rāja of

<sup>1</sup> The 18th year according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's translation, II, p. 398, but it really was the 17th, vide *Akbar-nāma*, Text, II, p. 370; and Beveridge's translation, II, p. 538. The siege, however, lasted till the 18th year, vide *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, p. 38 and Beveridge's translation, III, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Damhart, Elliot, V, p. 357, where the name of the governor is given as Choto. Perhaps the word is Janūha, or Janjūa, which is the name of a Rājput caste. It is Janūrū in De's text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 257.

Gwāliyār<sup>1</sup>, and Rāja Rām Chand, the grandfather of Jai Chand, had forcibly taken it, he made it over to the Rāja of Gwāliyār, who was a descendant of Anain Chand, and established his own *thāna*. And, as there was such an amount of forest that it was difficult for the army to proceed, he sent light infantry<sup>2</sup> each day to cut down the jungle sufficient for a march. On 1st Rajab 980 A.H., the army encamped at Nagarkōt. At the first onset they took the fort of Bhawan where the idol-temple of Mahāmā'i was, and a great number of Rājapūts and Brahmans, who in the hope of acquiring merit stood firm, were sent to destruction. After that the wall outside of Nagarkōt was also taken and *sābat* (covered ways) and batteries (*sarkōb*) were made. Every day buildings were demolished by the cannon and animals<sup>3</sup> (?) were killed. While Rāja Budai Chand was eating, a large cannon was discharged so that about eighty men were killed under the wall.

In short, the business of the fort was nearly finished, when suddenly the commotion of the approach of the rebellious Mirzās, Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā and Mas'ūd Mirzā, stirred up the province of the Panjāb. There was also a great scarcity in the army. Consequently Husain Quli Khān was helpless, and made peace on receiving five maunds of gold as tribute and much stuff, and laid the foundation of a mosque in front of the house of Rāja Jai Chand, and in two days raised it up to the portico. On Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl of the same year, after reciting the *Khutba* in the King's name, Husain Quli Khān departed from that place. In company with Ismā'il Quli Khān and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Radāvi he hastened after the rebels. In the town of Talandah (or Talam-bah), forty *kos* from Multān, he came upon them without warning, and a battle took place between them. Ibrāhīm Husain was defeated and fled to Multān and Muḥammad Husain with some companions was seized. Husain Quli Khān, in the 18th year, 981 A.H., when Akbar returned to Agra after the conquest of Gujarāt, and the officers came from all quarters to offer their congratulations, produced Mas'ūd Husain with his eyes sewn up and other prisoners dressed up in the skins of cattle—from which the horns had not been removed. They presented a strange appearance. The King out of extreme kindness and gentleness caused the eyes of the Mirzā to be opened and granted many of the prisoners their lives. Husain Quli Khān was raised to high office, and got the title of Khān Jahān, than which there was no higher title in the empire except that of Khān-Khānān. When Mirzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, took refuge at the Court from the oppression of his grandson, Mirzā Shāhrukh, an order was given to Khān Jahān to proceed with the brave army of the Panjāb in company with the Mirzā to Badakhshān and to place the old ruler on the *masnad* of that country. Meanwhile, in the 20th year, 983 A.H., Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, the *Ṣubadār* of Bengāl, died, and there was a great commotion in that country. The officers of the auxiliary force became frightened of the pestilential air

<sup>1</sup> This is not the Gwalior in Central India, but a hill state in the Panjab. It is the Goler of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 310. It is spelt Gwālār in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p. 257, and translation II, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> *Hashare*, see Vullers, I, p. 620. The account is apparently based on *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, pp. 257-259, and translation II, pp. 400, 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Jāndārān* may refer either to men or to the number of sacred cows that were killed.

of the country, and to this was added the domination of Dā'ūd the Afghān—who claimed the sovereignty of the country, and who now broke his treaty and again raised the head of commotion. The officers at once left their stations and departed from the country. As it is a leading principle of Akber that urgent matters should have preference to other affairs, the King hurriedly summoned Khān Jahān from the Panjāb and made him the *Ṣubadār* of Bengal. He sent along with him Rāja Todar Mal, who was distinguished for courage and ability, and who had done brilliant acts in the province. The Bengāl officers met Khān Jahān at Bhāgalpūr, and some of them objected about the climate and were loath to return, while others made the difference of religion a pretext, and indulged in foolish talk. Khān Jahān, who had assumed the rôle of a veteran commander, did not yield and by means of soothing and kindness laboured to restore unanimity, and though most of the officers were Chaghtā'is and unwilling to submit to a Qazalbāsh (Persian), he, by a little exertion, liberated Garhī; which is the gateway of Bengāl, and recovered the lost territory as far as Tānda. He made constant endeavours to compose the disorders. Dā'ūd Khān Kararānī strengthened Ākmaḥal (Rājmaḥal) and planted himself in front of the royal forces. There was a battle every day, but, though Khān Jahān and Rāja Todar Mal made great efforts, the work did not advance owing to want of zeal on the part of the men. One day Khwāja 'Abdullāh Naqshbandi went out from his battery with some followers and offered battle. A large body of the enemy advanced to fight, and the Khwāja's companions did not support him. He, from nobility of nature, stood firm, and played away the coin of his life. When this news reached Akbar, he was grieved and sent an order to Muẓaffar Khān, the governor of Bihār, quickly to join the Bengāl army with the fiefholders of Bihār. As soon as, in 984 A.H., Muẓaffar Khān joined with the Bihār troops, Khān Jahān arranged his forces and made ready for battle. By chance on the night that was pregnant with victory, a cannon-ball from the imperial camp reached the *chahārpāy* (bedstead) on which Junaid Kararānī, Dā'ūd's paternal uncle, was sleeping and broke his leg. After that there was a hot engagement, and Kālā Pahār, the leader of the enemy's right wing, was wounded and fled. The battle had not reached the centre when a stone of dispersal fell among the Afghāns and they gave way and fled. Many were slain by the pursuing heroes. Dā'ūd wanted to retire, but his horse got stuck in a bog and he was made a prisoner. When he was brought before Khān Jahān, the latter asked him what had become of the oaths and treaties he had made with Khān-Khānān. He had the impudence to say that it was a temporary agreement<sup>1</sup>, and that a fresh one might now be made. Khān Jahān ordered that he should be relieved of the weight of his plotting head, and immediately sent his head to Akbar by Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān. The latter had been sent post haste to Khān Jahān to convey the good news of the victory of Cōcanda which Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha had gained over the Rānā, and also to announce Akbar's march to the officers of the Eastern Provinces. At the time of dismissing him Akbar had said that

<sup>1</sup> The text has *zabānī* or *verbal* but the variant *zamānī* or temporary appears to be more correct. See also *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 182, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 255.

as he was taking this good news, he should also bring back the good tidings of the conquest of Bengāl. Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān returned in eleven days at the time when the King was setting out from Fathpūr and flung the sedition-monger's head into the *Jilaukhāna* (yard for horses). There was a great shout, and bulletins of the victory were sent to various quarters of the empire. After this conspicuous victory Khan Jahān sent Rāja Tōdar Mal to the Court, and went himself to Satgāōn, where Dā'ūd's family was. Jamshīd, who belonged to his clan, resisted him, and met with a great defeat, and Dā'ūd's mother and her associates submitted. That country, which of old had been called *Bulghākhkhāna* (house of strife) because it was never free from commotion, became by the genius and courage of Khān Jahān again a place of tranquillity. Rāja Mal Gosā'in, the Zamīndār of Kūch (Cooch Behār) also submitted, and the Khān Jahān sent as tribute the rarities of that country together with 54 noted elephants. As some Afghāns were making a disturbance in the Bhatī country, and 'Isā Zamīndār there showed signs of disaffection, Khān Jahān proceeded to that quarter in the 23rd year, and sent a large army ahead. After severe fighting 'Isā was defeated and fled, and the Afghāns submitted. Khān Jahān having attained the objects of his wishes returned to Shīhātūr which was a city he had founded near Tānda, and raised up the flag of joy and success. Every day, however, ends in sorrow and every perfection ends in loss :

*Verse.*

No good fortune is perfectly conformable to desire,  
When the book is completed, the page must be turned.

So Khān Jahān in a short time lay on the bed of sickness for one and a half months. Indian doctors did not understand the case and applied improper remedies. In the same year, 986 A.H., December, 1578, A.D., he died. He was a Panj hazārī among Akbar's nobles. His son, Raḍā Qulī<sup>1</sup>, in the 47th year, was raised to the rank of 500 with 300 horse.

(MIR) ḤUSĀM-UD-DIN.

(Vol. III, pp. 323, 324.)

He was a real pearl. By origin he was from Badakhshān, but he was born and nourished on the sacred soil of Hindūstān. His father, Qāḍī Nizām Badakhshī<sup>2</sup>, who was exalted to the ranks of Amīrs in the reign of Akbar, was honoured with the title of Qāḍī Khān. And later, as he showed a marked talent in the battles and crusades against the infidels he was granted the title of Ghāzī Khān; accordingly his biography has been written down in its proper place (Text, II, pp. 857-862). The Mir, as he was highly versed in the details of etiquette, was given a high place of trust amongst the officials. He was married to the sister of the

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 351, in the account of Khān Jahān.

<sup>2</sup> For his life, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 488, 489.



famous 'Allāmi Shaikh Abū Faḍl. During the time when, on appointment, he went to the Deccan, the instrument of his companionship became attuned with that of Khān-Khānān Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, and, as a result, his fortune woke up from the sleep of forgetfulness, and eternal wealth came to his doors. Suddenly ardent Divine fervour cut short his worldly attachments; in the height of his youth he gave up all connections with his relations, and cutting out luxury and lust from his life, wanted to separate himself from Khān-Khānān. The latter, however, had developed such regard for him that he was not likely to give him up, and so he feigned insanity in the hope that he would thus be left to himself. Afterwards he proposed to go to Delhi and spend the rest of his life at the feet of Mirzā Sulṭān-ul-Mashā'ikh<sup>1</sup>. Although Khān-Khānān tried his best by entreaty and urging, and advised and cajoled him in all possible ways, it proved useless. Next he started wandering in the streets and bāzārs, and stripping himself smeared his body with dust and mud. Khān-Khānān accompanied by other Amīrs went and brought him back to his own house and started to counsel him afresh; he consoled and comforted him, but received no answer. When, as a result of a representation from Khān-Khānān, the news reached the royal ears, he (Husām-ud-Din) was permitted to retire to Delhi. His wife also cutting off all connections with her brothers and relations at the behest of her husband gave away to darvīshes all cash and property that she possessed. It is stated that he spent thirty years in retirement. And twelve thousand<sup>2</sup> rupees used to be sent annually by Khān-Khānān for the expenses of his Khānqah. After becoming a darvīsh he never read a book. Most of his time he spent in reciting and repeating the word of God. Every month he finished fifteen readings of the Qur'ān. In the end he became a disciple of the well-known Saiyid Khawāja Bāqī Billah of Samarcand, who was born in Kābul. He, on being initiated and confirmed by him, and with his permission, occupied himself in following the holy commands and initiating and guiding the young followers along the right path till he departed for the other world.

(Mīr) HUSĀM-UD-DIN ANJŪ, MURTAḌĀ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 382-384.)

He was the son of Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Add-ud-Daula. His brother Amin-ud-Dīn became the son-in-law of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and so acquired distinction. He died young. Mīr Husām-ud-Dīn married the sister<sup>3</sup> of Aḥmad Bēg Khān, the brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, and by this glorious alliance received high honours. He strove much to oblige and please that chaste lady. Whenever on

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya of Delhi. For his life, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 439, states that Rs.12,000 was given by his wife "as allowance for the cell of her husband", but the allowance was apparently paid by Khān-Khānān.

<sup>3</sup> She was the daughter of Nūr Jahān Bēgam's uncle, see *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation) II, p. 277.

New Year's Day and on festivals the Bēgam would come to the palace, the Mīr was not allowed to enter without permission. In the reign of Jahāngīr he was appointed to the charge of the fort of Āsīr, which in its height and fortifications and all matters pertaining thereto is unique in the conquered dominions.

When the Prince, the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, perceived that on account of the pursuit of the imperial army he could not remain in Māndū, and on the 17th crossed the Narbadā with the design of attacking Burhānpūr, and sent a body of troops to protect the ferries and to seize the boats, and came near Āsīr, he sent his servant Sharifā with an order full of threats to the Mīr. The latter left out of consideration his being a house-born servant, his father's fame, or loyalty and devotion to his master's service, and in spite of the vast supply of cannon and muskets, and abundance of stores, such as did not exist even to a hundredth part in other forts, and impregnability of the fortress owing to the difficulty of ingress, which was such that an old woman could have stopped a Rustam, and as soon as he received the Prince's order, he made over the fort to Sharifā, and came<sup>1</sup> out with wife and child and did homage. The Prince received him graciously and conferred favours upon him. Afterwards, when the Prince came to the throne, he took into consideration the Mīr's good service and gave him the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the same<sup>2</sup> year he received the title of Murtadā Khān and was given Rs.50,000 in cash and appointed governor of Sindh in succession to Shēr Khwāja who had died on the way thither.

As the envious heavens are hostile to success, his place had not become warm when in the end of the 2nd year, 1039 A.H. (1629-30 A.D.) he died. Among his sons, Mīr Šamsām-ud-Daula did well. In the 21st year, he became the *Divān* of Prince Shujā'. In the 28th year, he went as the Prince's deputy to take charge of Orissa and had the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse; he died at the end of the same year.

#### HUSĀM-UD-DĪN KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 584-587.)

Mīrzā Husām-ud-Dīn Hasan was the grandson of Muḥammad Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān. His father was Nizām-ud-Dīn 'Alī. He was a careless man of pleasure, and in his youth he lived a thoroughly independent life. In consequence of the relationship which his family had with Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh, he, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, became active in the King's service and served in various capacities in the Deccan. In the 15th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and became *Bakhshi* of the Deccan. Though from trustworthiness and disinterestedness he mixed freely with men, yet his prudence and ability enabled him to conduct himself so well that he was much praised. The governors of the Deccan treated him with honour. Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang was instrumental in his advancement and impressed upon

<sup>1</sup> *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 210; and *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> He received the title of Murtadā Khān and the rank mentioned from Shāh Jahān in Jahāngīr's lifetime; see *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *loc. cit.*, p. 278.

Shāh Jahān his skill and honesty. In the 18th year, he obtained the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse and the title of Khān. In the 21st year, he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was then relieved of the *Bukhshiship* and made the governor of the fort of Ūdgīr. As he had already a reputation for knowledge and skill, he now wished to get one for courage, and so stretched out the arm of resolution and distinguished himself by overthrowing the turbulent and rebellious up to the borders of Gōlconda. He emerged from the position of clerkship and became a leader, and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse. In the 30th year, he was removed from the governorship of Ūdgīr and made *faujdar* of Telingāna in succession to Hādī Dād Khān Anṣārī.

It is not known when he was made governor of Berār, except that in the *Mirāt-ul-Ālām* it is stated that after the accession of Aurangzīb and when that fortunate Prince crossed the Biyās in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, the governorship of Berār was given to Saiyid Salābat Khān entitled Ikhtisās Khān in succession to Husām-ud-Dīn Khān, and that the *faujdarī* of Bijāgarh was given to the latter. The year of his death does not appear (in any work).

Though Husām-ud-Dīn was busy with worldly affairs, he always spent his days in pleasure and sport, and never crossed the path of care and sorrow. He was much skilled in music and could extemporise (verses). Though he did not apply himself to the acquisition of science, yet from frequent intercourse with learned men he was acquainted with every science so that at the time of exposition he was never at a loss. He wrote beautifully with the handwriting of a master, and was unequalled as a composer of distiches (*gi'ā navīst*). He was also much given to hunting. He had many children, and good sons. The eldest, Mirzā Nī'mat Ullāh, was the most famous of the brothers. He was with Aurangzīb when the latter marched to assume sovereignty, and after the accession he received the title of Suhrāb Khān, and obtained the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse, and was made *faujdar* of Bālāpūr in Berār and went off to the Deccan. He was always favoured on account of his services at the Court and in the provinces. His son, Mirzā 'Aqibat Mahmūd Sazāwār Khān, after having been the *faujdar* of Aland<sup>1</sup> and Telinga, was appointed to guard the fort of Bīdar, but on account of weak eye-sight he was removed in the time of Bahādūr Shāh. He died in Burhānpūr. His son, Mir Nizām-ud-Dīn 'Alī Husām Ullāh Khān spent a long time as the governor of the fort of Ūdgīr, and in the days of the mismanagement of the *Subādars* confronted the rebels of that country, who were a tribe known as Bīdar (Bēdars<sup>2</sup>) with a Hindī *dāl* (d). His grown-up sons were killed in those engagements. Afterwards his young son obtained the father's title and was at the time of writing governor of the same fort. As he has hereditary courage and hardihood, and though the vagabond tribe of the Mahrattas has increased its oppression on every side, yet the turbulent ones of his neighbourhood are in awe of him. In truth, he, at this time, does credit to his ancestors. It is also owing to the virtues of the deceased Husām-ud-Dīn that though more than a hundred years have elapsed his family still maintains its position.

<sup>1</sup> In Gulbarga district, Haidarābād.

<sup>2</sup> Described in Meadows-Taylor's novel *Tara*.

## I

(SHAIKH) IBRĀHĪM (son of SHAIKH MŪSĀ).

(Vol. II, pp. 570-572.)

He was the brother's<sup>1</sup> son of Shaikh Salīm Sīkrī. Shaikh Mūsā was one of the good men of the time, and lived like a hermit in the town of Sīkrī—which is four<sup>2</sup> (1) *kos* from Akbarābād, and is the place where Akbar built a fort and founded a city, which he called Fāthpūr—and passed his days in asceticism and worship. As the children of Akbar did not live, he sought the help of the darvishes, and also made his supplications to Shaikh Salīm. During this time the mother of Sulṭān Salīm became pregnant and this increased Akbar's respect for the Shaikh. Near the Shaikh's residence he made a place for her confinement, and in it a prince was born and named after the Shaikh. Accordingly also the sons and connections of the Shaikh got promotion in this reign.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was for a long time attached to the princes, and served in the capital. In the 22nd year, he was with some other brave men employed in the *thānadārī* of Lādlā'ī<sup>3</sup> in chastising the rebellious elements of that place. In the 23rd year, he was made governor of Fāthpūr,<sup>4</sup> and in the 28th year, he was appointed to assist Khān A'zam Kōka. He did good service in subduing Bengāl, and with Vazīr Khān took part in the putting down of Qutlū, who had rebelled in Orissa. In the 29th year, he came to the Court, and in the 30th year, when Akbar after the death of Mirzā Hākīm purposed to march to Kābul, Ibrāhīm was left in charge of Āgra. He served long in that capacity. In the 36th year, 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.) he died. His shrewdness and abilities impressed the Emperor. He was an Amīr of the rank of 2,000.

## IBRĀHĪM KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 295-301.)

He was the eldest son of the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān<sup>5</sup>. In the 26th year, 1063 A.H., he received from Shāh Jahān the title

<sup>1</sup> The text makes Ibrāhīm the brother of Shaikh Salīm, but the description really refers to Ibrāhīm's father Mūsā who was Salīm's elder brother. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p. 439, and Translation II, p. 666, describes him as the son-in-law and nephew (sister's son) of Shaikh Salīm Sīkrīwāl. Shaikh Ibrāhīm's death is recorded in the *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 596, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 908, note 7; and *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārīkh*, Text II, pp. 374, 375, Lowe's Translation II, p. 387. He died at Fāthpūr. Badāyūnī gives him a poor character and says the chronogram of his death is Shaikh La'im : vile Shaikh. This, as Lowe remarks, yields 1,000, which is one too much. Perhaps Badāyūnī wrote Shaikh Ya'im—the orphan Shaikh. The other chronogram given by Badāyūnī, *Dhāmim-ul-augāf*—base of disposition, gives the correct date 999. According to Badāyūnī, Ibrāhīm left 25 krores in cash.

<sup>2</sup> So in original, but this is clearly a mistake for twelve which is the number of *kos* mentioned in the notice of Shaikh Aḥmad, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 554. Beveridge's Translation, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 220, where the word is Lawalālī. Beveridge in the Translation III, p. 309, has translated it as above, and commented on its location.

<sup>4</sup> See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 236, Beveridge's Translation III, p. 337, where the appointment is described as government of the Metropolitan province.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 795-807. Beveridge's translation, pp. 186-194.

of Khān as a mark of favour and grace. When his father died in the 31st year, he was granted the rank of 4,000, with 3,000 horse. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he was in the right wing of Dārā Shikōh's army; and after the defeat, from inexperience and short-sightedness, thought his best course was to become a partisan of Prince Murād Bakhsh. The presumptuous Prince in his folly coined money and read the *Khutba* in his own name in Gujarāt on receipt of the news of illness of Shāh Jahān, and took the name of Murrawwij-ud-Dīn<sup>1</sup> (Dispenser of religion), and fancied himself as the absolute king. The fictitious flatteries of 'Ālamgīr and the false promises of that consummate master, who conducted himself so cleverly towards that raw novice on account of the circumstances of the time, increased his natural ignorance. Though after the battle with Dārā Shikōh and the disposition of Shāh Jahān and the cessation of his authority, the reins of power fell naturally into the strong hands of 'Ālamgīr, but Murād Bakhsh in the intoxication of folly and ignorance did not arrive at the truth, and by the distribution of titles,<sup>2</sup> and increase by fifty per cent in appointments and emoluments, and various other allurements enticed the royal (Shāh Jahān's) servants to his side; and a large number gathered round him. Aurangzib became alarmed at this assemblage, and because of the extravagant proceedings of that dolt and simpleton, he, in the guise of friendship, put an end to all his schemes.

The details of this are as follows. When 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh came out of Āgra to go in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, and encamped at *Gudhar Sāmi*,<sup>3</sup> Murād Bakhsh kept away from accompanying him and remained in the city with 20,000 cavalry which he had gathered together. Many men also, from a desire for splendour and equipages, separated from 'Ālamgīr's army, and joined Murād, and his assemblage went on increasing. Aurangzib sent a person to inquire the reason of his opposition and for his tarrying to accompany him; he offered the excuse of his poverty (*parēshānī*). Consequently Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur sent him twenty lacs of rupees, and a message to the effect that in accordance with the agreements, he would get, after the present affair was settled, one-third of the spoils together with the territories of the Panjāb, Kābul and Kashmīr. Murād Bakhsh marched<sup>4</sup> and joined him. When the encampment was near Mathurā, the King resolved that he would get rid of Murād, as every day he was becoming more and more disgusted with his behaviour. Accordingly he again expressed a wish for the pleasure of a conversation with him and invited him on the pretext of holding a consultation about the affairs of the state. Though his well-wishers—who perceived that there was some plot afoot—expostulated with him, the simpleton thought their suspicions groundless and said, "To have suspicions after covenants and oaths confirmed by the Qur'ān is contrary to the Muhammadan ideals."

<sup>1</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the ferry Swāmi over the Jumnā river which is situated north of Sikandara some six to seven miles from Āgra.

<sup>4</sup> In *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 137, it is stated that he left Āgra some days after Aurangzib, and always encamped at a distance from him and that he never waited upon Aurangzib from the time of the battle of Sāmūgarh to his arrival at Mathurā.

## Verse.

When death comes to the game, it goes toward the hunter.

On the 4th <sup>1</sup> Shawwāl 1068 A.H. (5th July, 1658 A.D.) he had gone hunting when <sup>2</sup> suddenly Aurangzib represented that he had a pain in his stomach and felt uneasy, and sent word to this effect to Murād on the hunting ground. Murād did not see the deception, and turned his rein and came to Aurangzib's camp. Aurangzib received him with respect, and took him to his private apartments and held a feast. After the carpet of enjoyment had been spread, it was arranged that after the siesta they would consider the state affairs. Murād in complete unconcern divested himself of his weapons and went to sleep. Aurangzib went to the female apartments and sent some domestics who took away the arms <sup>3</sup> (of Murād). At this time Shaikh Mir, who was lying in wait, came with a number of men. When Murād was awakened by the clash of weapons, he saw that there was a new state of things. He heaved a sigh and said, "To play the game of deceit with a straightforward fellow like me, and not to respect the Qur'ān, was improper." Aurangzib, who was standing behind the curtain, replied: "In reality there has been no breach of promises. The life of that brother (yourself) is safe, but some vagabonds have gathered round you, and crooked ways and evil living have come to a head. It is proper that, for some days, you should keep in retirement."<sup>4</sup> At the same time he imprisoned him and sent him to the Capital (i.e. Delhī) along with Dilār Khān, and Shaikh Mir. Shahbāz Khān the eunuch, who held a commission of 5,000 and was at the head of Murād's establishment, was arrested with two or three other confidential men who were with him. When his army knew that the thing was at an end, they were helpless and joined the King's army and were treated with favour. Ibrāhīm Khān rubbed <sup>5</sup> his forehead in

<sup>1</sup> 2nd in the text, but 4th according to *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 138, and Khāfi Khān, II, p. 38. On p. 131 of *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, 2nd Shawwāl is mentioned as the day when Aurangzib encamped opposite Mathurā and celebrated the 'Id a second time—4th Shawwāl, therefore, would be the probable date, and this is adopted in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 222; see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 431-434.

<sup>2</sup> The text is rather obscure.

<sup>3</sup> In *Sā'ir-i-Yarāq*, *Sā'ir* probably means all. The Shaikh Mir here mentioned is the Shaikh Mir Khawāff of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 668-670.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 38, discreetly passes over, as unnecessary to be detailed, the manner of Murād Baksh's capture. See Catrou who mentions Ibrāhīm Khān as one of the honest servants who tried to prevent Murād Baksh from going to Aurangzib's camp, p. 292. The eunuch Shahbāz is the Chah-Abas of Bernier. According to Manucci, I, p. 303, he was strangled in the night and a little before Murād Baksh was awakened and fettered. Bernier's account is different. Though Khāfi Khān declines to narrate the precise way in which Murād was entrapped and arrested, he is full of admiration for the skilfulness of Aurangzib's arrangements, and especially for the device of sending off four elephants with haudāhs in different directions so as to prevent Murād Baksh's well-wishers from knowing which haudāh contained him! Perhaps the best and fairest account of Murād Baksh's capture is that given in Ishār Dās's *Futūhāt 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 29; see Rieu's *Catalogue* I, p. 269 MS. Add. 23, 884. Murād Baksh may have stayed in Āgra to recover from his wounds.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 39.

shame. But about the same period he, for reasons, was deprived<sup>1</sup> of his appointment, and was allowed a yearly pension in the Capital. In the second year, he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed to the government of Kashmir. After the death of Khālī Ullāh Khān, he was appointed governor of Lāhōre. In the 11th year, he was made governor of Bihār in place of Lashkar Khān. In the 19th year, he left service and went into retirement. In the 21st year he was appointed<sup>2</sup> (again) to the government of Kashmir in the place of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān and after that he was made governor of the extensive territory of Bengāl. When, in the 41st year, the government of that province fell to Prince Muḥammad 'Azīm,<sup>3</sup> the second son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, he was appointed, in place of Sipāhdār Khān, as the governor of Allahābād. After that, he was made governor of Lāhōre, and, in the 44th year, when that province was assigned to Prince Shāh 'Ālam, he was appointed to Kashmir, the climate of which area suited him. In the 46th year, he was appointed to make the settlement of the province of Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt) in place of the agents of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, who, at his own request, had been summoned to the Court. After the departure (of A'zam Shāh), and as there would be some delay in Ibrāhīm's arrival, Prince Bīdār Bakht (A'zam Shāh's son), the governor of Mālwa, was appointed to protect Gujarāt. After Ibrāhīm Khān had arrived at Aḥmadābād and before he had been firmly seated there (lit. had not made the seat warm) and when the Prince (Bīdār Bakht), who was expecting his coming, had not yet left the city, the news came of the death of Aurangzīb. They say that Ibrāhīm Khān, who regarded himself as an 'Azāmshāhī (partizan of A'zam Shāh) immediately sent a message of congratulation to the Prince (Bīdār Bakht). Bīdār Bakht said in reply,<sup>4</sup> "We know the worth of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh. What advantage is it that for a while heaven has proved favourable to us? Now men will know to what a madman the management of affairs is coming." After Bahādur Shāh became the King, Muḥammad 'Azīm-ush-Shān<sup>5</sup> on account of having been displeased<sup>6</sup> with Ibrāhīm's conduct in Bengāl wished to do him

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 41, where it is stated he resigned and was granted a pension of Rs.5,000 a month. See also *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 158. Ibrāhīm warned Murād against trusting Aurangzīb, Manucci, I, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīr*, pp. 163, 236. It appears from Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 324, that Ibrāhīm was appointed to Bengal in 1689, i.e., 1100 A.H., in the 32nd year of the reign.

<sup>3</sup> In the text A'zam, but the variant 'Azīm is correct.

<sup>4</sup> This is taken from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 567, but the remark about a madman's succession is not there. Khāfi Khān was then in company with Muḥammad Murād, the reporter for Gujarāt. It was Muḥammad Murād who was sent by Ibrāhīm Khān to announce to Bīdār Bakht the death of his grandfather, etc. See also Elliot, VII, p. 388, where there is a mistake about Ibrāhīm Khān. It was Bīdār Bakht who was told to wait at the Mālwa frontier. Khāfi Khān says that if A'zam Shāh had not been suspicious of his son and had not prevented him from going at once to Āgra, A'zam Shāh might have been successful.

<sup>5</sup> 2nd son of Bahādur Shāh.

<sup>6</sup> *Basabab nā khushī Bangālā*, the statement is concise and obscure. What it refers to is that Ibrāhīm Khān did not manage well in Bengāl, for he was too lenient and did not show vigour in putting down Raḥīm Khān. See the account of his administration in Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 328 *et seq.* and in the *Riyāṣ-us-Salāṭīn*, p. 223 *et seq.* It appears from Stewart and the *Riyāṣ* that 'Azīm-ush-Shān

a mischief. The Khān-Khānān (Mun'im Khān) having regard for his family and his services, and in his absence interceded (on his behalf). So an order came from the Court appointing Ibrāhīm Khān to the government of Afghānistān, and conferring on him the title of 'Alī Mardān Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān hastened to Peshāwar and there took up his abode. But he could not govern the province in the way that it should have been administered, and accordingly the governorship was transferred to Nāsir Khān. Ibrāhīm Khān went to Ibrāhīmābād Sōdhara<sup>1</sup> which is thirty *kos* from Lāhōre and was regarded by him as his native country, and died there after some months. His son was Zabardast Khān, who, when his father was governor of Bengāl, had led an army and fought a severe battle with Rahīm Khān, an Afghān, who had raised the head of sedition and called himself Rahīm Shāh. The latter was completely defeated.<sup>2</sup> In the 42nd year of Aurangzib, he was made the governor of Oudh and had a commission of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 49th year when Muhammad A'zam Shāh left, he had the charge of Ajmēr and a commission of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. Another son was Yā'qūb Khān, who in the time of Bahādur Shāh was made the governor of Lāhōre, as the deputy of Āṣaf-ud-Daula. After his father's death, he had the title of Ibrāhīm Khān. They say, that he presented to Shāh 'Ālam a ring from Yaman,<sup>3</sup> the surface of which naturally bore on it the letters of the words: God, Muhammad, and 'Alī. Though an examination was made to see if this was not artificial, it was proved at last that it was natural.

#### IBRĀHĪM KHĀN FATH JANG.

(Vol. I, pp. 135-139.)

He was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula Mirzā Ghīyāth. At first he was appointed, by Jahāngir Bakhshī and historiographer of Ahmadābād. At that time Shaikh Farid Murtaḍā Khān was the Ṣubadār and he had not allowed four (successive) Bakhshīs—who wanted to do their work according to the rules—to enter on their duties. Mirzā Ibrāhīm, by tact and studying the circumstances, did not even use the name (of Bakhshī), but every day went to pay his respects. After a month the Shaikh said: "Why don't you take up your duties?" The Mirzā replied: "I do not want to do any work, I only want to please the Nawwāb." The Shaikh wrote to the (i.e. his) Court-*vakīl* requesting him to write to him without suppression or addition whatever Ibrāhīm wrote to I'timād-ud-Daula. As the Mirzā wrote nothing about the Shaikh except what was favourable, the *vakīl* reported accordingly. Murtaḍā Khān was pleased with the quietness and discretion of the Mirzā and left the affairs of the *manṣabdārs* to him and presented him a house, elephant

was jealous of Zabardast Khān, the brave son of Ibrāhīm Khān, and thwarted him. Ibrāhīm Khān was too mild a governor.

<sup>1</sup> It is West of Lāhōre on the Chenāb. It is the Sōdhra of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> See *Stewart's History of Bengal*, p. 336. Zabardast Khān was interrupted in his career of victory by 'Azīm-ush-Shāh.

<sup>3</sup> *Naqīna Yamani* was perhaps a cornelian. A son, Fidā'i Khān, is also mentioned on p. 236 of *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri* as having conquered Qariya (?) Tibet from Dildal zamindār in the 27th year of Aurangzib, 1094 A.H.



and money. After two or three days he went to his house as a guest, and presented him all the articles of furniture, such as carpets, gold and silver vessels, etc., which he had sent from his own store. At the end of the entertainment he wrote a note (*dastagi*) to the officers of Gujarāt that they should offer a welcome (*Diyafat*, a feast) to the Bakhshi. He put his own name down for Rs. 50,000, assigned Rs. 5,000 as the share of the *manabādars* and a lac of rupees as the share of the zamindārs. He also said to the clerks that they should immediately take the full amount to the Mirzā from his treasury and collect it afterwards. He also wrote repeatedly to the Court (about Ibrāhīm Khān), and in the course of a year he was raised to the rank of 1,000. When I'timād-ud-Daula's family was advanced, the Mirzā came to the Court, and, in the 9th year, obtained a *manab* of 1,500 with 300 horse and the title of Khān, and was made the Court-Bakhshi. By degrees he rose to the rank of 5,000 and got the title of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, and was appointed governor of Bengāl and Orissa.

When, in the 19th year, Prince Shāh Jahān proceeded by the route of Telingāna towards Bengāl, Ahmad Bēg Khān, the brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān, who was the *Nā'ib* of Orissa, had gone to attack the zamindārs of Kōkrah.<sup>1</sup> When he heard of Shāh Jahān's approach, he went to Pipli, which was the seat of government, and transferred his family and goods to Cuttack which was 12 *kos* distant. As he had not power to withstand Shāh Jahān, he went off to Bengāl. The Prince came to Orissa and sent a message to Ibrāhīm Khān by Jān Nithār Khān, and I'timād Khān Khwāja Idrāk to the effect, that by destiny he had come to this country, and although in the eyes of manly courage the extent of this country was no more than a practising ground (*jaulāngāh*), but as it was on his road he could not avoid a cursory view of the area. If Ibrāhīm Khān wishes to go to the Presence<sup>2</sup> (of Jahāngir), there would be no opposition and no injury to his honour or property. Or, if he likes to stay in the country, he might choose any place he likes to reside in. Ibrāhīm Khān who, on hearing of Shāh Jahān's expedition, had come from Dacca to Rājmaḥal, replied that the orders of the Prince were the interpretation of the commands of God, and that his life and property were at the Prince's disposal, but that the laws of faithfulness to one's salt, and his having been nurtured by the King were obstacles in his way, and that he could not come to wait upon the Prince. Nor could he resolve upon departing and showing the face of shame to his equals and contemporaries. As the King had entrusted this country to his old servant, he could not, for the sake<sup>3</sup> of his borrowed life of no value—for it is known what remains of life—show slackness in the work of his benefactor. He was helpless and would give his head to be trodden by the hoofs of the Prince's troops. He desires that after his death the country should be given to the servants of the King. As his men were scattered, and the fort of Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) was very large, Ibrāhīm

<sup>1</sup> In *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 217, ۳۳۵ Karḥ. In *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation) II, p. 298, it is transcribed as Khurda. In a footnote on the same page the exact position of Pipli is also discussed by Beveridge.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is somewhat obscure in the text. In *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 219, from where the passage is taken, it is quite clear, for Ibrāhīm Khān states that he knows from the good things of past life, what there is in store for the future.

Khān went to the tomb of his son, which was one *kos* from the fort and on the bank of the Ganges. Formerly the fort had been on the bank of the river, but now it had been for a long time at the above-mentioned distance from it. Ibrāhīm Khān sought protection in the tomb, which was unique in solidity and strength, and where the fleet could bring auxiliaries and supplies by way of the river.

The Prince took an omen of victory from the words and acts of Ibrāhīm Khān, viz., that he had used the word "death" and had gone to a tomb, and took up his quarters in the city and sent his men to besiege the enclosure. Then the flames of battle arose inside and outside. 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang and Daryā Khān Rohila crossed over to the other side. Ibrāhīm Khān became disconcerted and with Ahmad Bēg Khān—who had now joined him, he came out of the fort (i.e. the tomb) and fought. There was a great battle and Ahmad Bēg Khān received several wounds. On seeing this Ibrāhīm Khān could not restrain himself and galloped forward. In this onset order was lost and most of his followers fled. Ibrāhīm Khān with a few stood firm, and though his men wanted to remove him from such a dangerous place, he would not consent and said: "My fate does not need it, what better can there be than to give my life in my master's service." He had not finished speaking when he was attacked on all sides and killed. As his family and goods were in Dacca, Ahmad Bēg Khān went there. The Prince too went there by the river, and Ahmad Bēg could not but submit. About forty lacs of rupees besides other properties in elephants and clothes, etc., fell into the hands of the Prince.<sup>1</sup> From that time Ahmad Bēg was an object of favour. In the last year (of Shāh Jahān) he had high rank, and became governor of Thatha and Sistān and after that he was made governor of Multān. When he returned to the Court he received the parganas of Jās<sup>2</sup> and east Amēthi in fief. There he died a natural death. Ibrāhīm Khān had (i.e. left) no children. His wife was Hajī Hūr Parwar (nourished by hours?) Khānam who was the maternal aunt<sup>3</sup> of Nūr Jahān Bēgam. She had a long span of life and survived till the middle of Aurangzīb's reign; she had 'Aligarh (Kōl-Jalālī) as her fief (*alamghā*). She lived there in repose and tranquillity till she died.

### IBRĀHĪM KHĀN ŪZBEG.

(Vol. I, pp. 75-77.)

He was one of the officers of Humāyūn. In the year when India was conquered, he was appointed to Lāhōre along with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī so that they might check Sikandar Sūr if he came out from the hill country and attacked the imperial territory. After that Ibrāhīm

<sup>1</sup> For details of Shāh Jahān's campaign in Orissa and Bengāl, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>2</sup> Both parganas are in Oudh; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 402, V, p. 292. There is an account of Ibrāhīm's battle and death in the *Riyād-us-Salāfin*, p. 192, etc. It is taken from Muḥammad Hādī's supplement to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 383, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 575, where it is stated that Ibrāhīm Khān was Nūr Jahān's brother, and he was married to her maternal aunt (*Khāla*).

Khān obtained, as his fief, Surharpūr<sup>1</sup> which is a dependency of Jaunpūr, and was continually engaged, in concert with 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān in protecting that tract of country. In Akbar's time, the rebellion of Khān Zamān and Sikandar Khān Ūzbek, occurred. Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī brought to Sikandar Khān a gracious *farmān*, but the latter said: "Ibrāhīm Khān is the *Aqsigāl*, that is, whitebearded, he is a near neighbour, I shall go and see him. We shall come together to the Court." He went to Surharpūr and from there the two went to Khān Zamān. They arranged that the aforesaid Khān should go with Sikandar Khān to Lucknow, and kindle the fire of sedition. Accordingly the Khān went there and became a source of turbulence.

When Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān had an interview with 'Alī Qulī Jahān a fresh agreement for service was made, and Khān Jahān—who was the centre of the imperial affairs—came from the Presence. The Khān-Khānān wished to go in company with him to Khān Zamān's tents, and asked the latter to come to his camp as a hostage. It was agreed that Khān Zamān should proceed to the Court with his mother and fitting presents. Accordingly Khān-Khānān and Khwāja Jahān set out for Khān Zamān's tents and the latter came before His Majesty with his sword and a shroud round his neck. He was pardoned, and the sword and shroud were removed. When in the 12th year, Khān Zamān and Sikandar Khān again stirred up rebellion, they went towards Oudh. When later Sikandar Khān went towards Bengāl, Ibrāhīm obtained pardon through the intervention of the Khān-Khānān, and received favours and was included among the followers of Khān-Khānān. The date of his death is not known. It was his son Ismā'il Khān to whom 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān had given the township of Sandila (in Oudh) as a *jāgīr*. When in the third year, that township was assigned to Sultān Husain Khān Jalā'ir, Ismā'il Khān delayed in giving him possession. Afterwards, when it was taken from him by force, he brought an army from Khān Zamān; there was a battle and he was defeated.<sup>2</sup>

#### IFTIKHĀR KHĀN, KHWĀJĀ ABŪL BAQĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 200–203.)

He was a brother's son of 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang, and sister's son of Mahābat Khan Khān-Khānān<sup>3</sup>. He held Lucknow as his *jāgīr*, and, in the 18th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, obtained the title of Iftikhār Khān and the service of the *Tuzuk* (office of marshal), and a jewelled mace on the death of Mīr Khān, who was killed in the domestic<sup>4</sup> broil (*khana-jangi*) between Šalābat Khān and Amar Singh. Afterwards he

<sup>1</sup> Surharpūr is a pargana in the Faizābād district of Oudh.

<sup>2</sup> In *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 68, 69, and Beveridge's translation II, p. 106. For a notice of Ibrāhīm Khān and his son Ismā'il Khān, see Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 416, 417. In *Akbarnāma*, however, it is not clearly stated that Ismā'il Khān was killed.

<sup>3</sup> For 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 777–789 and Beveridge's translation, pp. 97–105; for Mahābat Khān, *id.*, III, pp. 385–409.

<sup>4</sup> It was an assassination committed in Shāh Jahān's presence, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 380. Šalābat Khān was the Mīr *Bakhshī*. His tomb is between Āgra and Sikandra: (Keene's *Āgra*, p. 49).

was granted the *faujdārī* of Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) and was promoted to a *manṣab* of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 26th year, he made himself conspicuous to all by his courage in the battle with the Persians at Qandahār. When the Persian army attacked the right wing of Rustam Khān's army, most of that body became disordered. But Iftikhār Khān, at the head of a few men, remained firm, and was rewarded by receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and so being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse and granted a flag. As his straightforwardness and zeal were deserving of reward, he, in the 25th year, at the festival of the solar weighment, received an advance of 500 and the present of drums. When, in the 27th year, he was appointed to accompany Prince Dārā Shikōh in the expedition to Qandahār, he was, at the request of the Prince, given an increase of 500. In the 28th year, he was given the *tiyūddārī* and *faujdārī* of Chūrāgarh in the province of Mālwa and received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and was raised to a *manṣab* of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. When, in the 30th year, Prince Aurangzib, the governor of the Deccan, was directed to chastise Sultān 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, the ruler of Teling<sup>1</sup>, Shāyista Khān, the *Ṣubadār* of Mālwa, left along with Iftikhār Khān and other *faujdārs* and *manṣabdārs* attached to that province to join the Prince's army. Iftikhār Khān was, by the Prince's order (*ba amr shāhī*), appointed to the southern battery along with Hādī Dād Khān Anṣārī. When that undertaking had been finished, he obtained leave to go to his fief. When, in the end of the same year, the aforesaid Prince was appointed to subdue the country of 'Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bijāpūr, Iftikhār Khān, in accordance with the royal order, hastened from his fief and joined the Prince's army. When, in the 31st year, the Prince<sup>2</sup> arrived at Bidar with a large army, Sidi Marjān, the governor of the fort—who was one of the old servants of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, and who had been guarding the fortress for thirty years—took it on himself to safeguard it. He had with him nearly 1,000 horse, and 4,000 infantry including musketeers, and grenadiers (*bāndār* lit. rocket holders) and an abundance of the munitions of war. The Prince and Mu'azzam Khān Mir Jumla, in the course of ten days, brought up the guns to the edge of the fort and destroyed a bastion. By chance, one day when an assault was made from Mu'azzam Khān's battery, the governor of the fort, who had prepared a large trench behind the said bastion and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets (*bān*) and grenades (*buqqa*), was close by prepared to repel the attack, a spark reached the gunpowder and he and two of his sons were burnt. Brave men beat loudly the drum of victory and entered the city. The governor had been seized by the claws of death, but he sent his sons with the keys of the fort. Next day he died. This great fortress—which had three moats, 25 yards broad and 15 yards deep, cut in the rock—was, through the good fortune of the Prince, taken within twenty-seven days with great ease. Twelve lacs of rupees in coin, and eight lacs of rupees worth of lead, gunpowder and other munitions together with 230 guns were captured. The Prince left his second son, Sultān Muḥammad M'azzam, with Iftikhār Khān in the fort and continued his advance. The

<sup>1</sup> He was the ruler of Haidarābād and Gölconda. See Khāfi Khān, I, p. 741, Aurangzib set out in 1066 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 240-242.

campaign had not been fully completed when, by the royal order, the Prince and his auxiliaries had to return to his place. At the same time Mahārāja Jaswant was appointed to settle Mālwa, and all the fiefholders were directed to assist him. Iftikhār Khān out of his zeal was the first to join the Rāja. Suddenly the fateful heavens produced an event<sup>1</sup> which had not entered into the imagination of any one, and in the beginning of the 32nd year, 1068 A.H., Prince Aurangzib came to Mālwa with his army on his way to the Capital. As the Rāja blocked his path and was in expectation of this day, preparations were made for the battle. Iftikhār Khān and the other *manṣabdars* arranged themselves on his left wing and engaged Murād Bakhsh's troops, which formed 'Ālamgir's right wing. The Khān was killed. They say, that though he was a *Khawājazāda* of the Naqshbandī order, he had embraced the Imāmiyā (Shī'a) religion, and had so committed to memory the proofs and arguments for that religion that others found it difficult to refute him. He had also some tincture of knowledge.

### IFTIKHĀR KHĀN SULTĀN HUSAIN.

(Vol. I, pp. 252-255.)

He was the eldest son of Aṣālat Khān *Mir Bakhshī*<sup>2</sup>. When his father died in Balkh, in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, the appreciative Sovereign had regard for the good service of that zealous and energetic servant and patronised his children. In the 21st year, he appointed Sultān Husain to the Superintendency of the *Qūrkhāna*<sup>3</sup>, and in the following year he was made Superintendent of the branding (of horses) in succession to Raḥmat Khān. In the 24th year, he was made *faujdar* of the Miyaṇ Dūāb, and, in the 31st year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. In company with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who by the contrivance of Dārā Shikōh had been appointed to confront Aurangzib, he was sent to Mālwa. At the same time that fortunate Prince crossed the Narbadā and came to that province. The Rāja blocked his path and prepared for battle. After the leading Rājputs had been put to the sword by Aurangzib, and the Mahārāja becoming distracted had taken to flight, a number of the auxiliaries joined Aurangzib, while many escaped with their lives. Sultān Husain, who had been appointed along with trusty men to the front section of the vanguard, withdrew and proceeded towards Āgra. When Aurangzib became King, he, as a judge of merit, increased Sultān Husain's rank and conferred on him the title of Iftikhār Khān. After the battle with Shujā' he was made Master of the Horse in place of Saif Khān, and promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 6th year, he was made *Mir-i-Sāmān* in place of Fāḍil Khān who received the high office of *Vazīr*. As he had adapted himself to the King's disposition, he for a long time served him and held an assured position.

<sup>1</sup> The illness of Shāh Jahān in September 1657, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 167-172, Beveridge's translation, pp. 295-299.

<sup>3</sup> The Insignia, see Blochmann's translation of the *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 52, note 4.

In the 13th<sup>1</sup> year, it was reported to the King that Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (Bahādur Shāh), the Viceroy (*Nāzim*) of the Deccan, had, on account of bad companionship, self-indulgence, and the deceit of flatterers departed from the right path and become proud and insubordinate. Knowing Sultān Husain to be trustworthy and acquainted with his policy, Aurangzib sent him to the Deccan, and gave him both sweet and bitter instructions, and such as fitted the occasion. Sultān Husain went there with alacrity and discharged his trust. As the Prince was loyal and the reports about him were false, he did nothing but submit and showed his readiness to act according to the King's pleasure. The King was convinced of his honesty, and his wrath turned to complaisance. But at the same time evil speakers found the opportunity and made the King displeased with Iftikhār Khān. When he returned to the Presence, he was, in spite of all the honour and confidence that had been given to him, deprived of his rank and title, and a mace-bearer was appointed to convey him across the Indus. In the 14th year, his faults were pardoned and he was restored to his office and title, and again encompassed with favours and appointed governor of Kashmīr in succession to Saif Khān. Afterwards he was transferred from Kashmīr to Peshāwar at the time when the Afghāns had made a disturbance. In the 12th year, he was made *faujdar* of the Bangash, and, in the 21st, when he was appointed to the government of Ajmēr he was ordered to accompany Prince Muḥammad Akbar. In the 23rd year, he was made *faujdar* of Jaunpūr, and, in the 24th, 1092, he died. His sons<sup>2</sup> 'Abdullāh, 'Abdul Hādī and 'Abdul Bāqī appeared before the King and received mourning robes. In the time of Bahādur Shāh, one of them obtained the title of Aṣālat Khān, and was appointed as the deputy of Mukhtār Khān in the office of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. During this reign he, after suffering much adversity came to the Deccan, where the appreciative Aṣaf Jāh came to his relief and made him *Divān* of the Deccan. At last he was appointed governor of Haidarābād, and ended his days there. The other became known by becoming the son-in-law of Ma'mūr Khān. He got the title of Tafākhur Khān and, in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh siyar, he became governor of the fort of Bijāpūr, and lived for a long time in that deserted place, nor did the door of comfort and tranquillity open to his distressed circumstances. In the same place he died.

## IHTIMĀM KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 160-162.)

One of the *Wālā-Shāhis* (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. In the first year of the reign, he received the rank of a 1,000<sup>3</sup> with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan became the King's camping ground, and three armies under the command of three Amīrs were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk who had protected him, he was made *Dārōgha* of the artillery and sent along with A'zam Khān. In the battle in which A'zam Khān attacked

<sup>1</sup> *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 100, 101.<sup>2</sup> *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 209, 210.<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 119.

Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in which Bahādur the brother's son of Khān Jahān stubbornly resisted. Ihtimām Khān and Bahādur Khān Rohila were among the first<sup>1</sup> to get to the summit of the hill (the pass) and did good service. After that when A'zam Khān went towards Jāmkhērī<sup>2</sup> with the intention of extirpating Muqarrab Khān and Bahlūl, Ihtimām Khān was appointed to take the fort of Telingī and rendered good service in taking it. In the 4th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse and was made *thānadār* of Jālā<sup>3</sup>. In the 5th year, he received an augmentation of 200 horse, and in the 6th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 9th year, when Shāh Jahān went to the Deccan for the second time and sent three armies under three generals for the chastisement of Sāhū Bhōnsle, and to devastate the country of 'Adil Khān, Ihtimām Khān got an increase of 300 horse and went off with Khān Daurān. He did good service in the siege of the fort of Ūsā,<sup>4</sup> and after its capture was appointed its governor. In the 10th year, he received the honour of kettledrums, but in the 13th year he was removed from there, and, at the request<sup>5</sup> of Prince Aurangzib was made *thānadār* of Khērla in Berār. In the 14th year, he came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant and was made the *thānadār* of Ghūrband in succession to Himmat Khān. In the 19th year, he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and after the fort of Ghūr (or Ghūrī) was taken, he was appointed to its charge. As it appeared that he did not behave<sup>6</sup> well to the men there, he was removed in the 20th year, and in the same year, 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) he died.

## (KHĀN 'ĀLAM) IKHLĀṢ KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 816, 817.)

He was the eldest son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām<sup>7</sup>. In the 29th year, he entered the service of Aurangzib along with his father and received a suitable rank. In the 32nd year, when his father made great exertions in capturing Sambhā, he took part in the enterprise. He obtained the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse and the title of Khān 'Ālam. In the 39th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and, in the 43rd year, he distinguished himself in the battle which Muḥammad Bidār Bakht fought with Rānā Bhōnsle. In the 50th year, he was appointed to guard Mālwa and was ordered to accompany Muḥammad A'zam Shāh who had gone off towards Mālwa some days before the King's death. After that event he attached himself to Muḥammad A'zam Shāh and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he confronted Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān and made a brave attack. He was killed<sup>8</sup> by a bullet. One of his sons was Khān 'Ālam II, who, after his father, became the head of the family. He held by inheritance

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 330.<sup>2</sup> Jāmkhīr about 30 miles S.E. of Aurangābād, Elliot, VII, p. 16. The Jāmkhed of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 47.<sup>3</sup> East of Aurangābād, *vide Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 29.<sup>4</sup> Coscotta of Grant-Duff. The Owsa of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 294.<sup>5</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 205.<sup>6</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 565.<sup>7</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 794-798.<sup>8</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 591. Battle of Jājau, 18th June, 1707.

the pargana of Basmat<sup>1</sup> as *jāgīr* in the province of Bīdar, and resided there. He was much attached to his wife, and left to her the management of the *jāgīr*. Owing to the jugglery of fate she died; he lamented much for her and died four months afterwards. He was a zealous collector of jewels and armour, but made no use of them. He also accumulated much cash, and after his death more than half of it was confiscated. He had no son. The second son was Iṭishām Khān, who died young. His son Iṭishām Khān, II, lived with his uncle Khān 'Ālam. He was married to his daughter. She left a son, who, after much exertion, got the title of Khān 'Ālam and the hereditary fief mentioned above. But by the jugglery of fate he died in early youth.

## IKHLĀS KHĀN IKHLĀS KĚSH.

(Vol. I, pp. 350-352.)

He was the son of a Hindū of the Khatrī Balī<sup>2</sup> (?) tribe. His real name was Dēbī Dās, and his ancestors were *qānūngōs* of the township of Kalānaur, which is forty *kos* from Lāhōre. From early youth he had applied himself to study. He lived in the Capital and by associating with learned people and with faqīrs he became a cultured man. As he was a disciple of Mullā 'Abdullāh<sup>3</sup> of Siyālkōt, he by his recommendation entered the service of Aurangzib and received the name of Ikhlas Kesh<sup>4</sup>. In the 25th year, he had a small appointment and became clerk of the kitchen. In the 26th year he was clerk of the Oratory, in the 29th year clerk of petitions and in the 30th year he was *peshdast*<sup>5</sup> (assistant) of Rūh Ullāh Khān Mir Bakhshī in place of Yār 'Alī Bēg. In the 33rd year, he replaced Sharaf-ud-Dīn as *Wāqī'a-navīs* of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*'s office, and afterwards he was *Amīn*<sup>6</sup> of the capitation-tax in the province of Bīdar. In the 39th year, he was *Amīn* and *faujdar* of pargana Andūr<sup>7</sup> in place of Muḥammad Kāzīm, and in that year his rank was 400 with 350 horse. In the 41st year, he was again *peshdast* of Rūh Ullāh Khān, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the 50th year, he had Muḥammad added to his name, and was made *Vakīl* of Shāh 'Ālam. On the death of Aurangzib, as 'Azam Shāh was displeased with him on account of this vakīlship, Basālat Khān Mirzā Sultān interceded for him and, as it was shown that he was blameless, he received a *parwāna* (order or permission) and remained in Aurangābād. When Bahādur Shāh became the Sovereign, he came to the Court and received an appointment of 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Ikhlas Khān, and was appointed to the office of *Arḍ Mukarrar* (Reviser of petitions). They say, that when the chief officer<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> North-west of Nāndēr, Haidarābād.<sup>2</sup> Variant Nālī.<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, pp. 148, 220. He died in 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 220. The title means sincere in religion.<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 283.<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 380.<sup>7</sup> This is probably a place in the Deccan, and not Andōrah of the Bāri Dūāb.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps *Sar-i-Darbār* means here the subject brought before the darbār. The minister referred to as the Khān-Khānān was Mun'im Khān who afterwards fell into disgrace on account of his letting Banda the Sikh leader escape; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 667-677, and Sarkar's edition of Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 109-116. The account in the text is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 628, 629, where Ikhlas Khān is called *Jadīd-ul-Islām*, the new convert to Islām.



(*Sar-i-Darbār*) brought forward the subject of petitions, and as the Emperor was also a man of learning, there used to be long conversations between them about theological subjects, and a hint was given to the other officers that they should remain silent, as the questions of commentaries and traditions were being discussed and secular matters must be postponed for the time. As both the Emperor and his minister for the time being had extraordinarily liberal ideas, scarcely anyone's petition was rejected. The Khān, who was noted for his severity and keenness in business matters, said to the Khān-Khānān "The tree of the Emperor's universal benevolence will not bear any fruit except by the confiscation of many of the fiefs". Khān-Khānān knew that the odium of the inquiry would fall on himself, and so he put it on to Ikhhlās Khān. He too could not bear reproaches of men and withdrew from service, and Must'id Khān Muḥammad Sāqī was appointed to the office. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, Dhūlfāqār Khān expanded the office of the *Diwān-i-Tan*<sup>1</sup> and made Ikhhlās Khān his assistant. In the time of Farrukh-siyar, when there was much violence, and several officers had their eye upon him, Qutb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī remembered old friendship and sent him to his home which was in the town of Jānsath.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards they represented matters to the Emperor, and sent him *sanads* confirming him in his *manṣab* and *jāgīr* and summoned him to the Court. Though, on account of his independent nature, he did not wish again to take up service, he did so at the insistence of the two brothers. He was made *Mīr Munshī* and entrusted with the duty of writing the records of the reign. After Farrukh-siyar was deposed, he obtained a *manṣab* of 7,000. In the time of Muḥammad Shāh he also filled the same office. He was a tactful man and one who knew the Court. He never wore anything but white clothes. They say, that even when he was of low rank the highest officers honoured him. He composed<sup>3</sup> a history of the events of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar and called it the *Bādshāhnāma*. He died at his appointed time.

#### IKHLĀṢ KHĀN SHAIKH ILĀHDĪYA.

(Vol. I, pp. 198, 199.)

He was the son of Kishwar Khān Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Shaikh Khūban of whom an account is given separately (Text III, pp. 65-68). Shaikh Ibrāhīm obtained, in the first year of Jahāngīr, the rank of 1,000 with 300 horse and the title of Kishwar Khān. In the 3rd year, he was made governor of Rohtās. In the 4th year, he came to the Court and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and was made the *faujdar* of Ujjain. In the 7th year, he bravely yielded up his life in the

<sup>1</sup> For *Diwān-i-Tan*, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup> In the Muzaffarnagar district, U.P. Famous as the home of Jānsath Saiyids, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 62. It was sacked in Muḥammad Shāh's reign; see *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, I, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> See Khāfi Khan, II, p. 774. The work does not seem to exist now. Beale identifies this Ikhhlās Khān with Kishn Chand who wrote the *Hamēsha Bahār*, see pp. 176 and 223, and also Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 10965. The *Hamēsha Bahār* is described in Sprenger's *Oudh Cat.*, p. 117, but probably Kishn Chand and Dēbi Dās are not the same. This biography is by 'Abdul Ḥayy.

service of his master in the battle which Shujā'at Khān fought with 'Uthmān Afghān, who was raising the standard of arrogance in Orissa<sup>1</sup>. Shaikh Ilāhdiya obtained a suitable office, and, in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān, was appointed to accompany Prince Aurangzib on the expedition against Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 17th year, he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and made governor of Kālinjar. In the 19th year, he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh in the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān, and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Ikhlās Khān. In the 20th year, he was, at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—who hastened off after the return of Prince Murād Bakhsh to arrange the affairs of Balkh—favoured with an increase of 500 horse. In the 21st year, he returned, and by the royal order was separated from Prince Aurangzib and attached to the King. Afterwards he was given a flag. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and sent off to Qandahār with Prince Aurangzib. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500 and in the 29th year was granted drums, and accompanied for the second time the above-mentioned Prince. In the 26th year, he went with Prince Dārā Shikōh to the same region and received a robe of honour and a horse with a saddle and silver mountings. From Qandahār he went with Rustam Khān to take Bust, and, in the 28th year, he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk (Sa'ad Ullāh) to demolish Chittōr. In the 30th year, he was among the auxiliaries of the Deccan with Mu'azzam Khān and went to join Prince Aurangzib, the Viceroy. In the war<sup>2</sup> with 'Adil-Khāns he behaved bravely and was wounded in the leg by a spear. Afterwards, in the 31st year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Nothing more is mentioned about him.

(SAIYID) IKHTIŠĀŠ KHĀN, or SAIYID FIRŪZ JANG.

(Vol. II, pp. 473-475.)

He was the brother's son and son-in-law of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah of Shāh Jahān's reign. In his uncle's lifetime he attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and, after his death he, in the 19th year, obtained an increase of 500 with 600 horse. In the 20th year, he went with some officers to Balkh to convey 25 lacs of rupees to Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. On his return, his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he was presented a flag. In the 22nd year, he received the title of Khān and went with Prince Aurangzib on the expedition to Qandahār. On his return he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silvered saddle. From there he went with Rustam Khān to help Qulij Khān, and marched to Bust. He did good service in the battle with the Persians, and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. In the 25th year, he went for the second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and received a robe of honour, etc. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition with Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 29th year, he was made *faujdar* of

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the battle was fought in Eastern Bengal; see Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'im*, I (2nd edn.), p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is apparently to Aurangzib's campaign against the Bijāpūr in 1657; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 236-250.

Irīj,<sup>1</sup> Bhāndair and Shāhzādapūr, which were dependencies of the Capital and crown-lands (*Khālṣa mahāls*) and which had been ruined by the neglect of Najābat Khān; the revenue of these was three krors, 40 laos of *dāms*. After the sovereignty came to Aurangzib, he along with the Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh—who had left Sulaimān Shikōh, and intended to come to the Court—paid his respects and joined the expedition to Hardwār under Shāyista Khān for the purpose of checking the progress of Sulaimān Shikōh. After the battle with Sultān Shujā', he was appointed to Bengāl, and in the end of the 2nd year, when Firūz Mēwātī got the title of Khān, he received that of Saiyid Ikhtisās Khān. For a long time he was *thānadār* of Gauhati in Āssām. In the 10th year, when the demon-like Assamese came with a great body of men, and as help did not arrive the Khān bravely gave his life in the service of his King in 1077<sup>2</sup> (1666-67 A.D.).

### ILĀHWARDĪ KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 207-215.)

He was descended<sup>3</sup> from the Saljūq family. They say that he came directly in the line of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī. He was an honest and clever man. There are many stories of his youth. They say that when he went to Europe, he was seized on suspicion of being a spy. By chance on the day of a festival, he was produced before the ruler on the occasion of a tent-pegging display (*nēzabāzi*: sport with spears). He distinguished himself and the ruler made enquiries about him, and, on being convinced of his innocence, sent him off to India with all honour. For some time he was in Burhānpūr and lived by his wits<sup>4</sup> (?). As his elder brother Mukhlis Khān was in the service of Sultān Parvīz, he too was introduced to the Sultān and began to prosper. Afterwards, as both brothers were skilled in hunting, and Jahāngīr was much given to this pursuit, they became favourites. Ilāhwardī Khān obtained the title of Mu'taqid Khān, and was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman). He became Jahāngīr's companion, and was always with him on his hunting expeditions. The large net which is the chief item in the *Qamargha* hunt, and which is called *bāwar*,<sup>5</sup> was one of his inventions. In the 21st year, it was made of ropes at a cost of 24,000 rupees and produced before Jahāngīr. It is a very strong net and forms a full load for eighty camels. Its length is 10,000 royal cubits (*Dhar'a*), its height six, and like a *sarāparda* it rests on strong supports. Various kinds of wild animals are brought within it and hunted. On the death of Jahāngīr, at the time of the affair of Shahryār, he behaved with loyalty and made himself

<sup>1</sup> Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 947, that he was also employed in the 10th year in the expedition to Chittāgong. The account of the attack on Gauhati and of the death of Ikhtisās Khān, there called Saiyid Firūz Khān, is given on p. 1068. There, as also in the *Madāthir-ul-Umarā* Gauhati is described as being in Bengāl, on the borders of Āssām.

<sup>3</sup> Literally—The sap (*'arg*) of his genealogical tree is derived from the trunk of the Saljūq clan.

<sup>4</sup> *Ba 'ayyārī u ṭarāzī guzrānīda*—Lived by fraud and quackery? There is the variant *ṭarārī*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bāwar* is Turki for a rope, P. de Courteille, *Dictionary*. See *Bādešāhnāma*, I, p. 311, where it is spelt *bādar*. Possibly the word is *bhanwar* which according to Jahāngīr is the Hindi name for a kind of net, *vide* Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 99.

acceptable to Yamīn-ud-Daula and fitted for royal favours. When he, in company with Āsaf Jāh, waited upon Shāh Jahān, he received a commission of 2,000 *Dhāt* and horse and the title of Ilāhwardī Khān. As he was intimate with Mahābat Khān, he displayed great energy in the siege of Parēnda. Had the other officers equally exerted themselves the fortress would have been taken with ease. In the 8th year, with an increase of 1,000 with 2,000 horse he was promoted to an office of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and became the governor of Mālwa, in succession to Khān Daurān. When the King established himself at Daulatābād in the 9th year, an order was issued to Ilāhwardī Khān who had gone with Shāyista Khān to take the district of Sangamnir and Junair, to take the Nizām-ul-Mulki forts which were situated in the direction of the forts of Chāndōr<sup>1</sup> and Dharap. Of these, there were six held by Sāhū's (Shāhji's) men, two held by Bhōjbal Nāyakwārī, and six held by other rebels. Relying on these strongholds, they were stirring up the dust of dissension, and were oppressing the weak. Ilāhwardī Khān<sup>2</sup> came first to Chāndōr and invested that strong place, which was on the top of a hill and was famous for its strength. He took it by making great efforts, and the other stiff-necked ones, on seeing this, submitted. First, Kanhar Rāo<sup>3</sup> the governor of Anjarāyī asked for quarter and surrendered that strong fortress. The Khān, to conciliate the governors of other forts recommended him for the rank of 2,000 and gave him Rs.50,000 in cash from the treasury. Then he besieged the forts of Kājna<sup>4</sup> and Mājna, which were connected with the fort of Dharap and got possession of both by treaty.

Similarly he quickly and easily got possession of forts Rōla Jōla, Ahwant<sup>5</sup> and others; all of them were built on the tops of hills. The fort of Rājdihar,<sup>6</sup> where many of the relatives of Nizām Shāh were, and who made great efforts to defend it, was taken in the course of two months. He then addressed himself to the taking of Dharap<sup>7</sup> which was noted for its strength and height. In its strength it is not inferior to Daulatābād. Bhōjbal<sup>8</sup>, the governor of the fort, was so alarmed by the successive victories of Ilāhwardī Khān that he agreed for a *manṣab* of 3,000 and a lac of rupees to surrender this strong fort, which could not have been taken except with the aid of fortune, and to enter himself among the servants. In this year many impregnable forts of the country came into the hands of the imperial servants. Accordingly Tālib Kalīm wrote the verses:

*Verses.*

O King! thy fortune has captured the fortune of the world  
Thy sword has taken the land and life and goods from the foe;  
Thou hast seized in one year forty forts,  
Of which kings could not have taken one in forty years.

<sup>1</sup> In the Nāsik district.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 523 and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 138, where instead of Chāndōr we have Chānda. See also p. 146, where it is Chāndōr.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 146. Hambir Rāo in Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Kānjana and Mānjana in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 524, where the spelling is Hanūnat, but it is Ahwant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> Rājābir in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>7</sup> Bhojraj according to Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

In short the Khān in the 10th year took leave to take up the *faujdarī* of Baiswāra<sup>1</sup> and Lucknow, and in the beginning of the 11th year when Murshid Qulī Khān *faujdar* of Mathurā died<sup>2</sup> from a gunshot wound while attacking a village<sup>3</sup>, Ilāhwardī Khān obtained the fief of that place and set out to punish the rebels. In the end of the 12th year, he was raised to the high rank of 5,000 personal and horse, and became governor of Delhi in succession to Ghairat Khān. When in the 15th year, Dārā Shikōh went to Qandahār with a number of high officers to release that territory on receipt of the news of the setting out of Shāh Safī, the King of Persia, and returned from Afghānistān on hearing of the death of the Shāh—who died from natural causes in Šafr 1052 A.H. (May, 1642 A.D.)—Ilāhwardī Khān accompanied<sup>4</sup> the force. As various traits and dispositions appeared in him which were contrary to the rules of loyalty and fidelity, and as to these there was added an ungovernable tongue, he was deprived of his fief and his rank and was the subject of censure. As his good services had been established in the King's mind, the pargana of Sankarpūr<sup>5</sup> with a rental of thirty-four lakhs of *dāms* was assigned to him for his support. Afterwards,<sup>6</sup> at the instance of the eldest Prince he was restored to his former rank, and, in the 18th year,<sup>7</sup> he obtained the fief of Ilīchpūr. On the death of the Khān Daurān, the governor of the Deccan, he was made supreme in Berār. When Islām Khān came to the Deccan, they did not get on together. At his own request he was recalled to the Court. In the 21st year, he kissed the threshold, and received the *jāgīr* of Gorakhpūr. When on account of Qandahār the friendship between Shāh 'Abbas II and Shāh Jahān had been interrupted, and there was a stoppage of mutual embassies, it happened, that in the 26th year a person named Ghulām Ridā<sup>8</sup> came from Bandar 'Abbās with seven 'Iraqī horses to Sūrat and brought a writing from the Shāh to the guardians of the roads to the effect, that the servant of Ilāhwardī Khān Mīr Ātish (Artillery officer) was bringing some horses and directing that no one should interfere with him. From this it was suspected that the Khān had sent some presents (to the Shāh) along with a letter, and that this was the reply. Though the sending of a letter and presents to a foreigner and an enemy was contrary to the rules of loyalty and deserving of capital punishment, but out of benevolence and generosity he was (only) deprived again of his rank and *jāgīr* and censured, and it was directed that he should be sent back without delay from Kābul and he should stay in his own house in Delhi. An order was also issued to the clerk at Sūrat to confiscate the horses and all the belongings of Ghulām Ridā and to send him in chains to the Court so that he might meet with due punishment. After he came, inquiry<sup>9</sup> was made and it was

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., p. 243, *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfī Khān, I, p. 552. This was in pargana Jadwār in the Šāmbhal Sarkār. Murshid Qulī was *faujdar* of Mathurā, Mahāban, Kumāon and Pahārī; vide *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfī Khān, I, p. 589, and pp. 594, 595. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 308, 309.

<sup>4</sup> Should be Shakarpūr, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 309, and Khāfī Khān, I, p. 595. It was in the Sarkār of Delhi.

<sup>5</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 378, and Khāfī Khān, I, p. 601. The Prince was Dārā Shikōh.

<sup>6</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 387.

<sup>7</sup> The circumstances of this case are described by Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 713, 714. He states that Ilāhwardī Khān asserted his innocence and confirmed it by strong oaths, and that Fāzil Khān, who inquired into the matter, reported that Ghulām

<sup>8</sup> Khāfī Khān, I, p. 713.

found that he had got the document by sending a forged letter with some presents to the general of the Shāh of Persia. Accordingly in the 28th year Ilāhwardī Khān was restored at the request of the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh), and became the recipient of royal favours and received a *mansab* of 5,000 and the tie of Jaunpūr in succession to Mukarram Khān. Though during this time he was excluded from the Court for two years and 8 months and lived in retirement, he used to receive for his expenses 70 lacs of *dāms* a year and at every yearly weighment (of the King) he received a thousand *Ashrafs*. Accordingly<sup>1</sup> up to the time of regaining his service he had received five thousand *Ashrafs*. At the end of the reign he was appointed governor of Bihār.

When the illness of Shāh Jahān had lasted for a long time and various disasters happened in the kingdom and Shujā', the second son, behaved presumptuously in Bengāl and led an army against Patna. Ilāhwardī Khān who was unable to oppose him, came to Benāres and stayed there till Shujā' followed him. The latter had recourse to fawning and deceit and so prevailed on him, that this experienced greybeard departed from his position and took the side of that ruined man, and never<sup>2</sup> ceased to help him. After continual wanderings Shujā', in the middle of Rajab 1070 A.H. (March, 1660 A.D.), wished to leave Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) and to proceed to Tānda. Ilāhwardī Khān from his experience and knowledge (of Astrology?) foresaw in the future of Shujā' the approaching disaster, and perceived that Shujā' would eventually have to fly to Arrācān to escape Aurangzib's army. He, therefore, wished to join the imperial army, and returned to Akbarnagar. As many of Prince's men wished to leave him and were of the same mind as Ilāhwardī Khān and as the latter had a band of his own men, he fortified his residence, and was prepared to resist if Shujā' attacked him.

Shujā' on hearing the news devised a plan, and spread untrue reports and returned to Akbarnagar. He appointed men to surround Ilāhwardī Khān's house, and to wait the signal for attack, and then sent Sirāj-ud-Dīn Jābarī, his *Divān*, to bring him (Ilāhwardī Khān) to him by promising whatever may be necessary. When on account of the return of Shujā' to the city (Akbarnagar) and of his false proclamations, the men who had joined Ilāhwardī Khān grew lukewarm, the latter became helpless and accepting the false promises and words set off with his son Saif Ullāh in company with Sirāj-ud-Dīn. In this condition 1 en of Shujā' attacked him and seized him on the road, they bound their (i.e. of the father and son) hands behind their backs as if they were criminals and led them before Shujā' outside Akbarnagar. That wicked man set him upon an elephant and took him with him to the city (Akbarnagar) and there<sup>3</sup> put him and his son to death, and confiscated all his property.

Ridā had been a servant of Ilāhwardī Khān, and that after being dismissed he went to Persia and had obtained the *dustak* (permit) from the King of Persia by false representations. Shāh Jahān, however, would not accept this explanation.

<sup>1</sup> There were two weighments each year, the solar and the lunar.

<sup>2</sup> But see Bernier, who speaks of Allah Verdi Khan's having betrayed Shujā' in the battle with Aurangzib. The date 1070 seems wrong. It should be 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 85. The *Riyāṭ-us-Sa'āḍīn*, p. 217, says 'Alivardi Khān was the root of all this mischief, and adds he was put to death at Rājmaḥal. Apparently he deserved his fate. He was put to death in July, 1659 A.D., 1069 A.H. (Beale, p. 32), but the *Madāṭir* gives 1070 A.H. as the date. Beale's year is right,

Ilāhwardī Khān had good sons, every one of whom attained high rank as will be described in the proper place.<sup>1</sup> But none of them acted along with their father except the youngest, Mirzā Saif Ullāh. His (Saif Ullāh's) memory was such that he could repeat everything that he had heard from the beginning of his childhood. He also composed poetry. His father was fond of him. Ilāhwardī Khān was given to jesting and frolic, and indulged in foolish talk. This was so much the case, that the contagion attacked his sons and relatives and up to the present day when no trace of the family remains, they are remembered for this improper quality. Yet Ilāhwardī Khān was not without devotion and piety. He delighted in the society of the descendants of the Prophet—peace be upon him!—and every year gave them presents. And he set apart one tenth of the produce of his *jāgīr* and gave it in charity. He was the unique of the time, for friendship. For an acquaintance of one day he did the work of a hundred years.<sup>2</sup> He did not believe in clerks and managed his own business. Every day he entered his income and expenditure with his own hand. He made a *sarā*, and a garden at Delhi, and they are known to the people by his name.

#### ILĀHWARDĪ KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 229-232.)

He was known as Ilāhwardī Khān 'Ālamgīrshāhi and was the eldest son of Ilāhwardī Khān<sup>3</sup>. His name was Ja'far. Though the disposition of the father and son and of his brothers was naturally inclined towards jesting and bluntness, so that they were all of one cloth—and even to this day every member of the family follows the customs of his ancestors and does not abandon jocosity and laughter—yet Mirzā Ja'far from his early days was not on good terms with his father. He bound the skirt of energy round the waist of enterprise and became a separate runner on the course of life. By good fortune and excellent endeavours he became a favourite of Shāh Jahān, and, in the 21st year obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 23rd year he was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman), which was his hereditary office. Afterwards he obtained an increase of rank, and was made *faujdar* of Jānabī (?).<sup>4</sup> After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh when the garden of Nūr Manzil<sup>5</sup> was made the encampment of Aurangzib, the first order that was issued from the royal mind was that Ilāhwardī Khān should be made *faujdar* of Mathurā,

but the month was April. The account in the text is taken from the '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 498, etc. Evidently Ilāhwardī Khān intended to desert Shujā' and so he deserved his fate. He and his son were put on an elephant and taken back to his quarters in Akbarnagar, and then put to death—probably, after a trial, see '*Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 500, 501.

<sup>1</sup> Ilāhwardī Khān, Text I, pp. 229-232; Hasan 'Ali Khān Bahādur, Text I, pp. 593-599, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, pp. 617-620.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he worked for him as if he had known him for a century.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 207-215, and translation, pp. 668-672.

<sup>4</sup> There is the variant Jāstapi. Perhaps Jāmbūji in Gujarāt is meant. vide Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> Nūr Manzil was near Āgra; it was named after Jahāngīr. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 62.

and have charge of affairs of that *Chakla*<sup>1</sup> and should chastise the seditious of that place, which was Dārā Shikōh's fief. Owing to the dismissal of his men—who had managed the place—the inhabitants had become disturbed and restless, and the opportunists there had become seditious. He went off after being presented with a female elephant and being raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of whom 1,000 were two-horse and three-horse. Afterwards his rank was increased, and he got the title of Ilāhwardī Khān 'Ālamgirshāhi. In the 3rd year he was removed from the *faujdarī* of Mathurā and appointed to that of Gorakhpūr. In the 7th year, he appeared at the Court and presented 14 elephants that he had taken from the *Zamindār* of Mōrang, and nine which he tendered as his *pēshkash*. He spent a long time in that estate, and, in the 9th year, had his rank increased and a *farmān* was issued, giving him the *faujdarī* of Morādābād. In the 10th year, his *manṣab* was 4,000 with 3,000 horse, including two-horse and three-horse (troopers). In succession to Bahādur Khān Kōka he became governor of Allāhābād, and in the 12th year, 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) he died. He was distinguished for courage and energy, and was also very generous. He composed poetry and was the author of a *divān*, and this is one of his couplets:

Nothing demands less than a spoon

It suffers a hundred strokes<sup>2</sup> that it may bring a lip to a lip.

In spite of these good qualities he could not get on with his father. It is notorious that when Ilāhwardī Khān incurred the Sovereign's displeasure for some reason, and Shāh Jahān ordered in open *Divān* that he should be seized and turned out, Ja'far jumped and quickly came out of the crowd and seized his father by the back of the collar and put him out. His father, who always complained, was very voluble on this occasion, and Ja'far in excuse said, "As it was impossible to disobey the King's order, no doubt someone else would have come forward to execute it. In that case we should not have been able to show our faces, and perhaps indignation and shame would have carried us too far." His son was Amān Ullāh. When in the 12th year his uncle Hasan 'Alī Khān was made *faujdar* of Mathurā, he was made *faujdar* of Āgra and was ordered to assist his uncle. After that he got the title of Khān and in company with Muḥammad A'zam Shāh at the battle of the batteries at Bijāpūr, he, in the 29th year, bravely drank the last draught.

ILANGTÔSH<sup>3</sup> KHĀN BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. III, pp. 971, 972.)

In the 14th year of Aurangzīb's reign, he was presented with a sword, a dagger, and a spear. In the 19th year, on the day of his marriage

<sup>1</sup> Chakla Mēwāt, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 33, and Bādshāhnāma, II, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The strokes, literally strokes of the hatchet or pickaxe, seem to refer to the insertions of a spoon into food and into the mouth. The lip or *lab* is presumably the edge of the spoon. The spoon meant may however be a wooden spoon, and the meaning be that it is cut and fashioned by a hatchet merely that it may become a go-between.

<sup>3</sup> *Ilangtōsh* means in Turkī naked breast, and was an epithet originally given to a warrior who fought without armour. He is several times mentioned in the



feast, he received a robe of honour, and an emerald *sarpēch* (turban-ornament), a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant with silver trappings. In the 20th year, his rank became 2,000, 700 horse. In the 25th year, he became *Qurbēgi* (Superintendent of armoury), on the retirement of Abū Naṣr Khān. After that he was censured, but, in the 28th year, he was reinstated, and on the death of Bakhtāwar Khān he was made Superintendent of the pages. In the 29th year he was again dismissed. His subsequent career is not known.

'IMĀD UL-MULK<sup>1</sup>.

(Vol. II, pp. 847-856.)

He was the son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang<sup>2</sup> who was the heir of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He was the daughter's son of I'timād-ul-Daula Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān. His real name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn. When his father was appointed governor of the Deccan and hastened to that quarter, he was left at the Court as a deputy Mīr Bakhshī, and was made over to Ṣafdar Jang the *Vazīr*. Afterwards, when the news of his father's death arrived from the Deccan, he took advantage of the time and so ingratiated himself with Ṣafdar Jang that he was made Mīr Bakhshī and got his father's title. Afterwards, when the King's disagreement with Ṣafdar Jang became acute, 'Imād-ul-Mulk in conjunction with his maternal uncle Khān-Khānān entered the fort of Delhi with a force and turned out Mūsavi Khān who, as the deputy of Ṣafdar Jang, was, with 400 men, carrying on the duties of Mīr Ātish (Chief of the artillery), and had the son of the Khān Daurān appointed to that office. Next day Ṣafdar Jang went to the King and complained about the appointment of the Mīr Ātish. But he did not succeed. An order was issued that the (Mūsavi Khān) could have another appointment. He took the Mīr Bakhshiship from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and gave it to Sādāt Khān Dhūlfāqār Jang. When the King became displeased with Ṣafdar Jang, 'Imād-ul-Mulk contended with the latter for six months and sent for Muḥār Rāo Hōlkar from Mālwa and Jai Āpā from Nāgōr to help him. But before they came he made peace with Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Hōlkar and Jai Āpā joined together and fell upon Sūraj Mal the Jāt. Bharatpūr, Kumhnēr<sup>3</sup> and Deeg, which were three of their strong forts, were besieged. As cannon were the best weapons for taking forts, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, at the request of the Mahratta leaders petitioned the King for artillery through his agent 'Āqibat Muḥmūd Khān Kashmīrī. Intizām-ud-Daula *Vazīr*, the son of I'timād-ud-Daula Qamr-ud-Dīn, opposed 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and urged that the artillery should not be sent. 'Āqibat

*Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*. See Manucci, Irvine, II, p. 43, where he is described as being the son of a Tartar woman who was sold by the Uzbek envoys about 1661-62, and made one of the King's Amazons. Manucci hints that he was a son of Aurangzib.

<sup>1</sup> See the biography in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1879 by Irvine, p. 128 *et seq.* 'Imād-ul-Mulk is often called Ghāzi-ud-Dīn, which was also his father's name.

<sup>2</sup> The biography of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 361, 362, Beveridge's translation, pp. 592, 593; and of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh in *id.* III, pp. 837-848, and also 875-897.

<sup>3</sup> Kūmher vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVI, p. 22.

Maḥmud Khān won over many of the *manṣabdārs* and the artillery men by promising that if 'Imād-ul-Mulk's time should come, they would get such and such favours, and wished to carry off Intizām-ud-Daula. One day it was arranged that an onslaught should be made on Intizām-ud-Daula's house and that he should be seized. On that day the enterprise failed and 'Imād-ul-Mulk fled towards Dāsna. There he became a robber and attacked and plundered the royal estates, and the fiefs of the *manṣabdārs*. At this time Sūraj Mal Jāt, who had escaped in a wretched condition from the hands of the besiegers, begged assistance from the King. The latter came out of Delhi, ostensibly to hunt, and to arrange the Antarbēd (the Dūāb), but really to help the Jāt. He encamped at Sikandra. He sent for 'Aqibat Maḥmud Khān, who was then making a disturbance in the neighbourhood, and he came alone from Khūrja and waited on the King, and then returned to Khūrja.

One of the Divine decrees was that Hōlkar became impressed with the idea that Aḥmad Shāh was delaying the delivery of the guns. Now that he had come out, it was fitting that his supplies of food and forage should be stopped. Also he thought that in this way he might get hold of the guns. He wished to carry out this plan without any partners, and so he made a night-march without giving notice to 'Imād-ul-Mulk or to Jai Āpā. He crossed the Jumnā at the Mathurā ferry, and on the night when 'Aqibat Maḥmūd Khān had waited on the King and gone back to Khūrja, Hōlkar came near Aḥmad Shāh's camp and during the first part of the night discharged some rockets. People thought that 'Aqibat Maḥmud Khān was discharging them out of mischief on his way back and did not prepare for battle. Nor did they think of flying. At the end of the night it became certain that Hōlkar had come. They all lost their heads and could neither fight nor fly. Aḥmad Shāh, his mother and Ṣamsām-ud-Daula the *Mir Ātish*, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān, left their honour and their property and ran away to the Capital with a few followers. Their inexperience resulted in a great disaster. Hōlkar came and plundered the whole of the royal property. Malika-i-Zamāniya, the daughter of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar who was the wife of Muḥammad Shāh, and other ladies were made prisoners. Hōlkar treated them with honour. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard about it, he abandoned the siege and hastened to the Capital. When Jai Āpā saw that these two leaders had gone, he too abandoned the siege and went off to Nārṇōl. Sūraj Mal without effort was freed from the pressure of the siege. 'Imād-ul-Mulk by the help of Hōlkar and with the co-operation of the Court officers, especially Ṣamsām-ud-Daula Mir Ātish deprived Intizām-ud-Daula of the *Vazārat* and appropriated it himself, and gave the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā to Ṣamsām-ud-Daula. On the day he assumed the *Vazārat*, he, in the morning put on the robe of honour, and at midday imprisoned Aḥmad Shāh and his mother. On 10th Sha'bān, Sunday, 1167 A.H. (2nd June, 1754 A.D.) he seated 'Aziz-ud-Dīn, the son of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh upon the throne, and gave him the title of 'Ālamgīr II. After a week's imprisonment, he blinded Aḥmad Shāh and his mother—who was the origin of the whole confusion. After a while he went to Lāhōre to settle the province of the Panjāb, which after the death of Mu'in-ul-Mulk, had on behalf of the Shāh Durrānī come into the possession of Mu'in-ul-Mulk's widow. He left 'Ālamgīr II in Delhi, took with him 'Alī Gōhar for appearance's sake

(*batūzakī*), and went by way of Hānsi and Hīṣār to Lāhōre. When<sup>1</sup> he came near the Sutlej, Adinā Bēg Khān sent a force under the charge of Saiyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khān *Sipāh Sālār* and Hākīm 'Ubaid Ullāh Khān Kashmiri, who was his factotum and had been raised to the rank of 6,000 and the title of Bahā'-ud-Daula, by night to Lāhōre. They proceeded there with great alacrity. Eunuchs were sent into the harem and they roused the lady who was sleeping there and imprisoned her. They brought her out and gave her a place in a tent. She was the wife of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk gave the government of Lāhōre to Adinā Bēg Khān and fixed 30 lacs of rupees in lieu of *pēshkash* and returned to Delhi. When Shāh Durrāni heard this news, he was much troubled, and marched quickly from Qandahār to Lāhōre. Adinā Bēg Khān fled from Lāhōre to Hānsi and Hīṣār. Shāh Durrāni came rapidly within 20 *kos* of Delhi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk had no recourse but to submit and wait upon the Shāh. At first he was censured, but on the recommendation of the above-named lady and the exertions of the *Vazīr* (of Shāh Durrāni) he was saved and was made *Vazīr* on condition of payment of a *pēshkash*. When Shāh Durrāni appointed Jahān Khān to take possession of the forts of Sūraj Mal Jāt, 'Imād-ul-Mulk represented to the Shāh that if a scion (*nūra*,<sup>2</sup> a flower?) of the Timūrids and an army of the Durrānians were given to him he would bring ample gold from the Antarbēd (the area between the Ganges and the Jumnā). The Shāh summoned from Delhi two Princes—Hidāyat Baksh, son of 'Ālamgir II, and Mirzā Bābur, son-in-law of 'Aziz-ud-Dīn the brother of 'Ālamgir II, and sent them along with Jānbāz Khān, who was one of his Sardārs, with 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He with the two Princes and Jānbāz Khān crossed the Jumnā without any proper organization and proceeded towards Farrukhābād, the residence of Ahmad Khān son of Muḥammad Khān Bangash. Ahmad Khān came out to meet him and presented tents, furniture, elephants and horses, etc., as a *pēshkash* to the Princes and 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The latter then went on and crossed the Ganges and came to Oudh. Shujā'-ud-Daula the governor of Oudh came out from Lucknow with the intention of giving battle, and came to the plain of Sāndī and Pālī which are on the borders of Oudh. Twice slight engagements took place between the skirmishes. At last by the mediation of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān Rōhila peace was made on the basis of a payment of five lacs of rupees—a small portion in cash and a promise for the rest. 'Imād-ul-Mulk marched off with the Princes, and in 1170<sup>3</sup> A.H. he crossed the Ganges and came to Farrukhābād. Shāh Durrāni had come out of Agra on account of an outbreak of plague and had gone off quickly towards Afghānistān. On the day that he came near the Capital, 'Ālamgir II along with Najib-ud-Daula came to the tank of Maqṣūdābād, and had an interview with the Shāh. He spoke much evil of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Accordingly the Shāh gave the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā of India to Najib-ud-Daula and went off to Lāhōre. 'Imād-ul-Mulk proceeded to Delhi from Farrukhābād on account of his anxiety about Najib-ud-Daula. He summoned Raghūnāth Rāo the half-brother of Balāji Rāo, and Hōlkar

<sup>1</sup> In the *Khasāna* 'Āmirā it is stated that Imād-ul-Mulk came to Lūdhīāna (Newal Kishore Press edn.), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> There is also the reading *naubāwa*—new fruit.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

from the Deccan with great urgency, and in conjunction with them besieged the city, and for 45 days artillery-fire went on. At last Hōlkar took a heavy bribe from Najīb-ud-Daula and laid the foundations of peace. He brought out Najīb-ud-Daula with respect and with his baggage from the fort, and give him a place near his own tent. He made over to him the other side of the Jumnā, viz., Sahāranpūr, Būriyā<sup>1</sup> and Chāndpūr and the whole of the Bārāh townships. With the help of the Mahrattas 'Imād-ul-Mulk got the management of all the affairs of the empire. When Datā Sardār, the Mahratta, besieged Najīb-ud-Daula in Shakartāl, he summoned 'Imād-ul-Mulk to his aid from Delhi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was not pleased with 'Ālamgir II, and knew that he was secretly in correspondence with Shāh Durrānī, and also that he wished that Najīb-ud-Daula should prevail over Datā. Accordingly he put to death the Khān-Khānān (Intizām-ud-Daula) who had previously been imprisoned. On the same day,<sup>2</sup> 8th Rabi' II, Thursday, 1173 A.H. (29th November, 1759 A.D.), he also made a martyr of 'Ālamgir II, and raised Muḥi-ud-Millat, the son of Muḥi-us-Sunnat son of Kām Bakḥsh son of Aurangzib, to the throne, and gave him the title of Shāh Jahān. After 'Ālamgir II and the Khān-Khānān had been killed, Datā hastened to his assistance in obedience to a summons. At the same time the near approach of Shāh Durrānī made a disturbance, and Datā removed from Shakartāl and moved to Sirhind to fight Shāh Durrānī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to Delhi and when he heard of an encounter between Datā and the skirmishers of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain that the latter would be victorious. Accordingly, he left the new King in Delhi and went to Sūraj Mal Jāt and remained with him for a time. Afterwards when time removed the King, and Najīb-ud-Daula made Sulṭān Jawān Bakht the son of 'Alī Gōhar Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur *pro-forma* King and ruled in the Capital, 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Ahmad Khān Bangash in Farrukhābād. Then he went to Shujā'-ud-Daula to fight with the English. After the defeat he sought protection among the Jāts. In the year 1187 A.H. he came to the Deccan and the Mahrattas gave him some land for his support in the province of Mālwa. As he did not feel confident about the reigning Sovereign, he went off to the port of Sūrat and spent<sup>3</sup> some time there with the hat-wearers (the English). At the

<sup>1</sup> A town in the Ambāla district, *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 106. Chāndpūr is perhaps the town in the Bijnaur district.

<sup>2</sup> The Khazāna-i-Āmirā, p. 54, has three days afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> Much of this biography has been copied into the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkhirin*. The common source is the Khazāna-i-Āmirā, pp. 50-54, so that evidently this is one of the biographies contributed by Ghulām 'Alī. The biography says nothing of Gunnā Bēgam the wife of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. For an account of her see Beale and especially Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1879, pp. 128-130.

Sir William Jones in his discourse on the Orthography of Asiatic Words, *As. Researches* I, p. 55, quotes a Hindūstānī love-song as being by Gunnā Bēgam. But it appears from a note by Dr. Hunter in *As. Researches* VI, p. 76, that the poem is really by one Qamr-ud-Din. Gunnā Bēgam is buried in Aurangzib's garden, Bāgh Jamāl, in Nurābād on the Sank river. From a reference in Mill's *History of India*, II, p. 414, note (1817), it appears that 'Imād-ul-Mulk was found by Colonel Goddard at Sūrat in 1780 disguised as a pilgrim and that he was for a time put into confinement. He did go to Mecca, and returned via Bagra and Qandahār, and died at Kālpī on 1st December, 1800 (*vide* Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 129). For a good general survey of the period of 'Imād-ul-Mulk see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 434-448.

present time he has embarked on a ship with the design of going to Mecca. He knew the Qur'ân by heart and was a student, and a good penman. He had genius and courage. He also composed poetry. This verse is his :

Verse.

I am inferior even to a stone thrown by a sling,  
As you have thrown me away and not kept me revolving round  
your head.

He had many sons. One entered the service of Nizâm-ud-Daula Asaf Jah, and by virtue of his relationship obtained the rank of 5,000 and the title of Hamîd-ud-Daula. He also got an allowance in money.

'INAYAT KHÂN.

(Vol. II, pp. 813-818.)

No definite information is available about his origin or his native country, nor his ancestors, and there is no trace<sup>1</sup> of his descendants. All that is known is that he was from Khawâf. In the end of the 10th year of Aurangzib's reign, he was appointed to be *Divân-i-Khâlqa*<sup>2</sup> (Superintendent of the crown-lands). In the 13th year, he reported<sup>3</sup> that the expenditure had increased since the time of Shâh Jahân and now exceeded the receipts by fourteen lacs of rupees. An order was given that four kror of rupees should be allotted (as the assignment) for the *Khâlqa* and that the expenditure should be fixed at the same amount. The papers regarding the expenditure were examined, and it was ordered that many items of expense in the establishment of the King, the Princes and the Bégams should be reduced. Here some remarks may be made about the greatness and extent of the Indian Empire. The revenues of the Princes of other countries do not amount to what the servants of the Indian government receive. The revenues of Imâm Quli Khân and Nadîr Muhammad Khân, who held the whole of Transoxiana and Turkistân, even to Balkh and Badakhshân, were from land revenue and taxes (*mâl u sâ'ir*) in cash and grain and also from enhancements and tithes (?) (*irtifâ' u zakât*) one kror twenty lacs of *Khânîs*, which are equal to thirty lacs of rupees. The assignment (*tankhwâh*) for every officer of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, *dû-aspa u sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse)<sup>4</sup> is a kror of *dâms* (2 lacs and 50,000 rupees),

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this must refer to descendants through males, for his daughter was married to Bâdshâh Quli Khân Tahawwur Khân and apparently had issue; see Bâdshâh Quli Khân (*Maâthir-ul-Umarâ*, Text I, pp. 447-453).

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Jadumath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 41-46.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from *Maâthir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 99, 100. It is there stated that Balhâtawar Khân conveyed the order to the Divâns that after the end of the year they should bring their receipts and expenditure and that on Wednesday they should bring their books to the *Abuskhâna*. Thereupon 'Inayat Khân reported as in the text. Instead of *madad kharaj* assistance-expenditure or charitable expenditure it is *kharaj* in the *Maâthir-i-'Alamgiri*. It is said in that work that four kror were assigned to the *Khâlqa*—apparently, as its expenditure, and that in a similar manner the Emperor examined the papers of the expenses of other departments, and ordered many reductions.

<sup>4</sup> This conjunction here is apparently wrong and is omitted.

not to mention Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān who each year collected from his fiefs fifty laos of rupees. Prince Dārā Shikōh had in the end a *manṣab* of 60,000 with 40,000 troopers, two-horse, and three-horse, with an allowance (*in'āms*) of 83 kror of *dāms*, which came to 2 kror, 7 laos and 50,000 rupees a year.

To investigators it is clear, that in the time of Akbar—who was the founder and builder of the Caliphate and of world-rule, and the constructor of the principles of world-conquest—the expenditure was not on the same footing as in former times. As every day new territories were added, the expenditure also of necessity increased; but the income also increased a hundredfold, and there were accumulations. In the time of Jahāngīr, who was a careless Prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials, in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performances. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 laos of rupees while the expenditure rose to one kror and fifty laos, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury (*Khazāna-i-'Amīra*). In the beginning of the prudent reign of Shāh Jahān when a review was made of the income and expenditure and of the welfare of the country by the royal officials, that wise ruler ordered that estates to the value of one kror and fifty laos of rupees—which, according to an estimate for the whole twelve months, formed the fifteenth part of the (value of the) imperial domains—should be made *Khālṣa* (exchequer or crown-lands). He upheld the allowance of a kror of rupees for fixed expenditure, and kept the balance for unforeseen (or contingent) expenses. Gradually, that Monarch, by good management and good fortune increased the income from day to day. The expenditure also increased, so that at the end of the 20th year, out of 880 kror of *dāms* of revenue, 120 kror were assigned to the *Khālṣa* which, for the whole year, comes to three kror of rupees. In the end the amount was nearly four kror, as has been stated (above). More extraordinary still, there were great increases in gifts and *in'āms* and outlays upon enterprises and buildings. For instance, in the first year of the reign a kror and 80 laos of rupees in cash and goods and 4 laos of *bighas* of land and the revenues of 120 villages were assigned to the Bēgams, the Princes, the nobles, officers, Saiyids, learned men and Shaikhs. At the end of the 20th year, 9 kror, 60 laos of rupees were estimated for gifts (*in'āms*)<sup>1</sup>. In the Badakhshān and Balkh expeditions, exclusive of 2 kror of rupees for pay and allowances (*marājib*) 2 kror of rupees were expended on necessary armaments. Two kror 50 laos of rupees were expended on buildings. Of this, 50 laos were spent on the cemetery (*Rauḍa*—the Taj Mahal) of Mumtāz Mahal, 52 laos on other buildings in Agra, 50 laos on the gardens and buildings of Lāhōre, 12 on Kābul, 8 on royal villas (*munazzahāt*) in Kashmīr, 8 in Qandahār and 10 on the buildings of Ahmadābād and Ajmēr, etc. Nevertheless the treasuries, which boasted of being full during the fifty-one years of Akbar's reign, and had now come to the condition of being without increase or diminution, raised the cry of "Touch not" Aurangzib, who possessed moderation and caution, long strove to equalize

<sup>1</sup> Based on '*Amal-i-Shāhī* (Yazdānī edn.), II, pp. 557, 558.

the receipts and expenses, but on account of the "old lameness" <sup>1</sup> of affairs in the Deccan money was poured out so that even the properties of the servants <sup>2</sup> of Dārā Shikōh and others were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan and were included among assignments, and became a burden additional to that caused by the desolation and diminished production in the country. Nevertheless, at the end of the King's life there were in the fort of Āgra ten or twelve kroris of rupees. Some of this was spent in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, for in his time receipts ceased and all was expenditure. Afterwards Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) brought about the ruin (of the exchequer). What remained was seized by the Saiyids during the disturbance of Nēkū-siyar. At this time, when the receipts of the Empire are confined to Bengāl, the Mahrattas have, for two or three years, introduced confusion into that province, but the expenses also have not been as high as before. My pen has rebelled! Whither have my words wandered!

In short, 'Ināyat Khān was removed in the 14th year from the *Khālqa Divānī*—which was committed to Mirak Mu'in-ud-Dīn Amānat Khān—and was made *faujdar* <sup>3</sup> of Chakla Bareilly. In the 18th year he was made <sup>4</sup> *faujdar* of Khairābād in succession to Mujāhid Khān. After that when Amānat Khān resigned the *Khālqa Divānī*, an order was passed that Kifāyat Khān the *Divān-i-Tan* should also carry on the duties of the *Khālqa*. In the 20th year, 'Ināyat Khān was again appointed <sup>5</sup> to the *Khālqa* with the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 24th year, he, in Ajmēr—when his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān entitled Bādshāh Qulī Khān, who by his ignorance had been guiding Prince Muḥammad Akbar, either through evil intention and pretext of apology or at the instance of his father-in-law, retired, and expressing devotion and fidelity presented himself at the doors of the royal palace; he was punished for his ungratefulness—was removed from the *Khālqa Divānī* and put in charge of the buildings <sup>6</sup> (*Buyūtāt*) in succession to Kāmgar Khān. In the same year, on the ground that his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān had in the *faujdarī* of Ajmēr done good service in putting down the Rājputis, he begged for this *faujdarī* and urged that he would use equal exertions in putting down the arrogant (Rāthōrs); his request was granted. In the 26th year, 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.) he died.

'INĀYAT ULLĀH KHĀN.

(Vol. II, pp. 828-832.)

He was connected with Saiyid Jamāl of Nishāpūr. By chance he came to Kashmīr and settled there. His father was Mīrzā Shukr Ullāh.

<sup>1</sup> *Kuhna langī*, see Vullers, II, p. 928a, where *kuhna lang* is explained as the condition of a person or thing which cannot be altered.

<sup>2</sup> Several MSS. have the preposition *az* before Dārā so that the meaning may probably be: men's goods from Dārā Shikōh downwards. The passage is obscure and the words *amwāl-i-mardum* are curious, if landed property is meant. Perhaps the meaning is that the allowances of men who had formerly served Dārā Shikōh were made an assignment on the Deccan, when they (perhaps as a measure of policy) were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 208.

His mother was Hāfiza Maryam and was appointed to teach Zīb-un-Nisā Bēgam, the daughter of Aurangzīb and the full sister of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh. From her Zīb-un-Nisā learnt to commit to memory the words of God and the practice of the accomplishments, and petitioned her father to give an office to 'Ināyat Ullāh. He at first had a small rank and had the appointment of an accountant <sup>1</sup> (*ashraf*) in the jewel-room. In the 31st year, his rank was 400, 60 horse, and next year he was *Khān-i-Sāmān* of the Bēgam's <sup>2</sup> establishment. In the 35th year, when Rashīd *Khān* Badī'-uz-Zamān *daftardār* of the *Khālṣa* went off to inquire into some *Khālṣa* estates in Haidarābād 'Ināyat Ullāh *Khān* was his deputy; he had the 600 rank with 60 horse and the title <sup>3</sup> of *Khān*. In the 36th year, he became *Divān-i-Tan* in succession to Amānat *Khān* Mir Husain and his rank was 700 with 80 horse. After some days, he had charge of the *Divān-i-Ṣarf khāṣṣ* (the *Divān*ship of special expenditures) and an increase of 20 horse. In the 42nd year, <sup>4</sup> he acted as *Ṣadr* until the appointment of another officer, and his rank was 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 45th year, on the death of Arshad *Khān* Abūl 'Ulā he was made *Divān* of the *Khālṣa*, and his rank was 1,500 with 250 horse. In the 46th year, he received the present of an elephant and in the 49th his rank was 2,000, 250 horse. His companionship with the King became intimate and reliance upon him was such that when Asad *Khān* on account of age and self-indulgence neglected to sign the papers of the *Vazārat*, it was ordered <sup>5</sup> that 'Ināyat Ullāh *Khān* as deputy should sign them. An account of the great favour which the King showed to 'Ināyat Ullāh *Khān* and which the author of the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* has reported may be read at the end of the biography of Amīr-ul-Umarā Asad *Khān* (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation, pp. 270-279).

After the death of Aurangzīb, the *Khān* proceeded with A'zam Shāh to Upper India. When unnecessary baggage was left in Gwāliyār 'Ināyat Ullāh remained there with Asad *Khān*. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, he was confirmed in his employments and came to the Court and obtained leave with Asad *Khān*. His son Hidāyat Ullāh performed his duties at the Court. After coming to the Deccan, when Mukhtār *Khān*, who was the High Steward (*Khān-i-Sāmān*), <sup>6</sup> died, the appointment was given to 'Ināyat Ullāh and he was summoned to the Court. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, he was appointed governor of Kashmir, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's reign, when his eldest son Sa'ad Ullāh Hidāyat Ullāh was killed, <sup>7</sup> 'Ināyat Ullāh *Khān* went off from Kashmir to Mecca. He returned in the middle of the reign, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. He was *Divān-i-Khālṣa* and *Divān-i-Tan* as well as governor of Kashmir; he himself remained at the Court and sent a deputy (to Kashmir). In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he, after the death of

<sup>1</sup> In the expression *ashraf-i-jawāhir-khāna*, *ashraf* appears to be a lapsus calami for *mushraf*, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 249. For *mushraf*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p. 358 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42, note; he was really an examiner or auditor of accounts.

<sup>2</sup> Zinat-un-Nisā, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup>, <sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 345, 393.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 390, where it is said that Asad *Khān*'s illness was the reason of the order. This was in the 41st year.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 48-52.

<sup>7</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 507.



I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn Khān had the rank of 7,000, and till the arrival of Aṣaf Khān acted as Deputy *Vazīr* and substantive *Mīr-i-Sāmān*. In the same year, 1139 A.H. (1726-27 A.D.) he died.

They say, he was a pure living man and of an agreeable disposition and was known for his piety and respect for faqīrs. He was well acquainted with the rules of official work. Aurangzīb approved of his literary qualities. He collected the orders which were issued through him to the Princes and officers and gave them the name *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*.<sup>1</sup> He also collected the notes written by the King and called them *Kalīmāt Tayyibāt*.<sup>2</sup> Both works are well known. He had six sons. One is Sa'ad Ullāh Khān Hidāyat Khān of whom an account has been given<sup>3</sup> in its place. The second was Diyā Ullāh Khān of whom an account has been given<sup>4</sup> at the beginning of the lives of his sons *Thānā Ullāh Khān* and *Amān Ullāh Khān*. The third was *Kifāyat Ullāh Khān*. The fourth was 'Aṭīf Ullāh Khān, who after his father's death had the title of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān and became the governor of Kashmīr. The fifth was 'Ubaid Ullāh Khān. The sixth is 'Abdullāh Khān who is living in the Capital. He has the title of *Manṣūr-ud-Daula*.

#### (RĀJA) INDARMAN DHANDĒRA.

(Vol. II, pp. 265, 266.)

He belonged to a branch of the Rājput̃s. This branch was connected with the Bundēlas and the Panwārs, and their native country was the town of Sahrā in the Sarkār of Sārangpūr in Mālwa. In the records it is described as Sahār<sup>5</sup> Bābā Hājī. In Akbar's time Rāja Jagman<sup>6</sup> of Dhandēra entered the service, and in the time of Shāh Jahān the territory of Dhandēra was given to Siv Rām the brother's son of Rāja Bēthal Dās Gaur. He (Rāja Bēthal Dās) went with a body of men and forcibly expelled Rāja Indarman—who at that time held the *zamīndārī*—but he, after some time collected a large force and again took possession of the country. In the 10th<sup>7</sup> year, the King sent Mu'tamad Khān and Rāja Bēthal Dās with a suitable force to punish him. They invested Sahrā, and the Rāja asked for quarter and came with them to the Court. In accordance with orders, he was imprisoned in the fort of Junair. In the year<sup>8</sup> when Aurangzīb proceeded from the Deccan to inquire after

<sup>1</sup> See *Cambridge History of India*, p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS., As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 167, no. 382 (1924).

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 504-508.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 506.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett's translation of *A'm*, II, p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> In *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 751, Beveridge's translation, p. 1122, is mentioned a Rāja Jagman a Mālwa landholder.

<sup>7</sup> In *Bādshāhnāma* I, pt. 2, p. 142, Siv Rām is mentioned as being granted the fief of Dhandēra. On pp. 234, 235 the author mentions Pathal Dās (for Bēthal Dās), Mu'tamad Khān and other royal servants who had been sent to punish the *Zamīndār* of Dhandēra. The name of the fort is given as *Shahr Ārā*.

<sup>8</sup> 1658 A.D. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, p. 344, the eldest son of Aurangzīb started with the van towards Burhānpūr on 6th February and he himself left Aurangābād on 16th February.

his father's health, and meditated an expedition to Upper India, he got the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and advanced with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to Upper India. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, he received a flag and drums, and after the battle with Muḥammad Shujā' he went off to Bengāl. There he was active in the King's service. At last he died.<sup>1</sup>

## IRĀDAT KHĀN MİR ISHĀQ.

(Vol. I, pp. 203-206.)

He was the third son of A'zam Khān Jahāngīrī.<sup>2</sup> In the reign of Shāh Jahān he, after his father's death, obtained a commission of 900 with 500 horse and was made *Mīr Tuzuk*. In the 25th year, he received the title of Irādat Khān and a commission of 1,500 with 800 horse, and was made Superintendent of the elephant stables. In the 26th year, he was made, in succession to Tarbiyat Khān, Master of the horse. In the same year he was granted a commission of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was made 2nd *Bakhshī* and received a robe of honour. In the 28th year, he got an increase of 800 horse and was made *faujdar* of Sarkār Lucknow and Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Aḥmad Bēg Khān. In the 29th year, he came to Court and was appointed to the office of '*Arḍ Waqā'i*' (Recorder of petitions). His commission was 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, deprived of office and spent some time in retirement. At the same time 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzīb) succeeded to the throne. Irādat Khān's brothers, Multafat Khān and Khān Zamān attached themselves to Aurangzīb and risked<sup>3</sup> their lives in the first battle with Dārā Shikōh. When the royal standards reached the Capital, Irādat Khān was the recipient<sup>4</sup> of regal favours and got an increase of 500 with 500 horse. At the same time the victorious standards moved from Āgra to Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) to pursue Dārā Shikōh and Irādat Khān was appointed<sup>5</sup> to the *Ṣubadārī* of Oudh and granted drums and an increase of 500 with 500 horse so that his commission became one of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 1,000 troopers were of the two-horse and three-horse rank.

<sup>1</sup> In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 161, it is stated that Rāja Indarman—he is called Bundēla—died in 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.). Mr. Silberrad in his account of W. Bundelkhand (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1902, p. 116) says that Indarman was the son of Pahar Singh the brother of Champat and that he died in 1673, leaving a son, Jaswant Singh. It appears from the '*Ālamgīrnāma*' that he afterwards served in the Sivāliks and in the Deccan; see pp. 517, 533, and 989.

<sup>2</sup> For his account, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 174-180, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 315-319. His name there is A'zam Khān Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir, otherwise Irādat Khān.

<sup>3</sup> The language used would seem to imply that one or both of Irādat Khān's brothers were killed at the battle of Sāmūgarh on 8th June, 1658 A.D. (see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, II, p. 383), but histories show that this was not the case. Perhaps the meaning is that Irādat Khān had distinguished himself in that battle.

<sup>4</sup> See '*Ālamgīrnāma*', p. 119, where reference is made to his earlier dismissal, and to his being raised to the rank of 2,500, with 1,500 horse.

<sup>5</sup> '*Ālamgīrnāma*', p. 127. The increase was 1,500 personal with 500 horse.

Inasmuch as it is an old habit with the envious heavens to destroy achievements, he had made only a few steps in the field of success when he tripped and fell. That is, after two months and some days he, in the month of Dhūl Hijjā, 1068 A.H. (August, 1658 A.D.) passed<sup>1</sup> away from this transitory world. His first marriage was with a daughter of Mirzā Badī'uz-Zamān, the son of Āqā Mullā, the brother of Āṣaf Khān Ja'far. His second was with the daughter of Zāhid Khān Kōka. His eldest son by her was Muḥammad Ja'far, who was honest and renowned. He died, and his brother Mir Mubārak Ullāh was made *faujdar* of Chākna<sup>2</sup> in the 33rd year of 'Ālamgir. Afterwards, he received his father's title. In the 40th year, he was made<sup>3</sup> *faujdar* of Aurangābād, and had a commission of 700 with 1,000 horse. After that he was made *faujdar* of Mandasūr<sup>4</sup> in Mālwa, and in the time of Bahādūr Shāh he became a favourite of the Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān and his intimate friend. He was nominated to the *faujdarī* of the Dūab of Patan Jālandhar. He had a taste for various kinds of knowledge and had developed a very delicate sense for poetic composition. His poetical name was *Wādih*<sup>5</sup> (Evident) and he is the author of a *divān*.

Verse.

My heart is jealous of nought but the enjoyment of the beloved,  
Life received one garment, and that too a shroud.

In the time of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar he died.<sup>6</sup> His son Mir Hidāyat Ullāh who received the title of Hōshdar Khān and afterwards of Irādat Khān was in the time of Bahādūr Shāh *faujdar* of Nūrmahl in the Panjāb and was also for a long time *faujdar* of Deeg in Mālwa. In the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign he came to the Deccan with Āṣaf Jāh, and after the battle with Mubārīz Khān, he for some time was *Divān* of the Deccan, in succession to the deceased Diyānat Khān<sup>7</sup> and held a commission of 4,000. He lived for a long time at Aurangābād, and at last was appointed the governor of the fort of Gulbarga. In the Trichinopoly<sup>8</sup> expedition he accompanied Āṣaf Jāh, and died on the way back near Aurangābād in 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.). He was a skilled soldier; even in old age he did not lay aside his weapons. He spoke much and was well known for sword-practice.<sup>9</sup> His poetry was without distinction. He was much addicted to women and had many children. His grown-up sons died in his lifetime. At the time of writing his son Hāfiz Khān is the governor of the fort of Gulbarga.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ālamgir-nāma, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Islāmābād Chākna in the Cōncan, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> The Marōṣūr in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 208, and Mandasor of the maps.

<sup>5</sup> Rieu, III, p. 938. It is curious that the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* does not mention his history which seems to be his most important work. See Elliot, VII, p. 534 and Scott's *History of the Deccan*.

<sup>6</sup> Irādat Khān died in 1128 A.H. (1716 A.D.).

<sup>7</sup> An ancestor of the author.

<sup>8</sup> In March, 1743, vide *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 384.

<sup>9</sup> *Shamshēr shindast* might also mean connoisseurship in swords.

## ĪRAJ KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 268-272.)

He was the son of Qazalbāsh Khān Afshār. In his father's lifetime he became known for his rectitude and ability, and did courageous deeds. As the Superintendent of the artillery in the Deccan he acquired fame by his skill and disinterestedness. When his father, the governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, died in the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse, the title of Khān, and the charge of the said fort. As a result of his high spirit and generosity he did not let his father's men be dispersed, but kept all of them as soldiers or servants (*shāgird-pēsha*). He sought fame, and because of honest-mindedness he took his father's debts upon himself and set himself to support his relations and kindred. In the 24th year, he had an increase of 500 and on the death of Qazzāq Khān, he became *thāmadār* of Pathrī, in the Deccan. He afterwards came to the Court, and, in the 25th year, was made *Mīr Tuzuk*. When Prince Dārā Shikōh was appointed with a large army to the Qandahār expedition, Īraj Khān was made *Bakhshī* and given a flag. On his return, he was raised to the *faujdarī* of Jammū and Kāngra and received a grant of 57 estates in that hill-country. In the 30th year when Prince Aurangzīb was made *Nāzim* of the Deccan and appointed to chastise 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and to ravage his territory, Īraj Khān was sent in company with Mīr Jumla who had been appointed to assist the Prince with a large army of auxiliaries. After the Prince had taken the fort of Bīdar he sent Īraj Khān with Naṣrat Khān and Kārtalab Khān to Aḥmadnagar as the men of Sivā (Shivājī) and Manājī Bhōnslē had stirred up strife there. When the incident of Shāh Jahān's illness occurred, Dārā Shikōh, who was lying in wait for his opportunity and was always intent upon defeating his brothers, but was unable to carry out his plans, issued strict orders and sent out *sazāwals*<sup>1</sup> for the presence at the Court of the officers in charge of the auxiliaries. Īraj Khān, who was closely connected with Dārā Shikōh and styled himself Dārāshikōhī took the road to Upper India in company with Mu'taqid Khān, the eldest son of Najābat Khān. They say that the Prince (Aurangzīb) had written to Vazīr Khān the *Nā'ib* at Burhānpūr to practise conciliation upon the two, and to keep an eye upon them, or else to use deceit and stratagem and to arrest them. When they came near the city in question the said Khān invited them to a feast, and they wished to accept, but they came to know that there was a half-cup<sup>2</sup> (saucer) under the cup. They immediately set off and from the banks of the Narbadā Īraj Khān sent off by the hands of the Prince's couriers this couplet which evidently was intended for Vazīr Khān.

<sup>1</sup> For *Sazāwals*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p. 473 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Zēr kāsa nimkāsa hast* is a phrase for a trick. See *Bahār-i-Ajam* lith. edition, p. 479; the metaphor is taken from a wrestling trick.

## Verse.

A hundred thanksgivings that we have forded the Narbadā,  
Centum flatus podicisque tortiones<sup>1</sup> quia flumen transivimus.

When he came to the presence (of Shāh Jahān), he was given the *faujdārī* of one of the Eastern districts, and in the time of war he, at the instance of Dārā Shikōh, kept a large body of troops in attendance and proceeded towards the Capital. Afterwards when the drum of the success of 'Ālamgir beat high and Dārā Shikōh traversed the desert of flight, the said Khān placed the brow of shame on the ground of humiliation, and through the intercession of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān was forgiven his faults, and made the subject of princely clemency. At the same time Ja'far Khān was made the governor of the province of Mālwa, and Iraj Khān went there as one of the auxiliaries. In the beginning of the 3rd year, he was made *faujdār* of Bhilsa in that province, and after that was made *faujdār* of Īlīchpūr. When in the 9th year, Dilr Khān was appointed to collect the tribute of Chāndā and Dēogarh, Iraj Khān went with him. By his good service on this occasion he acquired royal favour, and was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Afterwards he spent some time in the Deccan, and, in the 19th year, again became *faujdār* of Īlīchpūr in succession to Khān Zamān. In the 24th year, he was made the governor of Burhānpūr, and later of Berār. On the 23rd Ramaḍān, 1096 A.H. (23rd August, 1685 A.D.) he rolled<sup>2</sup> up the carpet of life and was buried in his own garden close to the walls of Īlīchpūr. He had made a *sarā* and a quarter (*pūra*) near this town and he had also, opposite the town and on the bank of the river which traverses it, laid the foundation of a dwelling, the remains of which are still standing. He was of a very pleasant disposition and of agreeable manners. He was a copious eater of choice foods, and as his establishments, etc., were greater than his appointments he was always in debt. At first he was married to the daughter of Šādiq Khān *Mīr Bakshī*, and on this account he assumed a higher position than others. She died childless. He had three sons, but none of them rose high. Mīr Mū'mīn, his son, was the best of all. For some time he acted as the deputy of Hasan 'Alī Khān Bahādūr 'Ālamgirshāhī the *Šubadār* of Īlīchpūr. The eldest of his son Mīrẓā 'Abd-ur-Riḍā as he had charge of his father's accounts became possessed of the *sarā* and quarter without sharing them with anyone else. He was childless. His wife known as Bahū<sup>3</sup> Bēgam was a virtuous matron and lived in becoming fashion till her death. The source of her livelihood was the income of the said quarter. Another son Mīr Manūchihr died in his youth. He had a son who was of bad character. Bahū Bēgam mentioned above adopted as a daughter the child of her brother and gave her in marriage to him. Some seven or eight years ago when that matron died all the property reverted to her (the adopted daughter). After two years she too died and her sons have the property. The third son, Mīrẓā Muḥammad Sa'id, was chiefly

<sup>1</sup> *Rēh* appears to be a contraction for *rēsha* or twisting, but it may mean pimple. There is a play on *nūḍ* which means both ninety and the posteriors. Perhaps buttock-sores is the most correct translation of *nūḍrēh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Madā'ir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> In the text Bahū, but three lines lower down it is Bahū.

employed in service; he had some knowledge of poetry and language and was generally well-informed. This verse is by him :

*Verse.*

Regard not as idle the superscription on a gold coin,  
It is an incantation which can evoke a fairy.

He was granted his father's title and was for some time *taḥṣildār* of Chāndā. At last he fell into difficulties and could not get a hold anywhere. He went off to the Carnātic and spent some time at Bālāghāt, Carnātic, in the company of 'Abd-un-Nabī Khān Miyāna; later he went to the Pāyānghāt and died there. He had no children. Even in old age he was not without physical beauty, and was a friend of the writer. May God forgive him !

IRSHĀD KHĀN MĪR ABŪL-'ALĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 290, 291.)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Amānat Khān Khawāfi.<sup>1</sup> He was for a long time in the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. In the 42nd year of Aurangzib's reign he came to Court and on the death of Kifāyat Khān was made *Divān* of the *Khālṣa*. On account of his honesty and trustworthiness and his success in affairs he became favourite to such an extent that he was envied by his contemporaries. As the envious heavens are not pleased to see anyone prosper and are always throwing the stone of disturbance at the glasshouses of men's desires, he had not lived many days in comfort when in the 45th year, 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.) he died. His eldest son Mīr Ghulām Husain had the title of Kifāyat Khān. Two of his sons survived one Mīr Haidar, who at last got his father's title, and the second Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad who was granted the title of his grandfather.

'ISĀ KHĀN MABĪN.<sup>2</sup>

(Vol. II, pp. 825-828.)

He is also called Manbah. He belonged to a branch of the Ranghīr<sup>3</sup> tribe which regards itself as belonging to a Rājput clan. Most of them live in the *Chakla* of Sirhind and the Patha<sup>4</sup> Dūāb and carry on agriculture and are landholders. Nor do they withhold their hands

<sup>1</sup> For his life, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 258-268, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 221-230.

<sup>2</sup> Also written Main and Mahin. Khafi Khān, II, p. 767, has Muhmand.

<sup>3</sup> The Rangar of Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*, I, p. 4, and note. They are Rājputs who have been converted to Muhammadanism. But it is stated by Mr. Williams, *Historical Sketches, Calcutta Review Selections*, 2nd Series, III, p. 228, that the word Ranghur means in Sahāranpūr a Rājput of any denomination, and not only a convert to Islām.

<sup>4</sup> Patha is evidently wrong. There is the reading Thatha, but probably the true reading is Etah which is the northernmost district of the Agra Division, and lies on the eastern edge of the middle Dūāb.

from highway robbery and other kinds of robberies. In former times 'Isā's ancestors were not reckoned as landholders. His grandfather Bīlāqī exerted himself and acquired a name. As he advanced in power, he practised robbery and plunder and attacked caravans. Then he collected a force and robbed as far as his arm could reach. Gradually, by force he took possession of men's lands, and became powerful. In the battle with A'zam Shāh (in 1707 A.D.) he, in company with Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn fought well and got a name for courage, and was given a *mansab*. In the conflicts which took place at Lāhōre between the princes, he attended on Jahāndār Shāh with a well-equipped force, and, in the confusion, acquired much plunder; he carried off all the treasure-carts, and no one questioned him. After the victory he received the rank of 5,000 and the *faujdarī* of the Dūāb Patha and of Lakhi Jangal. From being a petty landholder he became an *Amīr* and a confidential officer. As opportunism and a careful study of the situation are the marks of *Zamīndārs*, particularly of usurpers, who always indulge in creating disturbances, so when Jahāndār Shāh fell 'Isā became altogether a rebel and plundered everywhere. He attacked the caravans of Delhī and Lāhōre as if they were his source of revenue, and had frequent fights with the *faujdar*s. By cunning and by letters and presents he established an alliance with Šamsām-ud-Daula Khān Daurān and thereby increased his presumption and oppression. The *Jāgīrdārs* of the neighbourhood could not collect a *dām* of their rents. From the banks of the Biyās, where he had made a fort called Bādrēsā, to the town of Thārah in Sirhind which is on the Sutlej, he was in possession of the entire territory, and no one had the courage to interfere with him.

As 'Abd-ūṣ-Šamad Dīlēr Jang the governor of Lāhōre was annoyed by his conduct he, after the affair of the Sikhs had been disposed of, made Shāhdād Khān Khwēshgī—who was a brave man—*faujdar* of that neighbourhood and commissioned him to extirpate 'Isā. Though Husain Khān (Khwēshgī)—the lord of the Khān—and the head of the turbulent men of the period—was not willing that 'Isā should be extirpated, because of the idea that as long as he existed, people would not trouble themselves about him (Husain Khān)—an idea which was correct as his biography shows—still Shāhdād Khān was bound to carry out the governor's orders. When in the beginning of the 5th year of Farrukh-siyar's reign<sup>1</sup> the armies met near the town of Thārah—which was 'Isā's birth-place and where he had been brought up—he joined battle with 3,000 gallant horse and fought vehemently.<sup>2</sup> Shāhdād Khān could not withstand him and turned to flee. By chance a bullet struck 'Isā's father Daulat Khān—who lived at ease by his son's fortune (*daulat*)—and he was killed. 'Isā Khān drove his elephant against Shāhdād Khān who was riding a small, female elephant, and struck him two or three times with his sword. Just then a bullet reached him and there was retribution for his actions. His head was cut off, and by the orders of the governor it was sent to the Court. After that his *zamīndārī* reverted to

<sup>1</sup> Apparently in 1717, as Farrukh-siyar proclaimed himself as the Emperor in April, 1712.

<sup>2</sup> There occur here the words *mardum tāza nigāh dāsh*t. Does this mean that Shāhdād's men were raw levies? See *Maāthir-ul-Umārā*, Text II, p. 712. Apparently the words mean: he ('Isā) saw that the men were raw recruits.

his son, who manages it in the ordinary *zamīndārī* fashion. No one of the tribe acquired such a name as 'Isā.<sup>1</sup>

## (MIRZĀ) 'ISĀ TARKHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 485-488.)

His father was Jān Bābā uncle of the father<sup>2</sup> of Mirzā Jānī Bēg<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Sindh. When Mirzā Jānī died 'Isā became agitated by a desire for rule. *Khusrau Khān* the Circassian, who was the chief *Vakīl* of the family, placed Mirzā Ghāzī in his father's place, and wished to imprison 'Isā. He had the good fortune to escape from that country and to arrive at the Court. Jahāngīr gave him a high rank and appointed him to the Deccan. When Mirzā Ghāzī died as governor of Qandahār, *Khusrau Khān* placed upon the Tarkhānī *masnad* 'Abdul 'Alī a member of the family, and thought that he himself would be the real ruler. As Jahāngīr suspected that 'Abdul 'Alī might, with the help of *Khusrau Khān*, become independent there, he sent a *farmān* to 'Isā Khān. When the latter came to the Court to pay his respects, some envious people represented that 'Isā had for a long time *put the horse-shoe in the fire* (i.e. been plotting) with the wish of becoming the ruler of the country, and that if he were now confirmed he might join the governors of Kachh and Mekrān and Hurmuz (Ormuz), who were near at hand and seek the alliance of Shāh 'Abbās Šafavī and that it would take a long time to redress the evils so caused. The King became suspicious and appointed Mirzā Rustam of Qandahār to the government. By his exertions the whole plant of the Tarkhāns was uprooted from that country and Mirzā 'Isā was made *jagīrdār* of Dhanpūr in Gujarāt and appointed to that province. When Shāh Jahān after his failure left Sindh, and came<sup>4</sup> by the Rann and the country of Bhāra<sup>5</sup> in Gujarāt and returned to the Deccan, the Mirzā had the good luck to present to him money, stores, horses and camels, and so lay the foundation of good fortune for himself.

Accordingly, after the death of Jahāngīr, the Mirzā came to Āgra and appeared at the Court. He received an increase of 2,000 with 1,300 horse and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the government of Sindh. But afterwards the administration of the country was, of necessity, given to Shēr Khwāja who was styled Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and the Mirzā had to return from the Court without gaining his object. He received the fief of Mathurā,<sup>6</sup> and, in the 5th year, the number of his troopers was increased, and he was sent off to the *jāgīr* of Īlichpūr. In the 8th year, he had an increase of 1,000 and 1,000 horse and obtained the rank of

<sup>1</sup> There is some account of 'Isā in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 767, where he is called 'Isā Khān Mohmand.

<sup>2</sup> That is, he was grand-uncle of Jānī Bēg. See Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 392, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> There was an earlier Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān son of Mirzā 'Abdul 'Alī who died in 974 A.H., vide Elliot, I, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Barāhzan*, but it should be Rann, i.e. Rann of Cutch.

<sup>5</sup> Khāfī Khān, I, p. 383, mentions Shāh Jahān's leaving Sindh for the Deccan.

<sup>6</sup> 'Isāpūr a suburb of Mathurā is named after him; see Growse, *Mathura*, p. 175.



5,000 with 4,000 horse, two-horse and three-horse, and was made *faujdār* of the Sarkār of Sōrath. In the 15th year, he was made governor of Gujarāt in succession to A'zam Khān. The charge of Sōrath was given to his eldest son 'Ināyat Ullāh who had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After the Mirzā was removed from the government, he received again charge of Jūnāgarh, and, in the 25th<sup>1</sup> year, the defence of that country was entrusted to his second son Muḥammad Sālīh, and the Mirzā was summoned to the Court. In Muḥarram, 1062, he had reached the town of Sāmbhar where he died<sup>2</sup>. Though he was over 100 years old his natural force was not abated. He still had youthful lusts and was much addicted to pleasure and drinking. He was not without skill in music. He had many children. 'Ināyat Ullāh, his eldest son, who was an officer of high rank, died in the 21st year of the reign. Most of his sons died in the Mirzā's lifetime. After his death Mirzā Muḥammad Sālīh who was the best of them (*i.e.* of those who survived him) and of whom a separate account (Text III, pp. 560-562) has been given, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Faṭh Ullāh attained the rank of 500, and 'Aqīl received a suitable rank.

(MŪ'TAMAN-UD-DAULA) ISHĀQ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 774-776.)

His father came to India from Shūstar and settled in Delhi. In the reign of Maḥammad Shāh he entered the service and received the title of Ghulām 'Alī Khān. He was made *Bakṡwāl* (Clerk of the kitchen). Ishāq Khān was born in India, and, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh he became *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the 22nd year, or 1152<sup>3</sup> (1739 A.D.) he died. He composed poetry. This verse is his:

As my small heart was full of thoughts of that rose (beloved),  
The flute of my sleep last night was the whistling nightingale.

He left three sons. The eldest was Mirzā Muḥammad who, like his father, was an intimate of Muḥammad Shāh and an object of envy to his contemporaries. At first he was called Ishāq Khān but later received the title of Najm-ud-Daula. He was appointed as 4th *Bakṡshī*. Maḥammad Shāh gave his sister<sup>4</sup> in marriage to Shujā'-ud-Daula the son of Saḍdar Jang. After Muḥammad Shāh's death he was retained as *Bakṡshī* in Ahmad Shāh's time and appointed *Krōrī*<sup>5</sup> of Delhi. When Saḍdar Jang had his fights with the Bangash Afghāns, who are found in the northern part of the Delhi Province, and a battle took place between the towns of Sālī and Sahāwar, in which Saḍdar Jang was defeated

<sup>1</sup> On p. 560 of Vol. III of the Text of *Maithir-ul-Umarā* the year is given as the 24th.

<sup>2</sup> It is stated in Elliot, I, p. 302, that 'Isā Tarkhān died at the age of ninety-five in 1061 A.H., 1651 A.D. Sāmbhar in Rājputāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Ishāq Khān Mū'taman-ud-Daula died in April, 1741 (*vide* Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1879, p. 67).

<sup>4</sup> She was the Bhāo Bēgam of Faīdābād (Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 67).

<sup>5</sup> For *Krōrī*, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 41, 42, note; he was "the collector of a revenue area yielding one Krōr of Dam, *i.e.*, 2½ lakhs of rupees"; also pp. 86, 87.

Najm-ud-Daula showed courage and was killed <sup>1</sup> (1162 A.H., 6th July, 1750 A.D.). Mū'taman-ud-Daula had two other sons, Mirzā 'Alī Iftikhar-ud-Daula and Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Sālār Jang. In the reign of 'Ālamgīr II, they were proceeding from Delhi to Ṣafdar Jang's camp, but it chanced that Ṣafdar Jang died at this time, and the two brothers in 1168 went to Shujā'-ud-Daula in Oudh. Afterwards Sālār Jang was made *Bakhshī* by Shāh 'Ālam.

## ISKANDAR KHĀN ŪZBEG.

(Vol. I, pp. 84-87.)

He was a descendant of the princes of that tribe. He did good service under Humāyūn and obtained the title of *Khān* at the beginning of the expedition to India, and after the conquest he was appointed governor of Āgra. On the occasion of Hēmū he left Āgra and joined Tardī Bēg *Khān* in Delhi, and in the battle commanded the left wing. The imperial vanguard and left wing defeated the right wing of the enemy and pursued them, and obtained much plunder. 3,000 of the enemy were slain. At this juncture Hēmū attacked Tardī Bēg *Khān* and drove him into flight. The victors were astonished when they returned and had to follow Tardī Bēg. Iskandar *Khān* came to Sirhind to Akbar, and was appointed to the vanguard of the army against Hēmū along with 'Alī Qulī *Khān* Zamān. After the victory he was despatched to pursue the fugitives and to protect Delhi from plunderers. He made haste and killed many and obtained much booty. He was rewarded by the title of *Khān* 'Ālam.

When *Khidr Khwāja Khān*, the governor of the Panjāb retreated before Sikandar *Khān* Sūr—who had designs against the country—and set about fortifying Lāhore, and Sikandar *Khān* taking advantage of this opportunity set about collecting revenue from the province, Akbar instantly gave Iskandar *Khān* Siyālkōt, etc., in fief, and sent him off to assist *Khidr Khwāja*. After that he was rewarded with the fief of Oudh. As ease and comfort make the turbulent and opportunists seditious, Iskandar *Khān*, in the 10th year, left the straight path and became a rebel. Ashraf *Khān* was sent from the Court to conciliate him and to bring him to the Presence. He, after some prevarications, went off to *Khān* Zamān, and they together raised the standard of re. It. Iskandar *Khān* in company with Bahādur *Khān* Shaibānī fought near Khairābād with Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad, who had been deputed by His Majesty to chastise him. Though in the end Bahādur *Khān* obtained the victory, Iskandar *Khān* was defeated in the first attack and fled. In the 12th year when *Khān* Zamān and Bahādur *Khān* again rebelled, Muḥammad Qulī *Khān* Barlās was sent with a large force against Iskandar *Khān*, who was behaving contumaciously in Oudh. There was fighting between them for a time. When news came of the deaths of *Khān* Zamān and Bahādur *Khān*, Iskandar *Khān* had recourse to fraud and stratagem, and proposed peace. After spending some time in this way he put his family and belongings into some boats which he had kept ready for this purpose and crossed the river. He sent a message that he was still of

<sup>1</sup> See Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

the same mind and was shortly coming in. As his heart and his tongue were not in accord, the officers crossed the river and followed him. He went off to Gōrahpur, which was then in the possession of the Afghāns, and went to Sulaimān Karārānī, the ruler of Bengāl. He marched in company with the latter's son (Bāyazīd) to conquer Orissa. When he returned, the Afghāns did not think that his presence among them was proper, and plotted against him. He came to know of it and petitioned the Khān-Khānān who was in Jaunpur. The latter consulted His Majesty, and giving Iskandar Khān hopes summoned him. Iskandar Khān came quickly to the Khān-Khānān. Khān-Khānān in the 17th year, 979 A.H., took him with him to the Emperor, and at the intercession of this officer Iskandar Khān was pardoned, and received the *Sarkār* of Lucknow in fief. At the time of departure he received a dress of honour (*Chārgah*), a waist-dagger, an ornamented sword and a horse with a gilded saddle, and was appointed to join the Khān-Khānān. Some time after reaching Lucknow he fell ill, and on 10th Jumāda I, 980 A.H. (18th September, 1572 A.D.) he died. He had the rank of 3,000 <sup>1</sup>.

## ISLĀM KHĀN CHISHTI FARŪQI.

(Vol. I, pp. 118-120.)

His name was 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, and he was a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Fathpuri. He was endowed with an excellent disposition and abundance of good qualities and was pre-eminent among his friends and connections. In virtue of his being connected by fosterage with Jahāngir he held a royal office and received much honour. The sister of the well-known 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl was married to him. When Jahāngir became the King, he received the title of Islām Khān and an office of 5,000, and was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 3rd year, he was made, after the death of Jahāngir Qulī Khān Lāla Bēg, the governor of Bengāl. As <sup>2</sup> that country had from the time of Shēr Shāh been in the possession of Afghān officers, large armies were sent there in Akbar's time under the leadership of high officials, and for a long time there was much fighting, etc. At last the Afghāns were extirpated, but remnants of the tribe continued to exist on the frontiers. Among them 'Uthmān Khān, the son of Qutlū Lohānī, became prominent, and several times engaged in battle with the imperial troops. This was especially so in the time of Rāja Mān Singh, who in spite of his efforts, was unable to uproot the thorn of 'Uthmān Khān's rebellion. When Islām Khān's turn came, he arranged an army <sup>3</sup> under the leadership of Shaikh Kabīr Suhjā'at Khān—who was nearly related to him—and it set out along with auxiliary officers, from Akbar-nagar (Rājmaḥal) against 'Uthmān Khān and after achievements which put the masterpieces of Rustam and Isfandiyār into oblivion—as has been fully detailed in the account of that officer (Text II, pp. 630-633)—

<sup>1</sup> Apparently this Iskandar Khān was the son of Sa'id Khān and is the man mentioned in the *Turikh-i-Rashidi*, Elias and Ross's translation, p. 340, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently from *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 60 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 586-588. *Riyāḍ-us-Salātīn* (translation) has an account of the battle on pp. 174-179, but the above is copied from the *Iqbāl-nāma*, loc. cit.

‘Uthmān Khān was sent to annihilation and his brother (Walī Khān) made his submission. As a reward for this good service, he, in the 7th year was promoted to the rank of 6,000. In the 8th year<sup>1</sup>, 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) his life came to an end. His body was conveyed to Fathpūr, which was his birth place and where his ancestors were buried. His history is a strange one. His virtue and gravity were such that probably, in all his life, he never took part in drunkenness or other forbidden things. Yet in spite of this, all the saltatory troops in the whole of the province of Bengāl consisting of *lūlī*, *hūrkanī*<sup>2</sup>, *kanchnī* (dancing-girls) and *dōmnī* (gypsies) were his servants and received from him Rs.80,000 a month, or nine lacs, sixty thousand a year. Men stood holding trays of jewels and silken stuffs, and he distributed them in presents. He carried the customs of high office (*tūzuk-i-amārat*) to such a pitch that he used the *jhārōka*<sup>3</sup> (lattice) for exhibiting himself to high and low, and the private parlour (*Ghuskhāna*) which are things fitting only for kings<sup>4</sup>. He also had elephant-fights. He was not particular about his dress and wore a skull-cap (*tāqīya*) under his turban. He wore a shirt under his tunic. From the dishes on his table 1,000 poor were abundantly fed, but first they set before him bread of millet (*juwār* and *bājra*) and vegetables (*sāg*) and dry rice called *sāthī*<sup>5</sup>. His spirit and liberality threw the story of Hātim and Ma’an into oblivion. During his government of Bengāl he distributed 1,200 elephants to his *manṣabdārs* (officers) and servants. Altogether he supported 20,000 persons, horse and foot who belonged to the clan of Shaikhzādas. His son Ikram Khān Hūshang was the child of Shaikh Abūl Faḍl’s sister. For a while he held an appointment in the Deccan. In the end of Jahāngir’s reign he became the governor of the fort of Āsir. A daughter of Shēr Khān Tōnvar lived in his house (i.e. was married to him). He did not get on with her, and her brothers took her away. In spite of his descent from such a family he was an oppressor. In the middle of Shāh Jahān’s reign he was, for certain reasons, removed from his fief and office of 2,000 and 1,000 horse, and made a recipient of payment in cash (*naqdī*)<sup>6</sup>. He became a hermit in Fathpūr and had charge of the shrine of Shaikh Salīm. He died in the 24th year. His half-brother Shaikh Mu’azzam was appointed to the charge of the shrine, and in the 26th year he was made *faujdār* of Fathpūr, and held the rank of 1,800, substantive and with increments. In the battle of Sāmūgarh<sup>7</sup>, when he was in the *altmish*<sup>8</sup> of Dārā Shikōh’s army, he died bravely<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 5th Rajab, 1022 A.H., 21st August, 1613, see Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> In Haughton’s *Bengalī Dictionary* the form is *hūrkanīyā* and *hūrki*, and the definition is—a woman who refuses to live with her husband.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann’s translation of *Ā’in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 358, note 2. See also *ibid.*, p. 325, where Jahāngir forbade *Amīrs* to use the *jhārōka*, and Aurangzib abolished it altogether.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account of the Prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 133–147.

<sup>5</sup> *Sāthī* rice, so called because it ripens in sixty days after being sown.

<sup>6</sup> This cash in exchange of *Jāgīr* was better known as *‘iqd-i-jāgīr*.

<sup>7</sup> Date of battle was 8th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 383.

<sup>8</sup> Advance-guard of the centre, Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> The biography of Islām Khān appears to be inaccurate. It is not mentioned that he removed the headquarters of the government of Bengāl from Rājmaḥal to Dacca, to which he gave the name of Jahāngirnagar. See Elliot, VI, p. 328.

## ISLĀM KHĀN MASHHADĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 162-167.)

He was Mir 'Abd-us-Salām, and had the title of *Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān*. He was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. At first he did secretary's work. In 1030, the 15th year of Jahāngīr—when the royal standards went for the second time to redress the affairs of the Deccan, the Mir was made *Vakil* of the Darbār (i.e. Shāh Jahān's agent at his father's Court) with a suitable rank and the title of *Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān*. At the time when Jahāngīr was estranged from the Prince, he was recalled from the Court and joined Shāh Jahān and in the troubles that ensued did not try to part from him. Afterwards, when the fort of Junair was made Shāh Jahān's residence, he was sent to Bijāpūr to convey to the heir Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh condolences for the death of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. He performed the duty satisfactorily, and when Shāh Jahān became the King, he waited upon him with a valuable present, and was given the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and the title of Islām Khān, and appointed 2nd<sup>1</sup> *Bakhshī*—a department in which none but confidential servants can be employed. When Shāh Jahān went to the south to put down Khān Jahān Lōdī, he was appointed as the governor of Āgra. When Shēr Khān Tōnvar the *Nāzim* of Gujarāt died in the 4th year, Islām Khān was made a *manṣabdār* of 5,000 and the governor of that province. In the end of the 6th year, he became Mir<sup>2</sup> *Bakhshī*; the words *Bakhshī-i-mumālīk* give the date, 1043 A.H. (1633-34 A.D.). In the 8th year, he was appointed governor of the extensive province of Bengāl in place of A'zam Khān, and there opened wide the gates of victory. He chastised the Assamese properly and captured the son-in-law of the ruler of Āssām, and conquered forts so quickly that in the space of two<sup>3</sup> *pahars* (6 hours) he took fifteen forts<sup>4</sup>. He also took Srighāt and Pāndū and established *thānas* in the whole of Kūch Hājū. Also, in the 11th year, he captured 500 of their boats. Mānik Rāi the brother of the ruler of the Maghs—who was in possession of Chittāgong—solicited the protection of Islām Khān owing to the ascendancy of the Arracanese, and came to him in the 12th year, 1048, 1638, in Jahāngīrnagar, commonly known as Dhāka (Dacca). In the 13th year, Islām Khān was summoned to the

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There are passing references to Islām Khān in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*. From these it appears that he was brought up with Jahāngīr and that he was one year his junior. He was, therefore, born in 1570, and was 43 when he died. He is buried at Fātipur Sikrī where there is a massive monument built over his grave.

<sup>1</sup> *Bakhshī dūwām u 'Arq mukarrar*—2nd *Bakhshī* and officer of the Revision department. As Irvine has shown, '*Arq mukarrar*' is the Superintendent of revision; *vide Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 18, 42.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 1st *Bakhshī*. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, for 1872, p. 61, has "Before noon".

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 85, and Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, p. 61. He translates the word fort by stockade. Islām Khān's first personal expedition was in the 11th year. For the son-in-law's capture and death, see *loc. cit.*, p. 88. He was apparently Sang Dēo's son-in-law. For capture of the 500 boats, see p. 88. The account of Āssām and of the campaign, etc. in the *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 64-90, is very full. Māndū is Pāndū in it. Part of the account is translated in Elliot, VII, p. 65 *et seq.* The most complete translation is that by Blochmann noticed above. The campaign occurred in the autumn and winter of 1637 in the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Presence and received charge of the high office of *vazīr*. When Khān Daurān<sup>1</sup> Nasrat Jang, governor of the Deccan was killed, Islām Khān at the New Year's feast of the 19th year obtained the rank of 6,000 *Dhāt* and horse and the government of that province. His brother, sons and son-in-law also had suitable increases and accompanied him.

They say, that when the news came of Khān Daurān's death, Shāh Jahān told Islām Khān to decide who was fit for that government. He went home and told his counsellors and well-wishers what the King had said. After deliberation he mentioned what came into his mind, namely his own name. They said to him: "How can this be right? The post of the Premier and the proximity to the King cannot be staked against the government of the Deccan." He said, "I agree, but what has occurred to the King is that Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—to whom he is partial—should be made *Vazīr* and he has sent for him under a pretext. I fear that I may be superseded. Under these circumstances what better can I do?" All approved of his decision. The same day about the end of the sessions he, contrary to custom and rule, appeared at the Court with his sword girt on and with his shield. The King asked him the cause of this, and he replied that an order had been given to choose someone for the Deccan. No one appeared to him to be suitable except himself. The King approved and asked as to who should be made the Deputy *Vazīr*. He said there was no better man for this than Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. This was also approved. When he was arranging for his departure Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was confirmed in the *Vazīrat-i-kull* (Chief Minister). All perceived the good judgment and right thinking of Islām Khān. In the 20th year, he was raised to the high rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse.

When he came from Burhānpūr to Aurangābād illness prevailed over him, and he perceived that it was the time for his last journey. In accordance with the advice of Chatr Bhōj, the writer on his establishment, and Khwāja 'Ambar the *mutṣaddī* (clerk) of his *jāgīr*, he burnt his records and clandestinely divided<sup>2</sup> his property among his sons and brothers and other persons of his household and sent a statement of Rs.25<sup>3</sup> lacs to the King. On 14th Shawwāl of the 21st year, 1057 A.H. (12th November, 1647 A.D.) he died, and in accordance with his will he was buried in Aurangābād. The tomb and garden which were made, though old, remain in good condition to this day. Khwāja 'Ambar remained<sup>4</sup> seated at the head of the tomb. Shāh Jahān heard of what had taken place (about the property), but, in consideration of his long service, overlooked the occurrence and promoted every one of his sons in accordance with their deserts and gave them employment. Chatr Bhōj he made *Divān* of Mālwa.

Islām Khān had a full knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences and of elegant compositions and of calligraphy. In reference to royal business he was jealous (lit. greedy), and did not want that anyone should have possession of it. He did his work with strictness and severity, and the men of the Deccan, who had been tormented by Khān Daurān,

<sup>1</sup> The second officer who bore that title. He was assassinated at Lāhōre (Beale), properly four miles from Lāhōre, and died on 7th Jumāda I, 1055 A.H. or 1st July, 1645 A.D., vide *Mashhūr-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 757.

<sup>2</sup> Text *kardā*, MS. *guftā*.

<sup>3</sup> Text 25 lacs which is surely wrong. MS. has only Rs.25.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the meaning is that he took charge of the tomb.

did not<sup>1</sup> have their eyes salved (i.e., cured or wiped dry). But he exerted himself to improve the country. He sold the stones of the forts at a profit and made new arrangements. He had on his establishment a good supply of horses and elephants, and though he had not the power to mount on horseback, yet he laboured hard in taking good care of the horses. He had six sons. Among them, Ashraf Khān (Text I, pp. 272-274), Ṣafī Khān (Text II, pp. 740-742) and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān (Text II, pp. 812, 813) have been separately noticed. His third son Mīr Muḥammad Sharif was, after his death, raised to the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he went on the Qandahār campaign with Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb. In the 24th year, he was made Superintendent (Dārōgha) of the jewelled weapons. Afterwards he was made *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the Capital. At last he was made clerk of the port of Sūrāt. At the time of Shāh Jahān's illness, when Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh aimed at the sovereignty, he was seized and imprisoned. The 4th son Mīr Muḥammad Ghīyāth, after his father's death, rose to the rank of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 28th year became *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Burhānpūr, and Superintendent of the wardrobe (*Karkirāqkhāna*) there. In the time of Aurangzīb he was again (?) appointed clerk of the port of Sūrāt, and *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Aurangābād. In the 22nd year (of Aurangzīb) he died. The sixth, Mīr 'Abd-ur-Rahmān was sent off in the 16th year of Aurangzīb as the Chamberlain (*Hajābat*) of Ḥaidarābād *Sūba*, and for some time was *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Aurangābād and also for a time he was Master of the horse and *Dārōgha-i-'Arḍ mukarrar* or Superintendent of Revision department.

### ISLĀM KHĀN MİR DĪYĀ-UD-DĪN ḤUSAIN BADAḤSHĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 217-220.)

He was an old *Wālā-Shāhī* (household-trooper) of Aurangzīb. He spent his life in his service and always did well. At the time when Aurangzīb was a prince he was *Divān* of the Prince's establishment (*Sarkār-i-Shāhī*). When the influence of Dārā Shikōh, owing to the kindness of Shāh Jahān, was so great that whatever he wished done in the affairs of the *Salṭanat* was carried out, the Prince resolved to set out ostensibly to wait upon his father, but really to remove his elder brother—and in the beginning of Jumāda I, 1068 A.H. (5th February, 1658 A.D.) he sent off his eldest son Sulṭān Muḥammad along with Najābat Khān as an advance-guard from Aurangābād to Burhānpūr, and Mīr Dhiyā-ud-Dīn who till then had acted as the *Divān*—was sent with Sulṭān Muḥammad. Afterwards the Prince himself came to Burhānpūr, and encamped at the garden Farmānbārī<sup>2</sup> which is a mile from the city, and the Mīr received the title of Himmat Khān. After the battle with

<sup>1</sup> The text here seems corrupt. By missing the word *dāshtand* in the text the meaning becomes clear as: the Deccanis did not have their eyes cured under Islām Khān, i.e., they still had to weep, but the prosperity of the country was increased.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 50, 51. Full details of the march are given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, pp. 344-347. See also the later chapters for the details of the struggle for the throne.

Jaswant he received the title of Islām Khān. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh when Rustam Khān Deccanī put Bahādūr Khān Kōka into difficulties, the Mīr advanced with the right wing and fought manfully. After the victory, when it became essential to pursue Dārā Shikōh, Muḥammad Sultān, under the guardianship of Islām Khān, was appointed to manage the affairs of the Capital, and Islām Khān obtained a commission of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and a present of Rs.30,000<sup>1</sup>. In the battle with Shujā', he was in the vanguard of the right wing, and when Rāja Jaswant, who was in command of the right wing and from treachery and rebelliousness took the road of desertion, the Khān<sup>2</sup> became the leader in his place. It chanced that in the heat of the engagement the elephant<sup>3</sup> on which he was riding took fright on being struck with a rocket and threw the troops into confusion. Many men fled. At this time the King came in person to assist and heartened the others who had not left the field. After the victory Islām Khān went with Sultān Muḥammad who had been appointed along with Mu'azzam Khān Mīr Jumla, and other officers to go in pursuit of Shujā'.

When Shujā' went away full of despair from Akbarnagar to Tānda, Mu'azzam Khān left Islām Khān with 10,000 horse in Akbarnagar (Rāj-mahal) and entrusted to him the charge of defending that side of the Ganges. When on 5th Sha'bān of the 2nd year (28th April, 1659 A.D.) Shujā' being oppressed by the blows of Mu'azzam Khān fled to Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca) so that he might convey his ruined fortunes to Arrācān, Islām Khān in the same month, on account of his dislike<sup>4</sup> of the general, or because he was distressed by his privations (?), went off to the Presence without being summoned. On this account he was for a time deprived of his rank and reprimanded. In the 3rd year, he was restored to his former rank. In the 4th year, he was made governor of Kashmīr in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān. When the royal army proceeded to that ever vernal and flowery land, Islām Khān, in obedience to an order, waited upon the King at Naushahra, which is an extensive and populous *pargana*, and the second stage on the road to the hills, in the beginning of the 6th year. His rank was advanced by an increase of 1,000 horse and he had a *manṣab* of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, and was made governor of Āgra. A full month had not elapsed after his arrival at that city when the messenger of death arrived in the beginning of 1074 A.H. (1663 A.D.). Ghani<sup>5</sup> of Kashmīr composed the chronogram of his death:

*Murā Islām Khān Wālā Jāh* (Islām Khān of elevated dignity is dead: 1074).

He was buried in the tomb of the lord of knowledge and certainty Mīr Muḥammad Nu'mān<sup>6</sup>—May God's peace be upon him!—in whom the Khān had placed great reliance, and near whose tomb he had built a lofty mosque. The date of building is: *Bānī Islām Khān Bahādūr*, Islām Khān Bahādūr is the builder (1058 A.H., 1648 A.D.). He also built the 'Idgāh mosque in Kashmīr, which is a very lofty and substantial

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 34.

<sup>2, 3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 54, 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 555.

<sup>5</sup> His name was Muḥammad Tāhir, *vide* Rieu, II, p. 692a.

<sup>6</sup> But perhaps some Kashmīrī saint is meant. There was a Mīr Nu'mān to whom Islām Khān was related, see *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 627, and as is mentioned below in the text.



edifice. His heir was Himmāt Khān Mīr Bakhshī. One of his daughters was married to Mīr Ibrāhīm, the son of Mīr Nu'mān. The said Mīr went <sup>1</sup> off in the second year to convey to Mecca properties worth six lacs and 10,000 rupees which Aurangzib had sent for the holy places, and died there in the 4th year. In short, Islām Khān was not devoid of perfections. He had a poetic bent of mind. These two verses of his are well known :

*Verse.*

Without thee, grief's evening makes a night-attack on my day,  
The pupil of my eye is from weeping drowned in blood.  
Make a pleasant place, O desert, for this night,  
The army of my sighs will encamp outside my heart.

ISLĀM KHĀN RŪMĪ.<sup>2</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 241-247.)

Husain Pāshā was the son of 'Alī Pāshā. Pāshā in that country (Turkey) means an Amīr. He was governor of Baṣra and was nominally subject to the Sultān of Turkey. Muḥammad, his uncle, was offended with him and went to Constantinople with the request that his brother's son should be dispossessed and that he (Muḥammad) should be appointed in his place. When he did not succeed there in his object, he went to Abshar, the Pāshā of Aleppo, who had the power of appointing and removing the governors of some of the cities of Turkey, and represented the misbehaviour and evil ways of his nephew. He also asked for an estate from the produce of which he could provide for his necessities. Abshar wrote to Husain Pāshā to restore to him an estate out of the dependencies of Baṣra. When he came to Baṣra, Husain Pāshā acted according to Abshar's letter and kept Muḥammad in comfort in his company. When Muḥammad in concert with his brother exceeded his authority and began to behave in an unseemly manner, Husain Pāshā imprisoned both of them and transported them to India. They cleverly contrived to get out of the ship on the shores of Laḥsā <sup>3</sup> (Al-Hasā) and came to Baghdād to Murtaḍā Pāshā. Muḥammad craftily represented to him that Husain Pāshā was in league with the Persians and that he possessed abundant riches and said, that if Murtaḍā would come with troops and expel Husain and give the governorship of Baṣra to him (Muḥammad), all these riches would revert to him.

Murtaḍā reported these suggestions to the Qaiṣar (the Sultān of Turkey) and obtained permission to go to Baṣra and depose Husain Pāshā. When the plan came into operation and he came near Baṣra, Husain Pāshā sent Yahyā (John) with an army to fight. When Yahyā perceived that Murtaḍā had a large force and that he was unable to resist him, he yielded and joined Murtaḍā. When Husain Pāshā heard this,

<sup>1</sup> In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* the amount is 6 lacs worth of goods and Rs.30,000 in cash. Was it not Mīr Ibrāhīm the son of Mīr Nu'mān who was sent with the money and who died in Arabia? Cf. *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 627.

<sup>2</sup> Fryer mentions that he saw him encamped near Sūrat. He calls him the Bassea of Mesopotamia.

<sup>3</sup> El-Aḥsā or El-Hasā in E. Arabia is the name of a district.

he was disconcerted and conveyed his family and goods to Bhabhā<sup>1</sup>, which is a dependency of Shīrāz, and turned for assistance to the Persians. Murtaḍā came to Baṣra, but in spite of all his search could not find the treasure that Muḥammad had mentioned. On this account he put Muḥammad and his brother and a number of others to death. Some time afterwards the Arabs of the peninsulas (Mesopotamia) on being oppressed by the misbehaviour of Murtaḍā rose up against him and defeated him. Murtaḍā fled to Baghdād, and many of his men were killed. This news was sent to Ḥusain Pāshā and he was invited to return to Baṣra. He left his family and property at Bhabhā, and came to Baṣra, and began once more to rule there. He did so for ten or twelve years and always maintained a friendly intercourse with the great princes of India and sent them letters and presents. For instance, in the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr he sent<sup>2</sup> a letter full of congratulations on his accession, together with some 'Irāqī horses.

In short, when the ruler of Turkey, on account of the troubles and opposition offered by Ḥusain, ordered that Yahyā should be appointed in his place, Ḥusain was unable to remain there any longer. Nor could he go to the Sultān of Turkey. Being helpless he set off with his family and a few servants to Persia. When he arrived there he did not meet with any favour, nor could he gather the flower of kindness. By the guidance of fortune he determined to migrate to India, and set off. His arrival was approved of by the Emperor (Aurangzīb) and a robe of honour, a palanquin and a female elephant were made over to a mace-bearer to be conveyed to Ḥusain in order that the exile might be comforted and made hopeful of favours. When he reached Shāhjahanābād (Delhi) in the 12th year on 15th Šafr, 1080 A.H. (15th July, 1669 A.D.), the *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk* Asad Khān and the *Sadr-us-Sudūr* 'Abid Khān received him at the Lāhōre gate of the city wall. Dānishmand Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* came forward (to meet him), and Ḥusain Pāshā was introduced according to ceremonial and permitted to kiss the throne. By the touch of the royal hand on his back, his head was exalted beyond the sky<sup>3</sup>. He presented a ruby with Rs.20,000 and ten horses. He received a lac of rupees and other presents and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000<sup>4</sup> horse and the title of Islām Khān. The house of Rustam Khān Deccanī—which was a lofty mansion on the bank of the Jumnā—together with carpets, etc., and a boat so that he might come by the river to the Court, were given to him. His eldest son Afrāsiyāb received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān and his other son 'Alī Bēg obtained the title of Khān and the rank of 1,500. After that he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and a *tankhwāh* (salary) in money for ten months and a remission of the charge of the keep of the animals<sup>5</sup>. Later on he

<sup>1</sup> Apparently it is the Babahān of the maps and on the road from Shīrāz to Baghdād.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> The description of Ḥusain Pāshā's arrival is taken from the *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgīr*, p. 85 *et seq.* The phrase about the head being exalted above the sky occurs on p. 86. The Dānishmand Khān of the text was Bernier's patron. He, as Bakhshī-ul-Mulk conducted the Pāshā as far as the entrance to the *Ḥusalkhāna*.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 234, has 4,000, but *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgīr* 5,000.

<sup>5</sup> See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moguls*, pp. 17, 20. Few officers received the full twelve months' pay. The animals were, it seems, the Emperor's and

was made *Ṣubadār* of Mālwa. As courage and ability were conspicuous in him, he became a favourite, and soon was recognized as one of the great officers of India. Aurangzib wished that he would send for his family and settle in the country. As he, for certain reasons, delayed in sending for his wife and for his third son Mukhtār Bēg, and made evasions, he was removed from his office and excluded from the Presence; he took up his abode in Ujjain. In the<sup>1</sup> end of the 15th year, at the petition of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Khān Jahān Bahādūr, *Nāzim* of the Deccan, he was restored to his rank and office and appointed to command the vanguard of the army (of the said Khān). He was frequently engaged against the armies of 'Adil Shāh and the grandson of Bahlūl of Bijāpūr. In the 19th year, 11th Rabi' II, 1087 A.H. (23rd June, 1676 A.D.) at the moment of engaging the enemy (*dar 'ain tarāzū būdan-i-jang*), and while distributing (the troops) fire fell into the gunpowder, and Islām Khān's elephant got out of control<sup>2</sup> and went straight into the enemy's ranks. The foe surrounded him and cut the ropes of his howdah, and when he fell to the ground they put him and his son 'Alī Bēg to the sword.

#### Verse.

Death headed his path, and he fell before it;  
The game was of itself drawn to the net of destruction.

He had great ability, zeal, courage and right mindedness, and did great deeds. He also had a taste for poetry. This quatrain is his:

#### Verses.

For a while we<sup>3</sup> trod the path of want,  
We practised beggary at the sublime gate.  
As a present we brought pieces of our liver,  
That we might create acquaintance with our friend's dog.

After his death, Afrāsiyāb Khān was made an officer of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and Mukhtār Bēg<sup>4</sup>, who had come with his father's belongings in the 18th year to Ujjain and had been given by proxy (*ghāibāna*) a manṣab of 700 with 100 horse, received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. The properties of the deceased Khān, which amounted to three lacs of rupees and twenty thousand *ashrafis* and which had been confiscated in Ujjain and Shōlāpūr, were restored to his sons, and an order was given that they should meet the claims against their father. Afterwards Afrāsiyāb Khān was made *faujdār* of Dhāmūnī, and in the 24th year was made *faujdār* of Murādābād on the death of Faiḍ Ullāh Khān, and so gained his

not the officers' own. Islām got 10 months' pay and his sons 8 months'. Also see *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 88.

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 121, 122. Islām Khān had now sent for his family.

<sup>2</sup> *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 161, and Khāfi Khān, II, p. 236, who puts the battle into the 16th year, 1080, but in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 394, it is stated to have been in the 19th year.

<sup>3</sup> *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 87. We in the verses means he and his sons, while the sons are later described as pieces of our liver.

<sup>4</sup> *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 143.

desire (*murād*), and in the same year Muḥtār Bēg was styled Nawāzish<sup>1</sup> Khān, and in the 30th year made *faujdar* and governor of the fort of Mandūr (in Mālwa, now in Gwālior). In the 37th year, he was appointed to the charge of the *Chakla* of Murādābād. After that he was made *faujdar* of Māndū, and later he was appointed governor of Ilīchpūr. In the 48th year he became *Ṣubadār* of Kāshmīr.

# ISMĀ'IL<sup>2</sup> BEG DÜLDI.

(Vol. I, pp. 64, 65.)

He was one of Bābur's officers, and was distinguished for his courage and counsels. When Humāyūn returned from Persia and besieged Qandahār, the position of the besieged became difficult, and Mirzā 'Askarī's officers deserted and presented themselves before Humāyūn. Ismā'il Bēg was one of them, and after Qandahār was taken he was made the governor of Zamīn Dāwar<sup>3</sup>. During the siege of Kābul he and Khidr Khwāja Khān were sent against Shēr 'Alī, who had been sent by Kāmran to plunder a foreign caravan which had reached Chārīkar<sup>4</sup>. Shēr 'Alī could not return to Kābul, as the road was blocked by the imperialists, and so he hastened off towards Ghaznī. A battle took place in the pass of Sajāwand between him and the imperialists, the latter were victorious and returned to Humāyūn with much booty, and were rewarded. When Qarācha Khān, who at first had done good service and had received boundless favours, revolted and seduced a large body of men and carried them off to Mirzā Kāmran in Badakhshān, Ismā'il Bēg was also led away and so he received from Humāyūn the nickname of *Khirs*. Afterwards Humāyūn went in person to Badakhshān and on the day of the battle with Kāmran Ismā'il Khān was made a prisoner. Humāyūn spared him at the intercession of Mun'im Khān and made him over to him. He accompanied Humāyūn on the expedition to India, and after the taking of Delhī was sent with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī to Lāhore. Nothing more is known about him<sup>5</sup>.

# ISMĀ'IL KHĀN BAHĀDUR PANI.

(Vol. 1, pp. 370, 371.)

Sultān Khān, his father, was a *jama'dār* and his (the father's) daughter was married to Sarmast Khān, the son of 'Aẓmat<sup>6</sup> Khān who in the battle

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> In the first edition, viz. that by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Adham Khān Kōka is the first name. In the 2nd, viz. that now translated, Ismā'il Bēg's is the first name.

<sup>3</sup> Zamīn Dawar or more correctly Zamīn-i-Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān, see Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, II, Index, p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> Chārīkarān in the text, but as pointed out in Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 423, note 1, "Charīkar (lat. 35° long. 69°) which lies north of Kābul" is the correct reading.

<sup>5</sup> He appears in Abūl Fadl's list as a commander of 2,000 (Blochmann, *loc. cit.*). His nickname is considered by Blochmann to be *Khirs* a bear, i.e. a rude fellow. But it may be the Arabic *Khars* a wine-jar, *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 523, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> He was Iwād Khān's chief *jama'dār*. The battle in which Dilāwar Khān was killed, was fought on 23rd May, 1720; see Elliot, VII, p. 496 and Khāfi Khān, II, p. 879.

with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān dismounted in front of the elephant of 'Aḍud-ud-Daula 'Iwāḍ Khān and sacrificed his life. Afterwards Sarmast Khān and Sultān Khān obtained *jāgirs*. Ismā'il Khān with 1,000 horse was the hereditary servant of Šalābat Jang, and Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh. As his fortune was in the ascendant, he gradually became *Nā'ib* of the *Nizāmat*, and (had the) management of the estates in Berār. As he had an old acquaintance with Janōji Bhōnslē, who was then *Ta'luqdār* of that province on the part of the Mahrattas, he managed the collections on the principle of: slant<sup>1</sup> the cup, but don't spill. For a long time he managed affairs there. At last his brain became damaged through the use of intoxicants and he showed marks of presumption. This displeased Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh and he determined on his punishment, and in the year that he went towards Nāgpūr to punish the sons of Raghtūji Bhōnslē, though Ismā'il presented himself with a small body of troops at his camp, thinking that the killing of Rukn-ud-Daula<sup>2</sup> the manager of the establishment of that chief (Āṣaf Jāh) had proved an eye-salve, he was not received with favour and heard words of anger. He wished to return home. Meanwhile a force, which had been appointed against him, made its appearance. He was helpless, but with thirty or forty troopers, who stuck to him, he attacked and drove off the matchlockmen and entered the hostile cavalry. As he advanced he wielded his sword. When he had received many wounds, he came to the centre of the army and fell from his horse, and gave up his life in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.). His sons Šalābat Khān and Bahlūl Khān became objects of compassion and received in *jāgir* the estates of Bālāpūr<sup>3</sup>, Badanpara-i-Bibi and Karanj village in Berār. They are still serving, and are comfortable.

ISMĀ'IL KHĀN MAKHĀ.<sup>4</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 291, 292.)

He formerly served with *Sikhbandī*<sup>5</sup> corps in the Carnātic district of Haidarābād. In the 35th year of Aurangzib's reign he received, on the recommendation of Dhūlfaqār Khān Bahādur, a commission of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was appointed, in company with Dhūlfaqār Khān to storm the fort of Gingee<sup>6</sup>. In the 37th year, as during the siege, the relations between Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh

<sup>1</sup> That is, the conditions were impossible.

<sup>2</sup> This is not the Rukn-ud-Daula who was also called Lashkar Khān and who at one time replaced the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. He died in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Bālāpūr is mentioned in Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 234, as in the *Sarkār* of Narnālah. Karānja, Badhona and Karānja in *Sarkār Gāwīl* are also mentioned on p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> It is لکھ Makhā (of Mecca?) in the text and in the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 357, etc., but Khāfi Khān, II, p. 416 and elsewhere has *yakka* or solitary champion, which term is applied to men of distinguished bravery who combat singly. Probably this was the correct title.

<sup>5</sup> Local Militia, see Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> In the text *Kinji*, but this is a mistake for Gingee. It is the famous Gingee in South Arcot which Bussy took in 1750. See Khāfi Khān, II, p. 418; *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 357; and Elliot, VII, p. 348. Jinji in Kincaid and Farasanis—*History of the Maratha People*, pp. 23, 100, etc.

(youngest son of Aurangzīb), and Asad Khān and Dhūlfāqār Khān became strained, Dhūlfāqār Khān judged it expedient to withdraw from the siege and recalled the troops and the guns from the batteries. Ismā'il Khān had his battery on the other side of the fort, and could not get away quickly. Santā Ghōrpare<sup>1</sup> and others who were waiting for their opportunity came and joined battle with him. As he had but few men he was wounded and made prisoner by the Mahrattas and imprisoned for a year. By the efforts of Acham Nāir—with whom he had acquaintance—he was released after paying a heavy ransom. In the 38th year, he appeared at the Court, and was honoured by an increase of 1,000 *Dhāt* and the appointment of looking after the roads from Anandī<sup>2</sup> to Murtadābād. In the 41st year<sup>3</sup>, he was made *faujdar* of Islāmgarh, or Rāhīri in place of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Khān Lārī. In the 45th year, he was made *faujdar* of Banīshāh Durg<sup>4</sup>. The conclusion of his history does not appear.

## ISMĀ'IL QULI KHĀN DHŪ-AL-QADR.

(Vol. I, pp. 105-107.)

He was the younger brother of Husain Quli Khān Khān Jahān, and one of the high officers of Akbar's reign. In the battle of Jālandhar when Bairām Khān was defeated and made to retreat, the imperialists pursued Ismā'il Quli Khān and captured him. After his brother was received into favour, he too was well treated by the Emperor, and performed great deeds in company with his brother. When his brother died as *Sūbadār* of Bengal, Ismā'il Quli Khān came to the Court with his (brother's) goods and chattels, and was favourably received. In the 30th<sup>5</sup> year, he was sent to chastise the Balūchīs, who had become rebellious and did not submit to authority. When he came to Balūchistān, the people were first contumacious, but soon sued for peace. Their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajīh and Ibrāhīm Khān Daulat, accepted service, and their country was restored to them by the Emperor. In the 31st<sup>6</sup> year, when Rāja Bhagwant Dās was recalled owing to insanity from the government of Zābulistān (Afghānistān), Ismā'il Quli Khān was appointed in his place, but he exhibited improper traits and fell out of favour. An order was given that he should be put into a boat and sent to Mecca

<sup>1</sup> Khōrpura in the text. See Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 415, 416, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 357; and Elliot, VII, p. 346. It is the Ghorepuray of Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921), I, p. 70, who states that according to the family legend the Ghorepurays were originally Bhonslay and got their present name owing to an ancestor's having been the first to scale a fort, deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorepur* or iguana (the lizard known in Bengal as *goh samp*). Santā, or Sūntājee Ghorepuray was afterwards murdered by another Mahratta, Grant-Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 295. He is the Santāji Ghorepur of the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 291, etc., and Santāji Ghorepade of Kincaid and Parasania.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 369, has Aindī. Murtadābād is another name for Mirich, Elliot, VII, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 440, has Nabī, but Khāfī Khān, II, p. 495, has Banī. See Elliot, VII, p. 371. It is another name for Panhāla.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 475, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 716, 717.

<sup>6</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 491, 492, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 742-745. For the various spellings of the name of Rāja Bhagwant Dās, see Blochmann's translation of the *Am*, I (2nd edn.), p. 353.

by the way of Bhakkar. He had recourse to entreaties, and though his requests were granted, he was removed from where he was and appointed to chastise the Yūsufza'is. Suddenly various kinds of diseases resulting from the obnoxious atmosphere broke out in the hill-country of Sawād (Swāt) and Bājaur. The chiefs of their own accord came before Ismā'il Qulī Khān and submitted. When Zain Khān, the governor of Zābulistān had pressed hard upon Jalāla Raushanī and made him leave Tirāh for the hill-country of the Yūsufza'is, Zain Khān, to wipe out the disgrace which he had incurred in the affair of Bīr Bar, entered the hill-country. Šādiq Khān also was sent from the Court so that he might take post in Sawād, and that Jalāla might be caught whichever way he turned. Ismā'il Qulī Khān, who was *thānadār* of that country, took umbrage at Šādiq Khān's coming, and leaving the passes open went off to the Court. Suddenly Jalāla got his opportunity and came out. For this reason Ismā'il Qulī Khān was for some time under censure, but, in the 33rd year, was appointed to the government of Gujarāt. When in the 36th year, Prince Sulṭān Murād was appointed to the government of Mālwa, Ismā'il Qulī Khān was made his *Vakil*, but he did not act properly as Murād's guardian. In the 38th year, Šādiq Khān was appointed in his place, and Ismā'il Qulī Khān was recalled to the Court. In the 39th year, he was allowed to go to Kalpi, which was his fief, so that he might develop the property. In the 42nd year, 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.), he was raised to the rank of 4,000. They say, he was much given to pleasure and displayed great luxury in food and clothing, and in carpets and other furniture. He had 1,200 women, and when he went to the Court he used to have seals put on the strings of their drawers. At last they all got annoyed and joined together and poisoned<sup>1</sup> him. His sons, Ibrāhīm Qulī, Salīm Qulī, and Khalīl Qulī obtained suitable appointments in the time of Akbar.

## I'TIBĀR KHĀN KHWĀJASARĀ.

(Vol. I; pp. 134, 135.)

He was one of the confidants of Jahāngīr, and from very early years was his attendant. When Khusrāu was arrested after his flight and brought to the Court, and the King moved from Lāhōre to Kābul, Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, to whose charge Khusrāu had been committed<sup>2</sup>, remained in Lāhōre on account of illness, and Khusrāu was put under the charge of I'tibār Khān. He had at first a suitable rank, and in the 2nd year the district (*hawālī*) of Gwāliyar was assigned<sup>3</sup> to him as his *tankhwāh* (salary). In the 5th year, he got a *manṣab* of 4,000 with

<sup>1</sup> See his life in Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 388, 389.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Index to Khāfi Khān, II, p. 983, I'tibār Khān was one of the conspirators who proposed to release Khusrāu and kill Jahāngīr, but this is a mistake. The Hindū who joined in the conspiracy was not I'tibār Khān, but his manager Šāhibmadār; see Khāfi Khān, I, p. 258, and also the account of the conspiracy in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 28, 29, where it is stated that it was a Hindū belonging to I'tibār Khān, and who looked after his servants. The Hindū was executed.

<sup>3</sup> Though Gwāliyar was assigned to him for his maintenance (Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 113) he was not sent there, at least not immediately, for we find him afterwards in Afghānistān and in charge of Khusrāu. Perhaps Khusrāu was later to be removed to Gwāliyar and so I'tibār Khān got his *jāgīr* there.

1,000 horse, and in the 8th year, one of 5,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 10th year, his rank was increased by 1,000 horse and in the 17th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. When he was very old, he received charge of the province of the Capital (Āgra) and of the fort and the treasury. In the 18th year, when Prince Shāh Jahān marched from Māndū with the intention of waiting upon his father, and the flames of discord shot up between them, the Prince came to Fathpūr and halted there. When the royal troops arrived, he retreated. After that, when the royal cortege came near Āgra, I'tibār Khān, as he had rendered good service in protecting the city, received the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, and the gift of a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant. At the appointed time he departed to the other world.

I'TIBĀR KHĀN NĀZIR.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. I, p. 65.)

His name was Khwāja 'Ambar. He was a eunuch, and a confidential servant of Bābur. In the year when Humāyūn went off to 'Irāq from near Qandahār<sup>2</sup>, I'tibār Khān and others were appointed to look after Maryam Makānī<sup>3</sup>. He did good service on this occasion. In 952 A.H. (1545 A.D.) he waited on Humāyūn at Kābul and was appointed to serve Akbar. After the death of Humāyūn, Akbar sent him to Kābul to bring his mother, and in the 2nd year of the reign he returned in her train. After some time he was made the governor of Delhī and died there.

I'TIMĀD KHĀN GUJARĀTĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 93-100.)

He was one of the Hindū<sup>4</sup> slaves of Sultān Maḥmūd the ruler of Gujarāt. As the Sultān had full confidence in him he appointed him in his harem and assigned to him the adorning of the women. I'timād Khān as a precaution ate camphor and so made himself in potent. As he possessed ability, steadiness of conduct, and the appearance of integrity, he rose to a high rank. When in 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) the Sultān after reigning for eighteen years was killed by the treachery of a servant named Burhān, the latter put to death twelve of the principal officers by pretending that the Sultān had summoned them, but I'timād Khān had the foresight not to attend. He gathered together helpers, fought and killed Burhān. As the Sultān had no son, I'timād Khān, to extinguish

<sup>1</sup> Also known as Khwāja 'Ambar Nāzir—see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 224, and Beveridge's translation I, p. 451.

Nāzir was a revision officer and assistant to the *Diwān*, see Ibn Hasan—*Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently meaning that Humāyūn started for Persia after he had been forced to leave India in 1543 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Hamida Bānū, mother of Akbar—see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 33, note, for her title of *Maryam Makānī*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* calls him 'Abdul Karīm (Bombay lith. edn., p. 293).



the flames of sedition, raised to the throne a boy named Raḍī-ul-Mulk<sup>1</sup> of the family of Sulṭān Aḥmad the founder of Aḥmadābād, and gave him the name of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh. I'timād Khān, however, kept all the power in his own hands and left him nothing but the title of King.

After five years the Sulṭān came from Aḥmadābād and joined Saiyid Mubārak Bokhārī, who was one of the great officers. After a battle in which he was defeated by I'timād Khān he had to take flight. When he again joined I'timād Khān, the latter acted as before. The Sulṭān from want of sense plotted with his associates to kill I'timād Khān, but he anticipated the Sulṭān and killed him. In the year 969<sup>2</sup> A.H., he brought forward a child called Nanhū<sup>3</sup>, who did not belong to the royal family, and swore upon the Qur'ān before the officers, "This is the begotten son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. His mother was pregnant and the Sulṭān made her over to me to produce abortion, but, as she was then five months gone with child, I did not do so". The officers were helpless and accepted the statement and raised the boy to the throne under the name of Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar. I'timād Khān became the Prime Minister as before. But the territories were divided among the officers, and all of them were confirmed in their offices. They fell out with one another and were either victorious or vanquished.

When I'timād Khān kept the Sulṭān under surveillance and in his power, Chengiz Khān, the son of I'timād-ul-Mulk, a Turkish slave, asserted himself and opposed I'timād Khān, urging that if Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar were really the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, why was he not allowed a free hand. At last with the assistance of the rebel Mirzās, who had fled from Akbar, he led an army against I'timād Khān. The latter offered no resistance, but left the Sulṭān and fled to Dūngarpūr. After some time Alif Khān and Jujhār Khān, who were Abyssinian Amirs, brought the Sulṭān and made him over to I'timād Khān. They then separately went off and joined Chengiz Khān in Aḥmadābād. Without any cause becoming suspicious of him they killed him. I'timād Khān learnt of this and taking the Sulṭān returned with him to Aḥmadābād. When the officers quarrelled with one another, the rebellious Mirzās came from Mālwa and took possession of Broach and Sūrat. The Sulṭān too, who was looking for an opportunity, came out of Aḥmadābād one day and joined Shēr Khān Fūlādī who had a strong following. I'timād Khān wrote to Shēr Khān that Nanhū was not the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and that he was sending for the Mirzās and going to make them the sovereign. The officers, who were in league with Shēr Khān said, that I'timād Khān had in their presence sworn upon the Qur'ān (that Muzaḥḥar was the son), and what he was now saying was the result of enmity. Shēr Khān then led an army against Aḥmadābād. I'timād Khān sheltered himself there and solicited the help of the Mirzās. There was a great disturbance. When this had lasted a long time, I'timād Khān saw that things were not improving and that the amelioration of the distracted country was beyond

<sup>1</sup> This account is incorrect. Raḍī-ul-Mulk was the name of the man who fetched the boy; see Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 454, and De and Prashad's translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 394, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of the year in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and therefore corresponding to 1562 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Nathū. See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, loc. cit., p. 397.

his power. He had recourse to Akbar and petitioned him to conquer the country. In the 17th year, 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.), when the King came to Pattan, a stone of disunion fell among Shēr Khān's party, and the Mirzās also went to Broach. Sultān Muẓaffar who had become separated from Shēr Khān, was wandering about in the neighbourhood in a distracted state, and was captured by the King's men. I'timād Khān and the other officers set their hearts upon being loyal and adorned the coins and the pulpits with the name of Akbar, and came and waited upon him, and entered service. When on 14th Rajab of this year<sup>1</sup>, the city of Aḥmadābād was made illustrious by Akbar's arrival, Barōda, Chāmpānīr and Sūrat were granted as fiefs to I'timād Khān and the other officers, and they undertook to extirpate the Mirzās. When the King went to visit the seaside, the Gujarāt officers, who had waited in the city on the pretext of making arrangements—when the time for making excuses had expired—perceived that it would be impossible for them to tyrannise as formerly and thought of absconding. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk Gujarātī was the first to do so, and the loyalists who had not absconded brought I'timād Khān and others to Akbar. He lost favour and for a time was made over to the charge of Shāhbāz Khān. In the 20th year, he was again received into favour and had charge of the Court in order that the minutiae—especially in the matters of jewellery and adorned utensils—might be looked after by him. In the 22nd year, when men were going to Mecca under the leadership of Abū Turāb Gujarātī, I'timād Khān, who had long been desirous of visiting the holy places, also obtained leave. On his return, Pattan Gujarāt was granted to him as his fief. In the 28th year, he on the departure of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, was appointed as the governor of Gujarāt, and a number of distinguished officers were sent with him. Some courtiers represented that when I'timād Khān was in full vigour and had numerous friends he had not been able to manage the turbulent elements in Gujarāt, and that now when he was declining and had no supporters, it could not be right to send him there; their remonstrances were, however, without effect.

When I'timād Khān came to Aḥmadābād, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad prepared to go to the Court. His unrighteous servants, who formerly from mercenary motives had lain in wait to kill their master, but by an ill-timed temporising the affair had been smoothed over, separated from him. Their idea was that he had lost his *jāgīr*, and that until he reached the Capital they would not get interim expenses, and that before the question of branding had been settled, it would be difficult to get even a mouthful of bread. So it would be far better to adopt as their leader Sultān Muẓaffar, who was living under the protection of the Lōbhkāti, and to make a disturbance. Experienced persons represented to I'timād Khān that Shihāb-ud-Dīn had abandoned the attempt to conciliate (his servants) and was going off to the Court, and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that, under these circumstances, it appears proper to restrain him from departure. They also represented that the *jāgīrs* should be given back to him for a time, or that some money should be expended and so end the uproar, or as the rebels had not yet matured their plans, they might be suppressed by quickness and

skill. But I'timād Khān accepted none of these proposals and said<sup>1</sup>: It is his servants who are at the bottom of the disturbance, he will have to settle it, or be responsible for the consequences. When Sultān Muẓaffar joined the rebels and the fire of sedition burst forth, I'timād Khān was compelled to hasten to Shihāb-ud-Dīn—who had gone off to Kari<sup>2</sup> twenty *kos* from Ahmadābād—to induce him to turn back. Though well-wishers said that he was making an easy task difficult by leaving Ahmadābād when the enemy was within twelve *kos* of it, their words were of no avail.

When Sultān Muẓaffar learnt that the city was undefended, he came post haste and took possession of it. He collected a force and prepared for battle. Before the engagement took place, most of Shihāb-ud-Dīn's men turned unfaithful and there was a great confusion. I'timād Khān and Shihāb-ud-Dīn hastened to Pattan and took shelter there, and wished to leave the country. Suddenly some auxiliaries arrived as also some men who had separated from the enemy. I'timād Khān learnt a lesson from what had happened, and distributing money among the officers and men made them attend zealously to their duties. He and Shihāb-ud-Dīn remained on guard and men were sent under the command of his (I'timād Khān's) son Shēr Khān to fight against Shēr Khān Fūlādī. They were successful. At this time Mīrzā Khān 'Abd-ur-Rahīm—who had been appointed with a proper force to chastise Sultān Muẓaffar and the Gujarātī rebels—arrived. He left I'timād Khān in Pattan and went forward with Shihāb-ud-Dīn. I'timād Khān was for a time governor of the area till he died in 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.). He held the rank of 2,500, though the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*<sup>3</sup> makes him of the rank of 4,000.

Shaikh Abūl Faḍl says that the Gujarātīs are a pest composed of cowardice, deceit and dishonesty, but have certain qualities such as order, simplicity and humility, and that I'timād Khān may be regarded as the prime example of this class.

#### I'TIMĀD KHĀN KHWĀJASARĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 88-90.)

His name was Phūl Malik. In the reign of Salīm Shāh he, on account of his honesty, received the title of Muḥammad Khān. When the Afghāns fell from power, he was enrolled<sup>4</sup> among the servants of Akbar, and did good service. In consequence of the public clerks, from fraudulent or negligent motives working to increase their own fortunes and neglecting to collect and develop the imperial revenues, Akbar began personally to look into matters of finance in the 7th year after the catastrophic murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atka, and

<sup>1</sup> This account is taken from the *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 410, 411; Beveridge's translation III, pp. 608-611.

<sup>2</sup> Gadhi in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (De's edition), Text II, p. 436, Translation II, p. 663.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently based on the detailed account by Abūl Faḍl in *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 178, 179; Beveridge's translation II, pp. 276, 277.

Muhammad Khān<sup>1</sup> by his ability in this matter acquired the Emperor's confidence and improved the collections. He, therefore, received the title of I'timād Khān, and the rank of 1,000, and had the entire work of the exchequer entrusted to him. In a short time he carried out the Emperor's ideas, and brought the affairs of the treasury into proper order. In the 9th year, after the arrival of the royal cortege at Māndū, Mirān Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Khāndēs (Khāndēsh), sent ambassadors with presents, and solicited that his daughter may be admitted into the royal seraglio. His request was granted, and I'timād Khān was entrusted with the arrangements. When he approached the fort of Āsīr, Mirān Mubārak Shāh brought him into the fort with all honour, and sent off his daughter with a number of nobles. I'timād Khān did homage at the first stage out from Māndū during Akbar's return journey to Āgra. After that he was, for a time, appointed to Bengāl along with Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān and Khān Jahān Turkmān, and did excellent service. In the 22nd year, 984 A.H., he went off from Dipālpūr in Mālwa to take charge of Bhakkar on the death of Saiyid Muhammad Mir 'Adal. He, by his energy, led a force to Sēhwān and was victorious. He returned after having concluded a peace.

Success makes most men lose the thread of reason, especially in the case of those who are congenitally bad, and experienced sages have observed that castration softens the character of all living creatures except men, and in the case of the latter increases their fierceness. So I'timād Khān's arrogance increased, and he had no regard for the weak and made no attempt whatever to conciliate them. He behaved badly to the inhabitants and to his servants, and used to treat them with harshness. He regarded craft as sagacity and did not act justly towards them. In the 23rd year, 986 A.H., when Akbar was proceeding to the Panjāb, I'timād Khān wished that his soldiers should present themselves at the Court for the branding of their horses. In his blindness he thought of calling in the loans which he had advanced to the men. Though they pleaded poverty, he paid no heed, and did not act with justice. One morning Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant, who was blind in one eye, joined with some miscreants, and killed this careless wretch. Some say, that when Maqṣūd 'Alī explained his circumstances, I'timād became angry and said that he deserved to have urine poured into his blind eye; and that the man immediately drew his dagger, and stabbed him so hard in the belly that he did not breathe again. I'timād Khān founded I'timādpūr at a distance of six *kos* from Āgra. He also made a large tank there and erected buildings including his own tomb. He was buried there<sup>2</sup>.

#### I' TIQĀD KHĀN FARRUKH-SHĀHI.

(Vol. I, pp. 339-346.)

His real name was Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he became *Vakīl* of Jahāndār Shāh, and had the rank of

<sup>1</sup> Phūl Malik was given the name Muhammad Khān in the days of Salīm Shāh. Sūr son of Shēr Shāh, *vide Akbar-nāma*, Text II, p. 178; Beveridge's translation II, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 13, note, and p. 473 for his life.

1,000 and the title of Vakalat Khān. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh he was promoted, and when the turn of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar arrived, he was included in the list of those to be killed. But his old relationship with the Saiyids saved him, and he obtained the rank of 1,500 and the title of Muḥammad Murād Khān, and was entered among the *yasāwals* of the *Tūzuk* (State messengers). When Muḥammad Amin Khān the 2nd Bakhshī was appointed to Mālwa—so that he might perhaps prove an impediment to Amīr-ul-Umarā's leaving the Deccan—he delayed in marching. Muḥammad Murād was appointed as *Sazāwal*<sup>1</sup> but with all his outspokenness and long tongue he could achieve nothing. He came to the council-chamber (*Sar-i-Divān*) and said, "He has no obedience in his brain and so *sazāwal*ship has no effect on him." The Emperor made no reply. Again he said without any circumlocution, "If this time you pass it over, nothing will remain." The Emperor said, "What is to be done?" He said, "Let an order be given to your slave to go and say 'March immediately, otherwise you must give up your office of *Bakhshī*'." Farrukh-siyar said, "Go and tell him so." He went and spoke so vehemently that he marched that very day. His boldness and loyalty pleased the Emperor, and he made him a Privy Counsellor. His favour also increased owing to his being a countryman of *Shāhiba-i-Niswān* (the mistress of women), the Emperor's mother. The Emperor was worried and vexed on account of his disagreements with the Saiyids of Bārah and their predominance, he was every day making new plans and holding new consultations about extirpating them, but from stupidity and want of courage these came to nothing. One day Vakalat Khān got his opportunity and threw such a glamour over things, and built such castles<sup>2</sup> in the air, saying "unless it comes to a fight with the opposition, the net-work of their power will spread on every side in a short time" that Farrukh-siyar—the light of whose intelligence and discretion had become extinct—did not see the real issue and was deceived by him, and in a short time raised him to the rank of 7,000 with 10,000 horse and in every undertaking made him his confidant and intimate friend and gave him the lofty title of Rukn-ud-Daula I'tiqād Khān Bahādur Farrukh-Shāhī. There was not a day that he did not present him precious jewels and other valuable things. He made *Sarkār* Murādābād a province, and gave it the name of Ruknābād and made it his fief. At his advice he, for the purpose of destroying the Saiyids, summoned Sarbuland Khān from Patna, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang from Murādābād and Mahārāja Ajit singh from Jōdhpūr, and every day held consultations with them. If anyone said that if the robe of the *Vazārat* is given to someone, Qutb-ul-Mulk's power would diminish, and his position greatly weakened, the Emperor would say "There is no better man for this post than I'tiqād Khān". The officers (who were already grieved at the advancement of a man of no family, who was notorious for foolish talk and immoralities) could not stand his being made the *Vazir* and retired. And, in fact, what a mad idea it was! (They thought) troubles and dangers; and loss of life must be undertaken by us, while the *Vazārat* and dominion are to be the portion of another.

<sup>1</sup> Bailiff or Agent, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: arrayed such verdant gardens.

## Verse.

I'm the lover and the beloved is at the beck of others  
As 1st Shawwāl<sup>1</sup> is the 'Id of Ramaḍān.

Stranger still, while all these great deeds were in contemplation, the Emperor deprived many of the officers of their fiefs and appointments, and made them discontented, while Quṭb-ul-Mulk regarded them as his spoils and soothed and conciliated each one of them, and drew them into his own party. The Emperor's schemes and consultations were without profit.

## Verse. 2

How can a secret be kept when it is discussed in assemblies.

When the details reached Quṭb-ul-Mulk he, to protect his honour, began by keeping a watchful eye (over the Emperor) and wrote to Husain 'Alī Khān, the Amīr-ul-Umarā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return quickly from the Deccan. When the Emperor became aware of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's intentions, he again attempted conciliation and sent I'ṭiqāḍ Khān and Khān Daurān to the house of Quṭb-ul-Mulk and renewed his promises and oaths. Both sides agreed to amend the past. A month had not passed when the Emperor, in his childishness and folly, forgot all these arrangements for peace, and state of things became more troubled than before. Several experienced officers withdrew thinking that thus they would save their honour. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā arrived from the Deccan, he, after confirmation of agreements and conditions, did homage, but, on seeing the King's disposition and the prevailing confusion, he abandoned the idea of amending matters and began to think. On 8th Rabi' II (27th February, 1719<sup>2</sup>), on the pretext of a second visit he sent Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh to the fort to bring about a settlement. None of the King's men was in the fort except I'ṭiqāḍ Khān. Quṭb-ul-Mulk began to complain to the Emperor and mentioned his unkindnesses. Maḥammad Farrukh-siyar also got angry and made rejoinders. At last they came to high words. I'ṭiqāḍ Khān sought by deceptive words to play the part of a mediator. When both had lost their self-control Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān used an opprobrious epithet to him and ordered that he should be turned out of the fort. The Emperor retired to the female apartments and I'ṭiqāḍ Khān thought it advisable to save his life and went to his home. Quṭb-ul-Mulk spent the night in the fort in watchfulness, and on the morning of the 9th Rabi' II he imprisoned the Emperor. Till then no one knew what had taken place in the fort. The general report was that 'Abdullāh Khān had been killed. I'ṭiqāḍ Khān protested his devotion and having collected his men and mounting his horse he made a vain attack (*khar*

<sup>1</sup> Shawwāl follows the month of Ramaḍān, and the feast of the 'Id is on 1st Shawwāl though called the 'Id-i-Ramaḍān.

<sup>2</sup> This is the adaptation of the second half of a verse from Ḥāfiẓ, the first half being: همه کارم ز خود کامی به بدنامی کشید آخر.

<sup>3</sup> But see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's The Later Mughals*, I, pp. 376-381, from where it will be seen that the possession of the fort was taken by Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh on 4 Rabi' II, and on 8 Rabi' Quṭb-ul-Mulk entered the palace, replaced the guards, and later the interview took place.

*hamla*<sup>1</sup>) on the Amīr-ul-Umarā's troops in the Sa'adat Ulāh Khān bāzār, and was making a useless disturbance when music announced the accession of Rafī'-ud-Darajāt. He was arrested with great indignity and his house confiscated. The precious jewels which had been presented to him, and many of which he had disposed of, were resumed and he was exposed to contempt and misery. Farrukh-siyar was deposed after a reign of six years and four months, not counting the eleven months of Jahāndār Shāh's rule which were included in his reign. He was confined on the top of the Tīrpōliya<sup>2</sup> in the fort in a dark and narrow room. He was blinded and guarded with great severity. They say, that his eyesight was not entirely destroyed.

A trustworthy person who was nearly associated with the Saiyids has been heard to state, that when it was decided that Farrukh-siyar should be blinded, Quṭb-ul-Mulk without mentioning the circumstance to anyone (else) gave his own antimony-box (*surmadān*) in open *Divān* to Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, saying it was the King's (Rafī'-ud-Darajāt's) order; and that he went and blinded Farrukh-siyar. Farrukh-siyar offered much resistance and so they were obliged to throw him down. Afterwards when he perceived that his sight had not been injured, he endeavoured to conceal the fact, and whenever he wanted anything he would say "Have pity on this<sup>3</sup> sightless one". Quṭb-ul-Mulk and the Amīr-ul-Umarā would smile and say "He thinks we don't know". Anyhow he, in his simplicity, tried to induce his guards by promises to take him away to Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i. When the brothers heard of this, they, for political reasons, twice tried to poison him. Owing to his tenacity of life this had no effect. At last they conducted him to annihilation by thong-pulling (*tasma-kashī*<sup>4</sup>), which was his own first invention. On the day that they were conveying his bier to tomb of Humāyūn Bādshāh there was a general riot. Two to three thousand men and women of the city, especially the rabble and faqīrs of the market, assembled and accompanied the bier. They flung stones at the Saiyids' men and abused them. For three days they assembled at his tomb and recited funeral prayers.<sup>5</sup>

Good God! Men in this affair have become Haidaris<sup>6</sup> and Ni'mat Allāhis. One said:

*Verses.*

You saw what they did to the mighty King  
They committed a hundred violences on him,  
When I sought the date from Wisdom, she answered:  
*Sādāt' bawai nimak-harāmī kardand* (the Saiyids behaved  
disloyally to him).

<sup>1</sup> *Khar-hamla* means a foolish attack.

<sup>2</sup> Literally three arches.

<sup>3</sup> In the text *basīr*, vision, but the true reading must be *bē basīr*, without vision.

<sup>4</sup> Also spelt *tasmā*. See Elliot, VII, pp. 444, 445, for an account of the murders committed at Farrukh-siyar's accession; also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 275-281, and the account of Farrukh-siyar's reign in the same work, pp. 244-403.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 820.

<sup>6</sup> These are the two rival sects which have an annual fight in Persia during Muharram, see Malcolm's *History of Persia* (ed. 1815), II, p. 593.

<sup>7</sup> The words yield 1131.

Another said :

Verses.

They did what was right with the sick King,  
 They did all the physician should do,  
 One wise as Hippocrates wrote the prescription of the date,<sup>1</sup>  
*Sādāt*<sup>2</sup> *davāsh āncheh bāyad kardand* (the Saiyids gave him  
 the right treatment).

But it is quite evident that in considering the claims of kings, ancient and modern, which are fixed and definite with respect to the hereditary servants of their houses, and more particularly the claims in regard to these two brothers in the service to their master, it is not absolutely correct that the occurrence of this shameful business was due to them, and that each of them behaved with thorough baseness and ingratitude. The real case is quite otherwise. Rather they too performed the duties of service. They failed not in exposing their lives and properties, and made Farrukh-siyar the Emperor of Hindūstān. True, in the eyes of justice this did not create a claim, and was rather the performance of a duty, and what should be expected from loyalty. But what does the spirit of self-interest say? And what does farsighted practical reason command? Is it wrong to checkmate wickedness before it is successful? Self-interest is innate in man! If they had not anticipated matters, they would have lost their lives and their honour! In the beginning they might have obtained deliverance from these calamities, by withdrawing at the commencement from Court service, and contenting themselves with their high posts in the provinces. The love of glory and of power, which are the worst of faults, did not let them do this. And at this time would other claimants have left them in peace? Anyhow, if we look at the real state of things, Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar was himself the cause of the rebellion against his sovereignty. From inexperience and folly he made mistakes. In the first place he should not have conferred on the Saiyids the great office of *Vazīr* to which the Saiyids of Bārah had no claim. For from the time of Akbar up to that of Aurangzīb—which represents the beginning and end of the regulations for the sovereignty of India—though the Saiyids of Bārah were promoted to high offices, yet they did not even receive the low ranks of *Divāns* of provinces or of managers for the King's sons. If from regard to their claim and from appreciation of their merits it was proper that the reins of the Caliphate should be put into their hands, he should not have listened to the words of self-interested intriguers—who under the veil of loyalty do the work of thousands of ill-wishers—about this type of faithful servants who spared neither their lives nor their property for him, and from whom no danger was to be apprehended in the future unless cause for this was given to them. What happened was the result of his own doing, and whatever resulted was due to himself! My pen has gone galloping. Where has it gone? May God efface it!

<sup>1</sup> Or the dated prescription.

<sup>2</sup> The words yield 1131. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 395, where it is stated that the first quatrain was by Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, and the rejoinder by Mir 'Aṣmat Ullāh Bilgrāmī Bākhshār.



After his property and his reputation had been given to the winds I'tiqād Khān for a long time remained shut up in his house. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā was killed by the sword of vengeance, Qutb-ul-Mulk proceeded to Delhi and conciliated many of the old and new officers who had left the world and were living in retirement. Among them, he pleased I'tiqād Khān by confirming him in his *mansab*, and giving him a sum of money for his expenses and the charge of a *risāla* (cavalry). But the scheme, as he designed it, did not succeed. He only accompanied him a few *kos* and then returned to Delhi, and lived in retirement until he died a natural death. Though he was notorious for his feeble intellect and meanness yet he had abundant knowledge, and in a short time made his fortune. Yet all men speak ill of him.

*Observation.*

Success does not wipe out faults.

*Verse.*

Success in the world's riches does not lessen one's sins,  
For gold does not remove blackness from the touchstone.

Rather it makes them conspicuous.

*Verse.*

How can a defect be hid under a garb of gold  
When the new moon puts on her robe, its spots become visible.<sup>1</sup>

I'TIQA'D KHĀN MIRZĀ SHĀPŪR.

(Vol. I, pp. 180-182.)

He was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula and brother of Āṣaf Khān. For pleasantness, brightness, polished manners, taste in dress and food, etc., he was one of the foremost leaders of the age. They say, that during that period Yamīn-ud-Daula, Mirzā Abū Sa'īd and Bāqir Khān Najm Thānī were famous as epicures, but I'tiqād Khān in this respect was superior to all three of them. In the 17th year<sup>2</sup> of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made governor of Kashmir and ruled there for a long time. During this period *kumūd*<sup>3</sup> (lotus) rice and *pān kangīrī* used to be sent to him from Burhān-

<sup>1</sup> *Uryān* lit. naked. Apparently the meaning is that when the new moon waxes, the spots on the surface become more marked. For a detailed account of I'tiqād Khān, or as he is styled Muḥammad Murād, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 340-345, 381, 401, 406.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārikh-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation II, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *mukūd* which seems unintelligible though there is an Arabic word *makūd* which means abounding in milk. The word appears to have been *kumūd*, which means lotus, and also white water lily in Sanskrit and Bengali. See also Khāfi Khān, I, p. 562. In Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 223, it is stated that in Dandesh, i.e. Khāndesh, of which Burhānpūr was the capital, "the rice is of fine quality, . . . and betel leaves are in abundance". See also *Asiatic Miscellany*, reprint of 1787, p. 148, where it is stated that "Khandes rice called in Hindustan patny chawal which is the only species brought from that province is generally used by the higher classes. It is a long and small-grained rice".

pūr. During his government Ḥabīb Chak and Aḥmad Chak, who were the leaders of that quarrelsome people, laid claims to the chiefship, and stirred up great dissensions, and at last went off ruined to Tibet. I'ṭiqād Khān, who held the rank of 5,000 *Dhāt* and horse, was removed from Kashmīr in the 5th year of Shāh Jahān, and in the beginning of the 6th year came to the Court. He brought with him and presented the rarities of Kashmīr, such as plumes made of the feathers of the wild goose which surpass <sup>1</sup> the musky hairs of the Yak, and varieties of shawls such as *jāmarwār*, *kamarbands*, embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear-covers) and especially woollen garments from the *Tūs* <sup>2</sup> and fur (*kark*) from a wild animal, whose flesh is edible and which is found in Qarā (?) Tibet, also carpets which sell a hundred rupees a yard and compared to which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (*palās*). In the same year, he was on 17th Sha'bān appointed to the governorship of the province of Delhi in succession to Lashkar Khān. In the 16th year, he was made *Sūbādār* of Bihār in succession to Shāyista Khān. As the *Zamīndār* of Palā'ūn <sup>3</sup> (Palāmau) relying on the extensive forests in that province became rebellious, I'ṭiqād Khān sent, in the 17th year, Zabardast Khān with an army against him. He traversed passes and jungles and put the rebels to the sword. Pratāp, a *Zamīndār* of the area submitted and by the instrumentality of the aforesaid Khān presented a lac of rupees as *pēshkash* and waited upon I'ṭiqād Khān in Patna every year. At I'ṭiqād Khān's request Pratāp obtained the rank of 1,000 *dhāt* and horse, and Palāmau was given to him as his fief at a rental of one kror of *dāms*. In the 20th year, when Prince Muḥammad Shūjā' was recalled from Bengāl, the government of that province, which for population, extent and abundance of produce is equal to a clime (*iqīm*), was entrusted to I'ṭiqād Khān. When Bengāl was again made over to Shāh Shujā', I'ṭiqād Khān returned to the Court. He had not arrived when the government of Oudh was made over to him, and an order was issued that he should go off on this duty from whatever place he had reached. In the 23rd year, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.) he left Bhaich and came to the Court, and died. They say, that the first persons to build new houses in Āgra were three in number, viz. Khwāja Jahān Jahāngīrī, Khwāja Waisī the *Divān* of Sulṭān Parwīz, and I'ṭiqād Khān; the best and most artistic of the three was I'ṭiqād Khān's mansion. As it was admired by Shāh Jahān, he presented it to him as *pēshkash*, and in the 16th year Shāh Jahān presented it to 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā.

<sup>1</sup> The literal translation of the passage seems to be: Plumes made of the feathers of the goose which are such that musky tresses would shrivel up from envy on beholding them as hairs do when exposed to the fire, and various shawls such as *jāmarwār* (gowns), *kamarbands* (waistbands), embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear-covers) and especially woollen garments from the *Tūs* and fur from a wild animal whose flesh is edible and is found in Qarā Tibet, and woven carpets which fetch a hundred rupees a yard and compared with which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (*palās*). It looks as if the author thought that *kark* the Turkish name for fur was the name of an animal. Possibly he read it as *gurg*, a wolf.

<sup>2</sup> So in text, but in the *Ā'in*, I (Blochmann's translation, 2nd edn.), p. 97, the animal is called *Tūs*. *Kark* is a Turkish word for fur. Qarā or Tibet means apparently Black Tibet. Perhaps it should be Qar, i.e. white or snowy Tibet, but it is clear from Bernier that "Tus" came from Great Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> Palāmūn in *Bādeśhāhnāma*, II, pp. 248 and 356. Palāmau is in Lōhardāga, Chōta Nāgpur.

'IWAD KHĀN QĀQSHĀL.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. II, pp. 776-777.)

His name was 'Iwād Bēg, and he was one of the officers of the *Sūba* of Kābul. When in the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign the *thāna* of Duhāk<sup>2</sup> was recovered from the hands of Ūzbegs, he was granted the rank of 1,000, 600 horse, and appointed as the *thānadār* of that area. In the 6th<sup>3</sup> year he was given an increase of 200 horse, and in the 7th year<sup>4</sup>, he was exalted by a rise to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 1,000 with 500 horse. In the 10th<sup>5</sup> year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th<sup>6</sup> year of 300 horse. And in the incident, which occurred in connection with 'Alī Mardān Khān<sup>7</sup> handing over the fort of Qandahār to the royal servants, he ('Iwād Khān), who was already waiting in Ghaznī, at the instance of Sa'id Khān<sup>8</sup>, the governor of Kābul, went to that place with one thousand cavalry and took possession of the fort. And in the battle which Sa'id Khān had to fight with Siyāwash and the Qazalbāsh army, he formed the vanguard, and his honour was raised to the skies by the bestowal of a *khil'at* and a jewelled dagger, and promotion to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and the grant of drums and a horse and an elephant<sup>9</sup>. And having hurried with Rāja Jagat Singh to conquer the fort of Zamin Dāwar, he rendered valuable services in the capture of the fort of Sārbān and the siege of Zamin Dāwar<sup>10</sup>. And for a time he was in charge of Qalāt. In the 16th year<sup>11</sup> he was appointed governor of Ghaznī in place of Khānazād Khān. Since through prolonged illness, frailty and weakness went on increasing, he was dismissed<sup>12</sup>. In the 4th year corresponding to 1050 A.H. he died.

## 'IZZAT KHĀN KHWĀJA BĀBĀ.

(Vol. II, pp. 775, 776.)

It appears that he was related to 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang. In Jahāngīr's reign he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse. After the coronation of Shāh Jahān he came from Lāhore with Yamīn-ud-Daula and paid his respects and was confirmed in his rank. In the 3rd year, he attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr who was sent in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 4th year, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he

<sup>1</sup> For Qāqshāl, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 399, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādehāhnāma*, I, pt. 1, p. 261. The fortress of Duhāk is situated in Bāmiyān at the extreme end of a defile on one of the two routes from Kābul to Bāmiyān, see Raverty's translation of *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, II, p. 1025.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādehāhnāma*, I, pt. 1, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, pp. 54-59. Zamin Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān, see Raverty, *op. cit.*, I, p. 324, note. For a detailed account of Shāh Jahān's campaigns in Trans-Oxiana, see Banarsi Frashad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 188-209.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, p. 173.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.*, p. 200, his successor was Pūrdil Khān.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, pt. 2, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, II, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, p. 33.

was granted the title of 'Izzat Khān, and he was presented with a flag and an elephant and made *faujdar* of Bhakkar. In the 6th year, 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.) he died there.

## J

JĀDŪ RĀO KĀNTH.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 520-523.)

He belonged to the Jādwan (or Jādūn) tribe to which Kishn (Krishna) belonged. He was one of the nobles of Nizām Shāh. When in the 16th year of Jahāngir's reign the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, addressed himself for the second time to the task of chastising the rulers of the Deccan, who had withdrawn their heads from obedience and had stretched out their arms to seize the imperial lands, Jādū Rāo, who was the leader of the armies of the Deccan paid homage to the Prince and was made a *Panjhazārī*<sup>2</sup>, both personal (*Dhāt*) and in the number of horse. Together with his sons and grandsons and other relatives he held offices of 24,000 with 15,000 horse. He held the choicest *jāgirs* in the Deccan, and rendered great assistance to the governors of the country, and always furthered the imperial cause; himself living in great comfort and affluence.

When in the 3rd year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, Burhānpūr became by the shadow of the world-conquering standards an abode of peace and security, Jādū Rāo the wicked, out of ingratitude and thanklessness turned away from the path of submission to the threshold of the Caliphate, and with his sons and sons-in-law joined Nizām Shāh. As the latter knew that faithlessness was innate in this *bad-dhāt*, and that treacherous doings were part of his nature, he designed to get hold of him and to imprison him for a time. For this purpose he summoned him to his presence, and as the time of retribution for his disloyalty had arrived, he, in his ignorance, hastened to come with all his tribe. Suddenly a troop came out of ambush and proceeded to bind them. They did not yield, but drew their swords, and the two parties fought with one another. Jādū Rāo and his two sons Uchlā<sup>3</sup> and Rāghū, and his grandson and successor<sup>4</sup> (*jānashīn*) Īswant<sup>5</sup> (Baswant?) Rāi were killed. The remainder, along with Karjāyī<sup>6</sup> his (Jādū's) wife, who was the manager of his affairs, fled from Daulatābād to their own country Sindkhēr<sup>7</sup>, which is a pargana of Mahkar Berār near Jālnapūr—where Jādū Rāo had built a fort—and took protection there. Though Nizām Shāh tried to conciliate them, they did not give heed and turned, with a

<sup>1</sup> Kāith in *Bādshāhnāma*. Probably Kāith or Kāyath is the reading. See Wilson's glossary, under Jādon and Kāyastha.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Ujlā.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *jānashīn* is rhetorical, meaning only the continuers of the family.

<sup>5</sup> Baswant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently Girija, the mountain born, a name of Pārvatī.

<sup>7</sup> The Singhar of Elphinstone and Sindghar of Elliot, VII, p. 11, Singhar in *Cambridge History of India*, p. 267, note 1, and Singhad in Kincaid and Parassnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 25, the Singhar of *Imperial Gazetteer XXIII*, p. 12.

thousand expressions of penitence, to the imperial Court. Inasmuch as the forgiveness of offences is a trait of mighty princes, the great offences of the tribe were pardoned and they were received into service. A gracious order was issued to A'zam Khān, the governor of the Deccan, who was in the Balāghāt intent upon uprooting Khān Jahān Lōdī. He through the instrumentality of Danatjī<sup>1</sup>, who had been Jādū Rāo's manager, received them honourably, and decided upon suitable appointments for every one of them. Offices and gifts were issued to them from the Court to the value of Rs.1,30,000 for their expenses, and they received good *tankhwāhs* (assignments) in the Deccan, Berār, Khāndesh, and the estates of Jādū Rāo were restored to them. When they paid their respects at the Court, in the 4th year, Bahādūr, the son of Jādū Rāo<sup>2</sup>, received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and a flag and drums. Jagdeo the brother of Jādū Rao received the rank of 4,000 personalty and cavalry and a flag and drums, and Patang (?) Rāo was exalted by receiving the rank of 3,000 personalty and 1,500 cavalry which had formerly been held by his brother Iswant (or Baswant) Rāo who had been slain, and the grant of the title of Jādū Rāi, which had been his grandfather's. Bētūji was granted the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which had been the rank of his father Uchlā. In the 5th year Jagdeo Rāo died, and, when in the 8th year, Bahādūrji died, Datāji, his son, got the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. When he was killed<sup>3</sup> in Aurangzib's reign in a battle with the Mahrattas, when accompanying Dilēr Khān, his son was honoured by the title of Jagdeo Rāi and a high rank (*manṣab*). Afterwards, Mān Singh, one of his sons, took care, with a small force, of the defence of Aurangābād in the time of the government of Manṣūr Khān Rōzbahānī. He built a house upon the side of a tank (?). Another brother, Rāghū went to Jagdeo Rāi. Shāhūji<sup>4</sup> Bhōnslē, the father of the notorious Sivā (Shivājī) obtained a name in the Nizām Shāhī territories by becoming the son-in-law of Jādū Rāi, and since then there has been a connection<sup>5</sup> between the families. The sister<sup>6</sup> of the present Rāja Shāhūji was married to Jagdeo Rāo. He in the 6th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) was present at the battle<sup>7</sup> between Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh and Mubārīz Khān the governor of Haidarābād which took place at his fief of Shakarkhēra<sup>8</sup>. He left

<sup>1</sup> Dihētī in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 310, but the figures, etc., are slightly different. There Patang is Tilang and Bētū is Bēthū.

<sup>3</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 1009, 1010. Dilēr Khān was not killed.

<sup>4</sup> There is an account of Shivājī's descent in Scott's *History of the Deccan*, II. He was descended by his mother's side from the Rājputs of Udaipūr, though it was through the son of a concubine. See also Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-14; the names of the father and son are given there as Shāhajī and Shivājī Bhonsle.

<sup>5</sup> Text *in silsala rā pā darmiyān* evidently means that Jādū Rāo's family was connected with Shivājī's from the time of his father's marriage. The phrase *pā darmiyān bāshad* also occurs in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 777.

<sup>6</sup> There is the variant *khwāharāda*—sister's daughter.

<sup>7</sup> The battle was fought on 23rd Muharram, 1137 A.H. (11th October, 1724), *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 843. It is there stated that Shakarkhēra is sixty kos from Aurangābād. See also *Siyyar-i-Muta'akkhkhirīn*, I, p. 247, and Elliot, VII, p. 526.

<sup>8</sup> Shakarkhēlda in Berār, 20° 13' N., 76° 27' E., later named Fathkhēlda; for details of the battle see Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), II, pp. 144-150.

Āṣaf Jāh and joined Mubārīz Khān, and was killed in the melee. From that day no one of the family has held an office or an estate. His son Mān Singh, who is the sister's son of Rāja Singh, subsists, with his paternal uncle's sons in Sindkhār (or Sindkhēra) on the *zamindari* fees (*rasūm*) of *Sarkār* Daulatābād which was from old times associated with his ancestors, and on account of his attachment to his native country he does not leave it. At the present time, on account of straitened circumstances he has become helpless and gone away. This Sindkhēra is a pargana yielding thirty *krors* and belongs to Aurangābād and is in the *Sarkār* of Mahkar and the province of Berār. It was the real native country and the ancient residence of Jādū Rāo. Six or seven *kos* from the town (*gaṣba*) there is a village of the pargana which is known as Dēvalgāon Rāja. Jādū Rāo built a strong fort there and set himself to bring the place into cultivation. At this time also it has a large population while the town near it is lying waste.

(MŪ'TAMAN-UL-MULK) JA'FAR KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 751-755.)

Originally he was a Brahman boy. Hājī Shafī' of Iṣfabān bought him and called him Muḥammad Hādī, and brought him up like his own son. He accompanied Hājī Shafī' to Persia, but on the death of the latter he returned to the Deccan and became an inferior servant of Hājī 'Abdullāh of Khurāsān, who was the *Divān* of Berār. Afterwards he became a royal servant and in the reign of Aurangzib he obtained a suitable rank and the title of Kārtalab Khān (the labour-loving Khān), and was employed in the Deccan. For a time he was the *Divān* of Haidarābād. Afterwards<sup>1</sup> he became *Divān* of Bengāl in succession to Diyā Ullāh Khān, and received the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. When Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar proceeded towards Āgra to contend with his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, he sent Haidar Bēg with a force to Bengāl to collect the revenue. Murshid Qulī opposed him and defeated him. When Farrukh-siyar became Emperor, he appointed Rashīd Khān<sup>2</sup>, the brother of Afrāsiyāb Khān Mīrzā Ajmērī as the governor of Bengāl. A battle ensued and Rashīd Khān was killed. Murshid Qulī was enabled by Jagat Sēth Sāhū<sup>3</sup>, who was one of the wealthy men of the province, to expend lavishly and so he obtained the governorship, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and the title of Mū'taman-ul-Mulk 'Alā-ud-Daula Ja'far Khān Bahādur Asad Jang<sup>4</sup>. After ruling there

<sup>1</sup> In 1113 A.H., 1701 A.D., see Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 352. In *Riyād-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 252, Translation, p. 254, it is stated that he was previously the *Divān* of Orissa; this appears to be correct for in *Madhīr-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 483, it is also stated that Murshid Qulī was *Hāris* or Governor of Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> See *Riyād-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 268, Translation, p. 269. Rashīd Khān is stated to have been the elder brother of Afrāsiyāb Khān. Apparently he invaded Bengāl before Farrukh-siyar defeated Jahāndār Shāh. For Afrāsiyāb Khān, see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1898, p. 154, note 1; he was famous for his personal strength.

<sup>3</sup> سید in the text is a *lapsus calami* for سیاه.

<sup>4</sup> The text has the word *nāmwarī* after the titles. But it seems that this is a mistake for *Nasīrī*, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 157. *Nāmwarī* or fame would be without any meaning.

for many years he died in 1138<sup>1</sup> A.H. (1725-1926 A.D.). He founded Murshidābād. They say, he was a most accomplished Collector ('*Amal-dār*). He made a pit full of nastiness and gave it the name of *Baikunth*. In it he imprisoned the landholders. *Baikunth* is the Indian name for paradise, where, according to their belief, the righteous dead find a place.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, who was also called Mīrzā Deccanī. He was a Burhānpūr man and his father was Nūr-ud-Dīn, who belonged to the Afshār family, and one of his ancestors was 'Alī Yār Sultān, who in Shāh Tāhmāsp's time was the governor of Farāh near Khurāsān. Shujā'-ud-Dīn was for a time in charge of Īlkandal, which is a dependency of the province of Farkhandabunyād (Haidarābād). In the time of Ja'far Khān's governorship he was the governor of Orissa, and later proceeded rapidly to Murshidābād. From Muḥammad Shāh he received a high rank and the title of Mū'taman-ud-Daula Shujā'-ud-Daula Bahādur Asad Khān. He abolished *Baikunth* and released the landholders. He ruled for thirteen years and died in 1152 A.H.<sup>2</sup> The date of his death is *Ravnaq az Bangāla raft*: glory has departed from Bengāl (1152).

After him his son 'Alī-ud-Daula Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Haidar Jang, who was called Mīrzā Asad-ud-Dīn, succeeded him. After ten months he was killed in 1153 A.H. by 'Alivardī Khān, who had been promoted by his father. Murshid Qulī Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang was the brother-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān. His name was Luṭf Ullāh. His father Hāji Shukr Ullāh of Tabriz came to India and settled in Sūrat. Luṭf Ullāh was born there. When he reached the years of discretion, he studied the sciences, and went to Bengāl as a trader. Shujā'-ud-Daula perceived his merit and gave him his daughter in marriage. His first title was Luṭf 'Alī Khān and after Ja'far Khān's death he was given the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. At that time he was the governor of Orissa. When 'Alivardī Khān after the murder of Sarfarāz Khān went to that province, he collected a force and opposed him. He was defeated and went to the Deccan. In 1154 A.H. he returned<sup>3</sup> with a force to Orissa, and made Sa'id Muḥammad Khān son of Hāji Muḥammad the nephew of 'Alivardī Khān, who was the *Nā'ib* of Orissa, a prisoner. 'Alivardī Khān proceeded post haste to Orissa and defeated him. Then he returned to the Deccan. The Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur was kind to him, gave him a fief and made him his companion. He died in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.). He wrote poetry and his pen-name was Makhmūr. The following verse is by him:

<sup>1</sup> *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 287, gives 1139 as the date and has the chronogram "zi dāralkhīlāfat jidār āftād." The translator of the *Riyāḍ* (p. 285) has altered *jidār* into *jawār*. But the instruction in the text is to deduct *jidār* from *dāralkhīlāfat* to get the date of death, and this yields 1139 and agree with the statement that 1139 was the date of death. *Jawār* would give 1137. The translation of the chronogram would be: the wall of the Capital has fallen or the wall has fallen from the abode of the Caliphate.

<sup>2</sup> He really died on 13 Dhūl Hijja, 1151 A.H. or 24 March, 1739 A.D. See *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 307. If *z* is read in place of *az* the chronogram becomes correct.

<sup>3</sup> He did not return. It was his son-in-law Mīrzā Bāqir who did. See Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

## Verse.

Do not fancy that weaklings are unable to perform hard tasks,  
Because even a mountain can be painted by a brush<sup>1</sup> (painting  
brush).

His wife known as Mihmān Bēgam lived a long time. She died in Haidarābād in a house which her husband had bought. Her son Yahyā Khān was for a time governor of Khānpūra in Farkhundabunyād (Haidarābād). He left it a few years before this biography was written.

## JA'FAR KHĀN TAKLŪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 507-509.)

He was the son of Qazāq Khān whose father Muḥammad Khān Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ughlī was governor of Herāt and guardian of Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī at the time of Humāyūn's visit to Persia. The Shāh's *farmān*—which is a code of regulations for the polite and generous—was addressed to him in reference to the hospitality to be shown to Humāyūn. Sharaf-ud-Dīn behaved as was proper, and earned encomiums by performing fitting service in receiving so valued a guest. After his death Qazāq Khān became the guardian of the Mirzā, and the governor of Khurāsān, and growing presumptuous did not behave with proper respect to the Shāh. In 972 A.H., the Shāh sent an army against him under the command of Ma'sūm Bēg Ṣafavī—who was the *Vakil* of the kingdom. It chanced that at this time Qazāq Khān was attacked by dropsy, and his following dispersed. He was compelled to shut himself up with Sultān Muḥammad in the fort of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn. The Shāh's troops entered Herāt and Qazāq Khān was induced to surrender by agreements and premises. In that condition he died. His properties came into the possession of Ma'sūm Bēg. After this catastrophe, Ja'far Bēg—who for his straightforward nature and courage was held in respect by his father—took refuge with Akbar, and was favourably received. In 973 A.H. he was attached to Akbar's stirrups in the pursuit of Khān Zamān Shaibānī. After that, when 'Alī Qulī Khān's offences were condoned, on condition that so long as Akbar was in those parts he would not cross the Ganges, and Akbar went off to visit the fort of Chunār, Khān Zamān ignorantly and foolishly crossed the river. Akbar on receipt of this news made a rapid march against him, and Ja'far Bēg quickly came to Ghāzīpūr, and distinguished himself by taking hold of some boats which contained Khān Zamān's goods and chattels. He was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Khāma-i-mū'i* literally a pen of hair. The variant is *Khāna-i-mūr* which would mean the nest of an ant.

<sup>2</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd Edn.), p. 471, and *Akornāma*, Text II, p. 265, Beveridge's translation, p. 395. From the latter it appears that Khān Zamān's boats were not seized at Ghāzīpūr, but further on at Sarwār, and it does not seem that Ja'far Khān did anything special about them. Blochmann points out that Ja'far Khān afterwards served under Husain Tukriya in the siege of Nagarkōt. In *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's edition, Text II, p. 451, and translation II, p. 679, it is stated that Qazāq Khān (wrongly Qarāq Khān in the translation) was put to death, but his son Ja'far Khān died a natural death.



JA'FAR KHÂN 'UMDAT-UL-MULK.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 531-535.)

He was the son of Sādiq<sup>2</sup> Khān *Mīr Bakhs̄hī* and the sister's son and son-in-law (*khvāsh*) of Yāmin-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān. His wife was Farzāna<sup>3</sup> Bēgam commonly known as Bībī Jiu. From his early years he was an object of royal favour, and was always distinguished for devotion and good service. When his father died, the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) sent Aurangzib to condole with him, and having put his mind at rest in reference to royal favours to bring him and his brothers to the Court. When he appeared, he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse, and was raised to the position of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. Inasmuch as real kindness does not<sup>4</sup> require an occasion or a pretext, and a benevolent heart seeks for a subterfuge, the Emperor in the 7th year glorified Ja'far Khān's house by visiting it, and he became distinguished above his compeers. In the 10th year, Ja'far presented jewels and rare stuffs. Out of graciousness to a servant, goods to the value of one lac of rupees were received and he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse. After that he was, for some reason, a subject of censure for some days, but again became the recipient of boundless favours. In the 19th year, he was made governor of the Panjāb. In the end of the 20th year, he was raised to the office of *Mīr Bakhs̄hī* in succession to Khālil Ullāh Khān. In the 23rd year, on the death of Makramat Khān he was made governor of the province of Shāhjahanābād (Delhī), and, in the 24th year, he was appointed governor of the province of Thatha (Sindh) in succession to Sa'id Khān. In the 30th year, he came to the Court. When Mu'azzam Khān was removed from the high office of *Vazīr*, Ja'far Khān was exalted, in the 31st year, to the high office of the Chief Minister, and received the ornamented inkstand. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh when Aurangzib was encamped at Bāgh Nūr (near Āgra), Ja'far Khān, who had remained in Shāh Jahān's service, did homage along with the other royal servants. After the first enthronement<sup>5</sup>, which took place at Bāgh A'zābād, Delhī, Aurangzib proceeded towards the Panjāb in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, who to the end made vain efforts there, and the usual ceremonies of accession were put off till the second anniversary. Ja'far Khān was given the governorship of Mālwa, and by receiving an increase of 1,000 horse, both *dū-aspā* and *sih-aspā* (two-horse and three-horse troopers), his *manṣab* was raised to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. When Fāḍil Khān the chief *Divān* died in Kashmīr in the 6th year, an order was issued summoning Ja'far Khān. He on his way from Kashmīr paid his respects to the Emperor at Panīpat in 1074 A.H. and was made Grand *Vazīr*. As the house, which he had begun on the banks of the Jumnā, was now finished, the

<sup>1</sup> Styled Jumdat-ul-Mulk in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 729-731. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> Farzāna Bēgam was the sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the wife of Shāh Jahān.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that the negative in *namī khvāsh* is wrong, and that the meaning is that kindness looks for an occasion for extending favours.

<sup>5</sup> The first coronation took place in the Shālāmār Gardens at Delhī on 1st August, 1658, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 446.

King repeatedly honoured him in the 8th and 9th years by visiting him, and Ja'far Khān tendered rich and rare presents. In the 13th year, 1081 A.H. (1670 A.D.) he died<sup>1</sup> in Shāhjahānābād after a long and severe illness. During this time, Aurangzib twice visited him, once to inquire after his health, and the second time to condole with him. The Princes Muḥammad A'zam and Muḥammad Akbar were ordered to proceed to the house of his sons Nāmdār Khān and Kāmgar Khān to express regret and sympathy, and also to comfort their mother Farzāna Bēgam. A special robe of honour was given to each of the sons, and to their mother was sent a *tōra*<sup>2</sup> suitable to her condition. Afterwards Prince Muḥammad Akbar brought both brothers out of their mourning and presented them at the Court. Each received an ornamented dagger with pearl appendages, as well as various favours. Mourning robes were also sent to the other relatives.

Ja'far Khān was distinguished among the later officers for goodness and rightmindedness, and was conspicuous for his excellent manners, etc. Every one praised his highmindedness. They say, that he was very fond of expensive white cloth. The *Qāḍī* of Dhār<sup>3</sup> in the province of Mālwa—having heard of this—had fine cotton pieces specially prepared and embroidered carefully with flowers<sup>4</sup>, so that clothes (*thānhā*) worth fifty rupees were inferior to their linen finish (*gumaāh*). He then presented these as a rarity. He was called in to pay his respects, but Ja'far Khān frowned and said, "It is very coarse and had better be changed". The *Qāḍī* respectfully represented, "I ventured to tender these as<sup>5</sup> hangings for the doorways into the courtyard." Ja'far Khān was much pleased and ordered that these should replace the curtains.

Stories are also told of the exquisiteness of his powers of smell and his palate. They say that one day they brought a melon to him which was full of sweetness and flavour<sup>6</sup>. He was pleased and said: "I have never eaten a better melon than this one, but it has a fishy smell." On enquiry it was found that it was a melon from the Kōnkan, and that in that country they mix bits of fish with earth for manuring the melon-beds.

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 103. For an account of Ja'far Khān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 65-67. He was appointed *Vazīr A'zam* on 30th December, 1663, and died on 6th May, 1670.

<sup>2</sup> *Tōra* means regulation, and perhaps here means that suitable provision was made for her, *vide Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 103. Perhaps the word is the Hindūstāni *tōra* a purse, but more probably the passage means that clothes suitable for a widow were sent.

<sup>3</sup> Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, II, pp. 197, 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Jāmawār*—a flowered sheet or shawl, *vide* Steingass.

<sup>5</sup> *Bāb farsh chāndni*—Chāndni is a white cloth spread over a carpet, but Chāndni also means a canopy and the use of the word *bāb* seems to imply that the cloth was intended as a hanging or purdah for a doorway. The words in Ja'far Khān's remark are *sarf tawān kard* which presumably mean that you can change the present, or take it back. But there is the variant *sarf natawān shud* which would mean: I cannot use it, or, wear it, and imply that he thought the cloth was presented to him as wearing apparel or as a principal carpet. The *Qāḍī*'s reply was that he meant it merely as hangings over the doorways.

<sup>6</sup> See the story in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 234. The word there, and which is doubtless the correct one, is *sīgandag*—fragrance. The fishy smell was only detected at the time of eating. *Shikanandagi* in the text is not so appropriate, though it might refer to the softness of the melon.

JAGAN NĀTH.<sup>1</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 514-516.)

He was the son of Rāja Bihārā Mal of whom a separate account<sup>2</sup> has been given. The Rāja placed him with two of his nephews (brother's sons) as hostages with Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain, who during the time of his government of Ajmēr had set a price<sup>3</sup> on the Rāja's head. Afterwards when the Rāja obtained an introduction to Akbar and received glorious favours, Jagan Nāth, in view of repeated commands from the Emperor, was released from the hands of the Mirzā. After that he was recipient of boundless favours, and sometimes in attendance on the royal stirrups, and sometimes in company with his brother's son Kunwar Mān Singh performed valuable services. In the 21st year, when Rānā Pratāp the *Zamindār* of Mēwār confronted the royal army, some leading officers gave way, but Jagan Nāth stood firm and behaved bravely. Rām Dās the son of Jaimal, who was one of the noted foes, was killed by him. In the 23rd year he obtained a fief in the Panjāb and went off there. In the 25th year, when there were signs of Mirzā Hakīm's coming from Kābul to the Panjāb, and, an imperial expedition having been decided upon, a force was sent on in advance, Jagan Nāth also was appointed to this service. In the 29th year, he was appointed with a large force to chastise the Rānā who had become presumptuous, and his residence was plundered. After that he went to Kashmir with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān. When the affairs in that area were arranged, he came to the Presence and paid his respects. After that, in the 34th year, he was sent with Prince Murād to Kābul, and, in the 36th year, when Prince Murād was appointed to Mālwa, he accompanied him and achieved fame. After that, he accompanied the Prince to the Deccan. In the 43rd year<sup>4</sup>, he obtained leave from the Prince and went to his home. From there he came to the Court, but as he had come without orders he was for some time not granted an audience. When the Emperor returned from the Deccan, and halted at Rantambhōr, Jagan Nāth in obedience to summons arrived there in advance. As the fort was a part of his fief, one day when the Emperor was visiting it, he, according to the rules of devoted servants, scattered money, etc., and in consequence was more highly honoured. Afterwards he again went to the Deccan. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to accompany Prince Sultān Parvīz in the affair of the Rānā. When the Prince in consequence of Khusrāu's rebellion took Bāgha<sup>5</sup>, the Rānā's son, with

<sup>1</sup> In the text it is Jagnāth, but more correctly Jagan Nāth.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 111-113, Beveridge's translation, pp. 409-411.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 155, Beveridge's translation II, p. 241: the name of the Rāja is given there as Bihārī Mal. Probably the meaning is not that Sharaf-ud-Dīn set a price upon the Rāja's head, but that he levied a contribution upon him and took his son and nephews as hostages for the payment.

<sup>4</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 743, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1110.

<sup>5</sup> Bāgha or Bākha is mentioned in the *Bādshāhnāma* I, p. 173, and in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 74. He was apparently a younger son of Amar Singh Rāja of Udaipur and a grandson of the famous Pratāp. The Rāja offered him to Prince Parvīz as a hostage, but the latter refused and said he must either have the Rāja himself or his son Karan. But when the news of Khusrāu's rebellion was received, Parvīz had to content himself with Bāgha.

him and proceeded to Āgra, Jagan Nāth was left in the area with the whole of the army. In the same year he was appointed to put down Dalpat of Bikānīr who was creating a disturbance in Nāgōr. In the 4th year, he was made<sup>1</sup> a *Panjhazārī* with 3,000 horse, and his son Rām Chand<sup>2</sup> received the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and was sent to the Deccan. Rāja Manrūp, one of his sons, at the time of the confusion was attached to the stirrups of Shāh Jahān. After the accession of the latter he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and the gift of a flag and a horse with a silver (plated) saddle and an elephant, and Rs.25,00. In the 3rd year, he went with Rāja Gaj Singh to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and in the same year he died. His son Gopāl Singh<sup>3</sup> received a suitable rank.

(KUNWAR) JAGAT SINGH.

(Vol. III, pp. 149, 150.)

He was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, and was distinguished in Akbar's reign for leadership, and did good service. In the 42nd year, he was sent as an auxiliary to Mirzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān, who had been directed to chastise Rāja Bāsū the land-holder of Ma'u and Pathān, but could not succeed on account of the discord among the officers. In the 44th year, 1008 A.H., the King's standards were unfurled in the direction of Mālwa for the conquest of the Deccan, and Prince Sultān Salīm was sent to extirpate Rānā Amar Singh. Rāja Mān Singh, who had become tired of settling Bengāl and had come to the Court, was appointed to accompany the Prince. And the guardianship of the extensive province of Bengāl was entrusted to Jagat Singh as his father's deputy. He was still near Āgra and engaged in making preparations for his journey when he died suddenly in the prime of youth through excessive<sup>4</sup> drinking. The Kachwāha tribe was plunged into great grief, and Akbar out of his excessive kindness sent his young son Mahā Singh in his place. The sedition-mongers and some Afghāns—who had accepted service—took no notice of Mahā Singh on account of his youth and rose in rebellion. He, from inexperience, thought the affair an easy one and went forward to fight. In the township of Bhadrak (in Orissa) a hot engagement took place<sup>5</sup> in the 45th year, and the imperialists were defeated. The rebels took possession of some places. Rāja Mān Singh left the Prince and went quickly to Bengāl, and did great deeds in retrieval of the disaster. Mahā Singh, like his

<sup>1</sup> He was made a *Panjhazārī* by Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 786, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1178). This was in the 46th year. In the *Ā'in*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn.), p. 421, he is included among the commanders of 2,500.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann, *ibid.*, p. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Jagat Singh was addicted to drink, but Abūl Faḍl in recounting his death (*Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 763, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1141) does not ascribe his death to drinking. He died on 26 Mihr, 1008 A.H. (October, 1599 A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> The battle took place on 18 Ardibihisht, 1008 (May, 1600 A.D.). Mahā Singh was living in the 10th year of Jahāngīr, and his death is recorded in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 377, and it is stated there that both father and son died at the age of 32 and of drink.

father, became addicted to wine in his youth and brought disgrace to the family, and played away his sweet life for bitter liquor.

(RĀJA) JAGAT SINGH.

(Vol. II, pp. 238-241.)

He was the son of Rāja Bāsū. When his elder brother Rāja Sūraj Mal<sup>1</sup>, after his father's death, became an object of Jahāngīr's favour, he was granted the ancestral property. As Jagat Singh did not get on with his brother, he received a small office and went to Bengāl. In the 13th year, when Sūraj Mal behaved badly, the King hastily summoned Jagat Singh from Bengāl and gave him the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the title of Rāja, and Rs.20,000 as also a jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant, and sent him to Rāja Bikramājīt Sundar Dās, who was in active pursuit of Sūraj Mal. At the end of the reign of Jahāngīr, Jagat Singh had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in his rank, and, in the 7th year, when the King went to the Panjāb, he came and did homage. In the 8th year, after the return of the King from Kashmīr, he was appointed to the *thānādārī* of Lower Bangash and to the chastisement of the tribe of *Khang* who lived in that area. In the 10th year, he was removed and was made one of the Kābul auxiliaries. He did good service in arresting Karīm Dād son of Jalāla' Tārīki (Raushani). In the 11th year, when 'Alī Mardān *Khān* made over Qandahār to the imperial officers, and Sa'id *Khān* went off with the Kābul auxiliaries to put down the Persians who had come there, Jagat Singh was in the vanguard. He was sent to Zamīn Dāwar. He took the fort of Sārbān and proceeded to besiege Zamīn Dāwar. After taking it, he did good service in the siege of Bust. In the 12th year, when the Emperor was in residence at Lāhore, he came and did homage, and received a robe of honour, and a pearl necklace. In the same year he was made *faujdar* of Upper and Lower Bangash. In the 14th year, when he asked for the *faujdarī* of the *Dāman-i-kōh* of Kāngra in succession to his son Rājūr and the collection of the tributes of the hill Rājas with an offer of 4 lacs, his request was granted, and he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silver saddle. When he showed signs of rebelliousness, he was removed, and summoned to the Presence. As he delayed in coming, the King sent three armies under the commands of *Khān* Jahān Bārah, Sa'id *Khān* Zafī Jang, and Aṣṣālat *Khān*; while Prince Murād Baksh with another army was deputed in their support with a view to taking Ma'u and Nūrgarh, and Tārāgarh, which were strong forts of the territory. At that time he had worked hard in strengthening them. Jagat Singh did his utmost in contending with the royal forces.

When Ma'u and Nūrpūr came into the hands of the imperialists, and Tārāgrah was nearly lost, he was obliged to apply to the Prince for pardon through Saiyid *Khān* Jahān. After his pardon came from the King, and he agreed to demolish Tārāgarh and Ma'u, he, in the 15th year, came to the Court with his sons with *fauṭas* (tunics) round their necks and did homage. The King forgave him and confirmed him in his former

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 283.

rank. In the same year he went to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shikōh. He was entrusted with the fort of Qalāt in the province of Qandahār. In the 17th year, when Sa'id Khān Zafar Jang became the governor of the province, and as there was not a good understanding between him and the Rāja, he was removed from Qalāt. In the 18th year, he received a robe of honour and a sword with golden and enamelled armour and a horse with a silver saddle and was sent to assist the Amir-ul-Umarā in the taking of Badakhshān. He, out of his zeal, put a larger contingent than his rank required, and was made happy by receiving their pay from government and entered Badakhshān by the route of Tūl. When the men of Khōst submitted and came to see him, he, at their advice, built a strong fort of timber between Sarāb and Andarāb, and fought three times with the Ūzbegs and Almānān, whom Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh had sent, and put them to flight. Having put a strong thāna in the above-mentioned fort, he returned to Peshāwar. In the 19th year, corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died there<sup>1</sup>. Shāh Jahān comforted his son Rājūr—of whom a separate account<sup>2</sup> has been given.

## JAGMĀL.

(Vol. I, pp. 510, 511.)

He was the younger brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal<sup>3</sup>. When the Rāja attained success through good fortune, every one of his relatives achieved relative degrees of success; Jagmāl became, in the 8th year, the guardian of the fort of Mīrtha. In the 18th year, when Akbar made a rapid expedition to Gujarāt, Jagmāl was put in charge of the great camp, and obtained the rank of 1,000. His son Khangār<sup>4</sup>, who was living in Āgra with his uncle Rāja Bihārā Mal, was sent by the Rāja to Delhi at the time of the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā. In the 18th year, before the royal expedition to Gujarāt, he (i.e. Khangār) got leave and joined the royal camp in Pattan. In the 21st year, he went with Kunwar Mān Singh to punish Rānā Pratāp, and afterwards was appointed to Bengāl, and in company with Shāhbāz Khān distinguished himself in the King's service. When Shāhbāz Khān retreated without achieving success from Bhāti (Lower Eastern Bengal) and took the route to Tānda, Khangār<sup>5</sup> on the march with some others fell in with a body of rebels who were returning from plundering, and a battle ensued between them. On this occasion Naurūz Bēg Qāqshāl, one of the rebels, was killed, and the others fled.

## JAGRĀJ, also known as BIKRAMĀJIT.

(Vol. I, pp. 526, 527.)

He was the son of Rāja Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse.

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 481.<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 277–281.<sup>3</sup> Also written Bihārī Mal, see note 3, p. 724.<sup>4</sup> So also *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 439, Beveridge's translation III, p. 660.<sup>5</sup> See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 660, note 1, in reference to the construction and meaning of the sentence.

When a year later Khān Jahān Lōdī fled from Āgra and travelling by unknown paths in the Bundēla country came to Dēogarh and so entered <sup>1</sup> the territories of the Nizām-ul-Mulk, and the imperial troops—which had been deputed to follow him—failed to follow, the Emperor began to suspect that Khān Jahān's easy passage through (his country) and the failure of the royal forces in following up, were the results of the guidance and misdirection of Jagrāj. In the 4th year, when Khān Jahān Lōdī hastened to Mālwa from the Deccan in company with Daryā Khān Rōhila, and in great confusion entered the Bundēla territory, with the intention of proceeding to Kālpī, Jagrāj, to make amends for his disgrace, and to obliterate his father's shame, girded up his loins and pursued him. He reached the rear-guard, which was commanded by Daryā Khān, and a battle ensued. During the course of the fighting a bullet struck Daryā Khān and he was killed. The Bundēla men thought Daryā Khān was Khān Jahān and fell upon the body, and Bikramājīt cut off the head and started for the Court. The past was atoned for, and, as a reward, he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse <sup>2</sup> and the title of Jagrāj and the gift of a robe of honour, an ornamented sword as also a flag, and drums. Afterwards he came to the Deccan as a substitute for his father, and, in company with Khān-Khānān and Khān Zamān, did great deeds in battles, sometimes on the right wing and sometimes in the rear-guard. He also hazarded his life in the sieges of Daulatābād and Parēnda in defending the batteries and in single combats. In the 8th year, he went home on receiving a letter from his father who was in disgrace with the Emperor on account of the killing <sup>3</sup> of Bhīm Narāyan the *Zamīndār* of Chūrāgarh. When Khān Daurān the governor of Burhānpūr heard of his flight, he hastened after him with a body of troops, and killed some. Jagrāj was wounded, but went off by unknown paths and joined his father. After the royal forces came up, he and his father fled, but he was killed in 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.) under circumstances stated in the account of Jujhār Singh. Durjan Sāl, his son, was made prisoner at the time of the pursuit.

#### JAHĀNGIR QULI KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 512-514.)

His name was Lāla Bēg Kābulī. He was one of the slave-born servants of Mirzā Hakīm. His father Nizām Qalmāq was the lamp-lighter (*chirāghchī*) of the Mirzā's banquets. Lāla Bēg became a favourite with the Mirzā on account of his zeal, and did good service. When the Mirzā died, he entered the service of Akbar who made him over to the Prince-Royal Sulṭān Salīm. As he had a high spirit and did good work, the Prince favoured him and gave him the title of Bāz Bahādūr. In a few days he became the owner of drums and an equipage. When the Prince succeeded to the throne, he was raised to the high rank of 5,000 and received the title of Jahāngir Quli Khān, and the governorship

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> Jujhār Singh put Bhīm, or Pim Narāyan to death after inducing him to come out of Chūrāgarh, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 95. The story is also told in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 214-218, in the notice of Rāja Jujhār Singh Bundēla.

of Patna and Bihār. When a royal order was passed that whichever of the fiefholders in the province should be disobedient to Jahāngir Qulī, might be slain by the latter, the prestige and power of Jahāngir Qulī became impressed on people's hearts. Rāja Sangrām<sup>1</sup>, the landholder of Kharakpūr—who was one of the greatest landholders in that area, and who from Akbar's time had always been on good terms and obedient to the imperial officers, so much so that Rāja Tōdar Mal made him his adopted son—could not brook Jahāngir Qulī's sway and prepared for war. The latter marched against him with a suitable force and after a hard contest Sangrām was wounded by a bullet and killed, and the Khān triumphed. In the 2nd year, 1016 A.H., on the death of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, who was slain at the hands of Shēr Afgan Istājilū (Nūr Jahān's first husband), Jahāngir Qulī was raised to the high office of the governorship of Bengāl. After his arrival there, he made various administrative arrangements, but had<sup>2</sup> not made much progress when the army of death attacked him. He died in the 3rd year, 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). He was famous for his firm belief in the Faith and his worship of the truth, and strove hard to obtain spiritual rewards. He employed one hundred Hāfiz who, whether he was travelling or halting, finished several readings of the holy Qur'ān, and gave him the merit accruing therefrom. He too recited many prayers and passages of the Qur'ān. But with all this devotion and piety he was hard of heart. He possessed neither a soft heart nor pity. In the very time of his prayers and rosaries he did not refrain from making signals for the scourgings and hangings of guilty persons. He had a hundred trumpeters in his service who, whenever there was a fight<sup>3</sup>, sounded all their trumpets at once and thus clove the gall-bladders of rustics and villagers. He also had one hundred Kashmir pellet-bowmen, who were so expert that a bird could not fly over their heads without being struck by a pellet.

#### JAHĀNGIR QULI KHĀN<sup>4</sup>.

(Vol. I, pp. 524, 525.)

He was Shams-ud-Dīn known as Mirzā Shamsī and the eldest son of the Khān A'zam Mirzā 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh. During the time when Mirzā Kōka was the governor of Gujarāt, he, on account of suspicions of long standing, embarked in the ship Ilāhi at the port of Balāwal<sup>5</sup>, which is near Sōmnāt (Sōmnāth) and went off to the Hijāz; he took with him his sons and household, with the exceptions of Shamsī and Shādmān. Akbar, out of his unbounded graciousness, raised Shams-ud-Dīn to the rank of 1,000, and, as he was distinguished from his brothers by wisdom and prudence and other excellent qualities, he was always in favour

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 494, note 2, for an account of his life.

<sup>2</sup> *Pardākhta*, but apparently the variant *na pardākhta* is right. He had not arranged matters when he died. His rule in Bengāl only lasted for a year and some months, vide *Riyāq-us-Salāfin*, Text, p. 174, Translation, pp. 172, 173.

<sup>3</sup> There are references to Jahāngir Qulī in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngirī*, p. 33, and *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 144, 153, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 499.

<sup>5</sup> See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 345, for further details, and *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 638, and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 979-981.



from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān and lived a good life with a good name. During Akbar's time he attained the rank of 2,000. When in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign the province of Gujarāt was taken from Murtaḍā Khān Bokhārī (Shaikh Farid) and given in fief to the Khān A'zam, and as the Emperor was somewhat put out (*andakī kabīdagī dāshī*) with the Khān, and did not trust him on account of his being a partizan of Khusrāu, he resolved that the Khān should remain at the Court, and that Jahāngīr Qulī Khān—who was an honest house-born servant and one of good discretion in whom he had full confidence—should manage the province as his father's deputy.

It is notorious that Mirzā Kōka could not control his tongue, and that he was wont to use extravagant language. Especially, he could not restrain himself when he was angry, so that he would not respect even the presence of the King. One day it so happened that Jahāngīr said to Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, "Will you stand surety for your father?" Jahāngīr Qulī replied, "I will be surety for his life and property, but I cannot be responsible for his tongue." After that he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and received the government of Jaunpūr. At the same time Prince Shāh Jahān took possession of Bengāl and proceeded towards Patna. 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang went off to Allāhābād as a vanguard, along with Rāja Bhīm. When he came to the Chausa ferry, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān perceived that resistance was beyond his power, and proceeded hastily from Jaunpūr and joined at Allāhābād Mirzā Rustam Ṣafavī, the governor of the area. Later he was put in charge of Allāhābād<sup>1</sup>, and on the accession of Shāh Jahān, though he was removed from Allāhābād he was kept in his former rank. In succession to Bēglar Khān, the son of Sa'id Khān, he was made governor of Sōrath and Jūnāgarh. In the 5th year, 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.), he died there. Shāh Jahān out of kindness to a house-born servant (*Khānazād*) raised his son and heir Bahrām<sup>2</sup> to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed him in the room of his father. He was a brave and capable young man, and founded Bahrāmpūra in Gujarāt after his own name.

(RĀJA) JAI RĀM BADGŪJAR.

(Vol. II, pp. 241, 242.)

He was the son of Rāja Anūp Singh<sup>3</sup>, who was also known as Anī Rāi Singhdīlan. During the lifetime of his father, he<sup>4</sup> was honoured with a *manṣab* and appointed to various offices. After his (father's) death in the 11th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān he was granted a *Khī'at*, the title of Rāja, and the rank, substantive and with increments,

<sup>1</sup> Kōwal Rām says he was made governor of Bihār in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign and was removed in the 14th year on the ground that his collectors oppressed the ryots. After that he was appointed to the Deccan.

<sup>2</sup> Bahrām died in the 18th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 733.

<sup>3</sup> For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 220-223, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 261-263.

<sup>4</sup> Details of the increases in rank and his exploits are based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, II.

of 1,000 with 800 horse. In the 12th year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse. In the 13th year, he was sent in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh, who was first appointed to Bhēra, but later ordered to Kābul. In the 14th year, he again accompanied the same Prince to Kābul. In the 19th year, his rank was advanced by 1,500 and 500 horse, and he was sent on the expedition for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān with Prince Murād Bakhsh. And after Balkh was taken, he was deputed with Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān for the pursuit of Nadhār Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh. In the 20th year, he by successive degrees attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. In the neighbourhood of Balkh he performed valiant deeds in connection with the chastisement of Ūzbegs and Almānān. In the 21st year, corresponding to 1057 A.H. (1647 A.H.), he died there. The Emperor, on receipt of this news, exalted his son by granting him the title of Rāja and increase of *manṣab*, and thereby raised his position amongst his equals.

(MIRZĀ RĀJA) JAI SINGH<sup>1</sup> KACHWĀHA.

(Vol. III, pp. 568-577.)

He was the son of Rāja Mahā Singh. When his father died, he, in obedience to the summons, came to wait upon Jahāngīr, and, in the 12th year, at the age of twelve received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the gift of an elephant. Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan along with Sulṭān Parviz. He gradually received promotion and rose to a high rank. After Jahāngīr's death, as Khān Jahān Lōdī, the governor of the Deccan, was becoming rebellious and had gone to Mālwa, Jai Singh who, owing to his helplessness, had kept on good terms with him, went off to his home from Ajmēr on hearing that Shāh Jahān was coming. From there he came to the Court in the year of the accession (1628 A.D.) and received an increase of 500 horse and had the rank<sup>2</sup> of 4,000 with 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. Together with Qāsim Khān Juvainī he was sent off to chastise the sedition-mongers<sup>3</sup> of Mahābān which is a pargana in the Sarkār of Āgra, and returned after inflicting suitable punishment. When in the same year, Nadhār Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, stirred up strife and came to Kābul and besieged the city, and Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān was deputed to punish him, Jai Singh was sent with him. In the 2nd year, he was sent with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 3rd year, he was sent with Shāyista Khān to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of the Nizām-ul-Mulk; he was granted<sup>4</sup> an increase of 1,000 horse and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. When Khān Jahān Bārah was summoned to the Court on account of illness, the vanguard of A'zam Khān's forces was entrusted to Jai Singh. He did good service

<sup>1</sup> He was a great-grandson of Mān Singh. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 145. His father died at the age of 32 at Bālāpūr in Berār, vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 196 and pp. 204, 205.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 296.

in the battle of Bhātūrī<sup>1</sup>, and in the attack, upon the *pettah* (suburb) and town of Parēnda<sup>2</sup>. In the 4th year, he served along with Yamin-ud-Daula, who had been directed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh; he was stationed in the left wing of the reserve. He came with him afterwards and did homage. Afterwards he had leave to go to his home. In the 6th year, he came to the Court and on the day of the elephant fights when an elephant attacked Aurangzib, the Rāja spurred his horse against it and flung his spear from the right side<sup>3</sup>. At the end of the same year he was sent off with Sultān Shujā' to the Deccan. In the 7th year, he was appointed with Khān Zamān to ravage the crops<sup>4</sup> and to take Parēnda. During the siege of this fort and in bringing in forage there were constant fights with the enemy and the Rāja stood firm and did good service. When in the 8th year, the *Šūbadārī* of the Bālāghāt, which is another name for the *Sarkārs* of Daulatābād, Ahmadnagar, etc., was made over to the Khān Zamān, Jai Singh was appointed to assist him. In the same year, he had an increase of 1,000 and his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. Afterwards he came to the Court and did homage. In the 9th year, he was sent off with Khān Daurān Bahādūr to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle. In the 10th year he came to the Court, and, as he had done good service in the Deccan, the King gave him a robe of honour and leave to go to his country of Amber so that he might rest for a while. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and was attached to Sultān Shujā' who, after 'Alī Mardān Khān had made over Qandahār, and as there was a likelihood of Shāh Šafrī's coming, had been sent off there. In the 12th year he was summoned to the Court, and received a pearl necklace and an elephant and the title<sup>5</sup> of Mirzā Rāja. In the 13th year he had leave to go to his home. In the 14th year he was appointed to Kābul in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhs, and, in the following year he was sent with Sa'id Khān to take the fort of Ma'u which belonged to the rebel Rāja Jagat Singh, the son of Rāja Bāsū. When he reached there and the siege was protracted, and an order was given for taking<sup>6</sup> active measures, Rāja Jai Singh behaved better than the others. As a reward he received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse. The custody of the fort was entrusted to him. Afterwards, when Rāja Jagat Singh's sins were purged, Rāja Jai Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant, and went to Qandahār along with Prince Dārā Šikōh. In the 16th year he came to the Court, and was then allowed to go home. In

<sup>1</sup> In the Ahmadnagar territory. There was battle there in the 19th year of Jahāngir, see *Maithir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 518, but this cannot be the one now referred to. Apparently the word Bhātūrī must be wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 357. Elliot, VII, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 492, it is stated that Jai Singh's horse would not face the elephant and so Jai Singh had to attack from the right flank.

<sup>4</sup> There does not appear to be any fort of the name of Kār, and it seems that the idea was to ravage the crops. The expedition referred to is described in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 35, 36. It is there referred to the 6th year.

<sup>5</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 145, where it is stated that Jai Singh's great-grandfather Mān Singh had this title from Akbar.

<sup>6</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 271.

the 17th year he, in Ajmēr, produced before the King 5,000 horse of his own troops. In the 18th year, when the government of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Daurān, and he was summoned to the Court to receive instructions, Rāja Jai Singh was directed to proceed to the Deccan and to guard that country till Khān Daurān arrived.

When Khān Daurān died at Lāhōre a confirmatory robe of honour was sent to the Rāja, and in the 20th year he was summoned to the Court. After that he was attached to Prince Aurangzīb on the Balkh expedition. When in accordance with orders that province was made over to Nadhar Muhammad Khān, the Rāja had charge of the left wing during the return journey. In the 2nd year his contingent was increased by 1,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and his rank raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and he went with Prince Aurangzīb on the Qandahār expedition. The right wing was assigned to him. When Qandahār was not taken, and Prince Aurangzīb was summoned to the Court, Jai Singh came with him in the 23rd year. In the end of the same year he had leave to go home and was appointed<sup>1</sup> to chastise the turbulent men of Kāmān Pahārī which is between Āgra and Delhi. When it was reported that after going home the Rāja had collected nearly 4,000 horse and 6,000 musketeers and archers, and gone to the pargana in question and after cutting down the jungle had killed and made prisoners of many of the rebels and had got possession of much cattle, 1,000 more of his troops were made two-horse and three-horse and his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 4,000 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and pargana Hāl Kaliyāna (Chāl Kalānah) of which the revenue was 70 lacs of *dāms*, was assigned for their support. In the 25th year he came to the Court, and was attached to Prince Aurangzīb for the Qandahār expedition, and had charge of the vanguard. He received a special robe of honour and a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the royal stables.

When the taking of Qandahār was delayed, Jai Singh waited on the King at Kābul in the 26th year, and in the same year was attached to Sultān Sulaimān Shikōh who had charge of Kābul. Afterwards he was attached to Prince Dārā Shikōh for the Qandahār expedition, and when that was unsuccessful, he came to the Court and took leave to go home. In the 28th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān the Jumlat-ul-Mulk was appointed to demolish the fort of Chittōr, and Jai Singh accompanied him. In the 31st year, when there was a report of Sultān Shujā's having gone astray and of his having laid hold of many of the exchequer-lands, Jai Singh was sent as a guardian of Sulaimān Shikōh to oppose Sultān Shujā, and had an increase of 4,000 horse and 1,000 two-horse and three-horse. After Sultān Shujā was defeated, he was promoted, in his absence at the instance of Prince Dārā Shikōh, to 7,000 with 7,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and in accordance with the orders of the Prince started for the Court. When Aurangzīb's army moved

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 701, says that in the 24th year the Rāja's son Kēsari Singh was appointed to chastise the Mēwātīs and that pargana Kāmān Pahārī was given to him as a reward. See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 156-158, for an account of Kēsari Singh who is there called Kirat Singh. Kāmān and Pahārī are mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'im*, II, p. 195. The pargana Hāl Kaliyāna of text should be Chāl Kalānah, see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

from the Deccan, and after defeating Dārā Shikōh and Jaswant Singh came to Āgra and from there advanced to Delhī, Jai Singh left Sulaimān Shikōh prudently (*shēr fikrī*<sup>1</sup>?) and entered Aurangzib's service. He was rewarded by an estate worth a krór of *dāms*, and in the 1st year of Aurangzib's reign was sent off to support Khalīl Ullāh Khān who had gone in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh.

When Dārā Shikōh proceeded to Multān, Jai Singh halted, according to orders, at Lāhōre, and waited on the King. As he had long been absent from home and had undergone the fatigues of successive campaigns, he received permission to go home. After the battle with Shujā' he came to the Court, and did good service in the battle with Dārā Shikōh near Ajmēr. Later he was appointed with a force to pursue Dārā Shikōh and, in the 4th year he received an estate with a revenue of a krór of *dāms*. In the 7th year, he was appointed to chastise Sivā (Shivājī) Bhōnsle who was behaving presumptuously and practising highway robbery on account of his possession of strong forts, such as Pūrinḍhar (Pūrandhar), which he had held from the time of the Nizām-Shāhīs, and was also associated with the sea-pirates. He besieged Pūrinḍhar and so pressed Sivā that he became alarmed and came to interview the Rāja. He took 23 forts and when this news reached the Emperor, he was granted an increase of 2,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and his rank became 7,000 with 7,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers. In the 8th year, he was appointed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh who had delayed to pay the fixed tribute. He advanced as far as Bijāpūr and took possession of many places. When there was a scarcity of corn he turned back and entered the royal domains. He had frequent encounters with the Deccanī troops who fought in a guerilla-fashion. The Rāja personally exerted himself and fought bravely and discreetly. When the rainy season arrived, and an order was received to encamp at Aurangābād, he came there and was summoned from thence to the Presence. In the 10th year, 1077 A.H., he died<sup>2</sup> at Burhānpūr. He was famed for his good judgment and powers of administration and he was also fully conversant with military technique. He had much tact, and it was due to this fact that from the beginning of his career to the end of his life he lived with a good reputation and continually got promotions. His sons were Rāja Rām Singh and Kīrat Singh, separate accounts of both of whom have been given<sup>3</sup>. There is an area outside of Aurangābād and to its west which is named after him<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Shēr fikrī* is a mistake for *sair fikrī*, see *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 769, 4th line from bottom, where the words *sair fikrī* occur and appear to mean prudent. The expression is not given in any of the dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Maāthīr-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 62, he died on 28 Muḥarram, 1078 A.H. (20 July, 1667 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 301-303 and Text III, pp. 156-158.

<sup>4</sup> According to *Rajputana Gazetteer*, II, p. 136, Jai Singh the 1st was poisoned by one of his sons. On the same page there is an account of Jai Singh II, i.e. Jai Singh Sawā'ī, the astronomer, who was MīrẪ Rāja Jai Singh's great great-grandson.

The notice hardly does justice to MīrẪ Rāja. It was he who secured Shivājī and sent him to Aurangzib. Manucci was in the service of Jai Singh, and has a good deal to say about him, see vol. II, p. 120 *et seq.* At p. 152 he repeats the fable about Jai Singh's having been poisoned; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 129.

(DHIRĀJ<sup>1</sup> RĀJA) JAI SINGH SAWĀ'Ī.

(Vol. II, pp. 81-83.)

His father was Bishan Singh the great-grandson of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. His name was Bijai Singh. After his father's death, Aurangzib, in the 44th year of his reign, gave him the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Rāja Jai Singh, while his brother was called Bijai Singh. In the 45th year, he was appointed to accompany Asad Khān in taking the fort of Sakharun-nā alias Khalnā. In taking this fort, he, on the day of the assault, distinguished himself, and in reward he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. After Aurangzib's death he came to Upper India from the Deccan along with Muhammad A'zam Bakhsh, and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he was on the left wing of the reserve. They say, that on the same day he entered the army of Bahādur Shāh. On this account he lost respect in the eyes of the people. His brother Bijai Singh, who had chosen Bahādur Shāh's side was raised to the rank of 3,000 and disputed with him the possession of Amber. The King, who liked to please everybody, and did not want to dishearten anyone, connscated Amber and appointed Saiyid Husain Khān Bārah as its *faujdar*. When he went to the Deccan to encounter Kām Bakhsh, Jai Singh left him on the march on a pretext of hunting, and taking with him his necessaries and leaving his tents and porters went off with Rāja Ajit Singh to his native country. There he had a dispute with Husain Khān Bārah and fought several battles. At last the Khān was killed. When Bahādur Shāh returned from the Deccan, Jai Singh made the Khān-Khānān his intercessor and waited upon Bahādur Shāh on the march. He obtained leave on the promise that after two months he would present himself. In the time of Farrukh-siyar he got the title of Dhirāj, and in the 5th year, he was appointed to chastise Chūrāman Jāt<sup>2</sup>. Afterwards, Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, the maternal uncle of Qutb-ul-Mulk and Husain 'Alī (the Bārah Saiyids), was appointed to this service with a separate army. The affair of Chūrāman was disposed of by the intervention of Saiyid Khān Jahān, and Chūrāman waited upon the King. In this matter the Rāja was not consulted, and though he kept quiet, he was displeased, and as he took the King's side, the Saiyids became annoyed and disliked him. In the end of the reign, when he was at the Court, the Saiyids were at pains to conciliate him, and he, thinking the opportunity a good one, went to Amber in accordance with orders. In the affair of Nēkū-siyar he was suspected of siding with the latter, but at last he reconciled himself with the Saiyids. Afterwards when the affairs of the Saiyids fell into confusion, this feeling did not remain and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign he came to the Court and received various favours<sup>3</sup>. Afterwards, he was appointed to proceed against Chūrāman Jāt, and engaged himself in turning him out and in taking his *thānas*. In 1145 A.H. he was appointed governor of Mālwa in succession to Muḥammad Khān Bangash, and in 1148 A.H., at his request the province in question was, through the

<sup>1</sup> Properly Adhirāj, i.e. Supreme Rāja. Sawā'ī in Text is Sēwā'ī.<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 540-548, Beveridge's translation, pp. 436-442.<sup>3</sup> Beale states that he received the title of Sawā'ī from Muḥammad Shāh.

intervention of Khān Daurān, made over to Bājī Rāo Mahratta. He lived for a long time and then died (in 1743 A.D.).

They say, he was full of plans, and was acquainted with mathematics. Near Amber he built a new city and called it Jainagar (Jaipur). It is remarkable for the goodness of its shops, and the width of its streets. Outside of the city and also near Delhi, he at great expense built observatories<sup>1</sup>. As thirty years were required for the completion of observations—this being the period of the orbit of Saturn—and as the lamp of his life was extinguished before that, his observations remained incomplete. He was succeeded by his son Ishwar Singh. After him, in the time of his son Prithi Singh some estates were taken possession of by the Mahrattas, and some imperial properties also fell into their hands. At the time of writing Partāb Singh, the brother of Prithi Singh, is in possession of the territories.

#### JALĀL KĀKAR.<sup>2</sup>

(Vol. I, pp. 530, 531.)

He was the second son of Dilāwar Khān. He was appointed to the province of Kābul. Up to the end of Jahāngīr's reign, he held the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. On the accession of Shāh Jahān he received an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 3rd year, he along with Sa'id Khān did good service in the affair<sup>3</sup> of Kamāl-ud-Dīn, the son of Rukn-ud-Dīn Rōhila. In the 12th year, when the Capital was adorned by the presence of the Emperor, he received a robe of honour and the office of *faujdar* of Jammū in succession to Shāh Qulī Khān. In the 13th year, when Sulṭān Murād Baksh was appointed with a force to remain at Bhēra, he was made one of the Prince's officers. In the 14th year, he was granted an increase of 300 horse and the present of a horse, and was appointed to the auxiliary forces of the Deccan. In the 18th year, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. After spending a long time in the Deccan, he, in the 30th year, went off with Mirzā Khān Manūchehr to realise the balance of the tribute of Kōknā the *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh<sup>4</sup>. Later, at the request of Sulṭān Aurangzib Bahādur he was made *faujdar* and fiefholder of Naṣirābād<sup>5</sup>, etc., in Khāndēsh. After Aurangzib's accession, he, in the 4th year, attained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made *faujdar* of Hōshangābād in Mālwa.

<sup>1</sup> He also built an observatory at Mathurā, but the buildings have been pulled down; see Grouse, *Mathura*, p. 141. There is an account of Jai Singh's astronomical work in *Asiat. Researches* V, p. 177 *et seq.*, by Dr. W. Hunter. Tieffenthaler, I, p. 307, mentions that Jai Singh sent for Father Boudier from Bengal in 1733, and in 1736 Father Antony Gabelsperguer and Andrew Strobl from Germany, paying them their expenses. On p. 366, Tieffenthaler gives a pedigree of the Jaipur family from Beshan (Vishnu?) and Brahma down to Siwai Jai Singh who was No. 119 in descent.

<sup>2</sup> An Afghān tribe.

<sup>3</sup> It was an attempt of the Afghān tribes to take Peshāwar; see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> In Mālwa: vide Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

## JALĀL KHĀN QŪRCHĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 509, 510.)

He was an unrivalled companion and an intimate courtier of Akbar. He held the rank of 500. In the 5th<sup>1</sup> year he was sent to bring Tānsēn Kalānwat who in reciting poetry and in singing (*Dōharpad*<sup>2</sup>) was at the head of the cognoscenti of the art of music, and who was at the Court of Rām Chand Baghēla, the Rāja of Bhath. Jalāl Khān took with him a letter to the Rāja, and the latter sent Tānsēn along with presents. In the 11th year, when it was reported, that Jalāl Khān was infatuated with a beautiful youth, the Emperor was displeased and took away the youth from him. Jalāl Khān became quite excited and ran away at night taking the youth with him. When this was reported, Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Radāvī was sent after him with a body of troops, and he was brought back. For a long time he was kept in the *Jilaukhāna*<sup>3</sup> and subjected to the kicks of high and low. After that he was received into favour again. In all expeditions he was attached to Akbar's stirrups, and afterwards was sent off to assist the force that was employed in taking the fort of Siwāna in Ajmēr. In the 20th year he came there and did good service. Chandar Sēn the Rāja of Mārwar retired in order to escape from the imperial forces. At this time a man came forward, and represented himself as Dēvī Dās who had been slaughtered in the battle with Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain near Mirtha in Ajmēr. He wished through the Khān's instrumentality to be introduced at the Court. As at that time search was being made everywhere for Chandar Sēn this impostor one day represented that Chandar Sēn was hidden in the *jāgīr* of Kalā, the son of Rām Rāi and his (i.e. Chandar's) brother's son. Accordingly a force was sent against Kalā. Kalā denied this and arranged with Shimāl Khān Qūrchī to put an end to the impostor. He (i.e. Shimāl Khān), brought the impostor one day to his house and was preparing to arrest him. He by the strength of his arms escaped, and then, having revenge in his heart, one day, mistaking Jalāl Khān's quarters for Shimāl Khān's attacked him with some others. Jalāl Khān though unprepared fought bravely, but was killed in the year 983<sup>4</sup> A.H. (November, 1575 A.D.).

(MĪR SAIYID) JALĀL ŠADE.

(Vol. III, pp. 447-451.)

He was the direct heir of Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Bokhārī Radāvī, who was separated by five generations from Shāh 'Ālam<sup>5</sup>, who is buried in Rasūlābād in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. Shāh 'Ālam was

<sup>1</sup> But it was in the 7th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 181, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 279, 280.

<sup>2</sup> Properly *Dhurspad*, derived from the Sanskrit *Dhruvapada*, see Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, III, p. 251, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For *Jilaukhāna*, see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 404, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 159 and Beveridge's translation III, p. 225, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 491. Jalāl Khān was Badāyūnī's patron and introduced him at the Court. He is mentioned in a letter of Faizī as having introduced Badāyūnī as a suitable person to be made an Imām (leader in prayers), vide *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, III, p. 372. Also *Khazina-i-Aḡfiyā*, II, p. 70.



born on 20 Jumāda II, 817 A.H. (6 September, 1414 A.D.) and died in 880 A.H. (1475 A.D.). He obtained initiation from his father Qutb 'Ālam who was a grandson of Saiyid Jalāl Maḥbūdūm Jahāniyān. On account of a quarrel with the governor of Ūch and by the orders of his father and teacher Shāh Maḥmūd, he (Qutb 'Ālam) in the time of Sultān Maḥmūd (Bēgarha) who was separated by two generations from Sultān Muzaḥfar of Gujarāt, came to that country and settled in Batōh (Batwa) three *kos* from Aḥmadābād. He died<sup>1</sup> in 857 A.H. (1453 A.D.). Mir Saiyid Muḥammad was a successor of Shāh 'Ālam and was distinguished for ability and holiness. He had no equal in thoughtfulness and piety. Jahāngir commissioned him to translate the Qur'ān in an easy style. At the time when Jahāngir went from Gujarāt towards Cambay, with the intention of sailing on the sea, the Mir was treated with great respect and accompanied him. Shāh Jahān also had two interviews with the Saiyid. The first time was in Aḥmadābād when he was a Prince, and the second time was when he was marching from Junair towards the Capital. That great one made this line as a chronogram of his own birth: *Man u dast u dāmān āl-Rasūl*—I shall hold with the arm the skirt of the Apostle's family (?), (989<sup>2</sup>).

They say that the Saiyid and his ancestors were of the Imāmiya religion. He died in 1045 A.H. (1635-36 A.D.) in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and was buried near the gate, towards the west of the tomb of Shāh 'Ālam.

Mir Saiyid Jalāl was adorned with excellent qualities, and was versed in the current sciences. He had a poetical vein, and his *takhalluṣ* was Raḍā'ī.

This quatrain of his is famous:

Owing to my pride and haughtiness I am helpless, what can I do?

Though I am a bondsman of need; what can I do?

I am dying through poverty but will not supplicate to my beloved.

I am a lover with the temperament of a beloved; what can I do?

He was born on 15 Jumāda II, 1003 A.H. (25 February, 1595); *Wārith Rasūl*—Heir of the Apostle—is the chronogram. After the accession of Shāh Jahān he came, by his father's order, to offer congratulations. He was received at Āgra with favour. After his desires were fulfilled he returned to his native land. He again came to the Court. As his

<sup>1</sup> Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 372. The month and day of Shāh 'Ālam's birth as given in the text differ from those in Jarrett. The latter agrees as to the month with the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, and it appears that Saiyid Muḥammad was the son of Saiyid Jalāl Maḥ 'Ālam. There is an account of Saiyid Muḥammad and his son Jalāl in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 328 and 331.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram yields 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.). The same chronogram is given in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 329. That in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, p. 27, is slightly different and is apparently incorrect. As Saiyid Jalāl the son was born in 1003, his father must have married and probably had a child at the age of 13 or 14. It was apparently at Maḥmūdābād that Jahāngir saw Saiyid Muḥammad and engaged him to translate the Qur'an; see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tazuk-i-Jahāngir*, II, pp. 34, 35, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngir*, p. 107. The date of death of Saiyid Muḥammad is given in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, p. 27 as 12 Rajab, 1045 A.H. (22 December, 1635 A.D.). He was buried in the Second Cemetery which was made by Saif Khān.

ancestors had also served as officers of the kings of Gujarāt, Shāh Jahān on the 7th Sha'bān, 1052 A.H., in the 16th year, by importunity induced the Mīr to doff the garments of a faqīr and to accept the rank of 4,000 and the office of the *Ṣadārat* of India in succession to Mūsavī Khān. The Saiyid, notwithstanding his pleasing manners and lofty descent represented<sup>1</sup> that owing to the perfunctoriness and carelessness of Mūsavī Khān grants of maintenance land had been made to many persons who were not entitled to them, and many had got hold of lands by forged documents. An order was issued to the dominions that until inquiry into grants had been made, maintenance lands are in general confiscated. Although in the realm of service this kind of inquiry—which is based upon the obligations of one's position and the claims of the master—is reasonably and properly regarded as commendable, yet it resulted in the Saiyid having a very bad name with the public.

It happened that at the same time the Bēgam Sāhiba's<sup>2</sup> dress caught fire, and she was badly burnt. Much charity was bestowed, and prisoners were released. Debts were remitted, and the above order was also cancelled. The Mīr's allowances were gradually increased till they came to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. If death had spared him, he would have had still greater promotion. He died young at Lāhōre, in the 21st year, on the 1st Jumāda I, 1057 A.H. (4 June, 1647 A.D.).

They say, that Mullā Muḥammad Ṣūfī of Mazandarān came from Persia in his youth and visited many parts of India, and then settled in Aḥmadābād. He became acquainted with the Mīr and instructed him. The Mullā's poetry is not without charm. This verse comes from his *Sāqīnāma*:

Verse.

This wine has no connection with water  
You'd say it is the melted sun.

The Mullā made an anthology called the *Butkhāna*. It contained 60,000 verses from the *Divāns* of poets. Saif Khān the governor of Gujarāt, believed in the Mullā. In deference to the demand of Jahāngīr he was obliged to send him. He died on the road. During that period he made this quatrain:

O Shāh, neither throne nor ring remain,  
For you only one or two yards of earth remain.  
Empty your chest and fill the darvishes'<sup>3</sup> bowl,  
For this is all that will remain for you.

When the King heard this he felt compassion.

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Jahānārā the daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt by accident on the night of 6th April, 1644 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66, and Yazdani's edition of *Amal-i-Ṣākh*, II, pp. 399-403. See also Manucci I, p. 219, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Kāsa-i-darvishān* a kind of wine cup, and also a darvish's skull. Mullā Muḥammad is mentioned as a poet of Jahāngīr's reign in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīr*, p. 308. He is also mentioned at pp. 386 and 499 of Sprenger's *Catalogue* and in the *Atishkade*. It seems he was a native of Amu, see Sprenger, p. 68 and note and p. 23.

See also the account of the *Butkhāna* in the *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 196, No. 366. The work was begun in the reign of Akbar.

In short, Mīr Saiyid Jalāl left two sons. The first was named Saiyid Ja'far. In appearance and disposition he entirely resembled his father. When the Mīr undertook the employment of *Ṣadr*, Ja'far became his successor at Shāh 'Ālam's tomb. The other son Saiyid 'Alī known as Raḡavi Khān became the *Ṣadr* of India. A separate account of him has been given (*Madhīr-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 307-309). Mīr Saiyid Jalāl married his daughter to Shaiḡh Farīd son of Saiyid Bahwa' of Bokhāra known as Dīndār Khān.

(KHWĀJA) JALĀL-UD-DĪN MAHMŪD KHURĀSĀNĪ BUJŪQ  
(Cut-Nose).

(Vol. I, pp. 615-618.)

In the beginning he was a servant of Mirzā 'Askarī and went at his orders from Qandahār to collect the revenues of the province of Garmīr<sup>1</sup>; during this time Humāyūn was passing through that country on his way to Persia. He heard of the arrival of the Khwāja and sent Bābā Dōst Bakhshī to him, so that he might take the proper course and enter into his service. The Khwāja accepted and became his servant. He presented everything he had in the way of money or goods, and Humāyūn made him his Major-domo. When after the return from Persia and the taking of Qandahār the Khwāja behaved in a greedy manner to Mirzā 'Askarī's servants, he was handed over to Mīr Muḡammad 'Alī. When in the year 959 A.H., Humāyūn sent off Akbar to Ghaznī—which had been included in his fief—in order that he might learn the way to rule—the Khwāja was sent with him and made his adviser in all affairs. From that time he was continually an object of favour, and did good service. As the Khwāja was a Pādshāh Qulī<sup>2</sup>, and did not go out of his way to pay homage to other men, and as courtiers desire that everyone should flatter them, many of Humāyūn's grandees did not like him. He also had the fault of jesting and sarcasm, which is the worst offence in men of rank, and used to make fun of the Amīrs. He said improper things under the guise of jokes—which the ignorant call joviality—and there was hardly anyone who had not been pricked by his thorns.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign the Khwāja received the rank of 2,500 and was sent off to the government of Ghaznī. The self-seeker group found its opportunity and incited Mun'im Khān, who was the governor of Kābul, and revived in him the old idea of vengeance. Also in India Bairām Khān was incensed against him and incited Mun'im Khān to put him to death. The Khwāja heard of Mun'im Khān's antipathy and fell into anxious thoughts. He could not go to India as the King had, on account of his youth, no authority there, and Bairām Khān was all powerful. Once in Humāyūn's time, Bairām Khān had, on account of the Khwāja's improper language, taken the opportunity of seizing him in the bathroom and treated him with great ignominy. Now (that he had the power) it was clear what he would do. What violence would not his rivals have recourse to now? Nor could he remain in Ghaznī

<sup>1</sup> A tract of country in the territory of Khurāsān, see Raverty, *Tabaḡāt-i-Nāṣirī*, I, p. 16, note 3, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This was the title Jalāl-ud-Dīn took; and it implied that he was the King's slave and nobody else's.

for the anger of Mun'im Khān was apparent, but disloyalty against him was the worst of faults. Consequently, he could not see how to give up service and go elsewhere. At last Mun'im Khān sent a body of men to him, and summoned him to his presence after giving oaths and promises, and then imprisoned him. After that, though his eyes were lanced several times, his eyesight was not destroyed. Thinking that he had been blinded, Mun'im Khān released him. The Khwāja went off as quickly as possible towards India by way of Bangash, but Mun'im Khān heard of this and sent some active men after him. The Khwāja was caught along with his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd and was bound and imprisoned. In the 3rd year some men were appointed one night to kill these two innocent men. Bairām Khān also had sent an order for their execution. On hearing of this Akbar was inwardly indignant, but as he had not yet thrown off the veil of inaction he left the punishment of evil-doers to the Almighty<sup>1</sup> God.

## SHAIKH JAMĀL BAKHTIYĀR.

(Vol. II, pp. 566, 567.)

He was the son of Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhtiyār, and their dynasty entitled *Dīn Lagab* had been living for a long time in Chandwār and Jalisar near the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād (Āgra). His sister, Gōhar-un-Nisā, was the Superintendent (*Sar-Āmad*) of the palaces in the harem of Akbar; and by reason of this close association Shaikh Jamāl was raised to the rank of 1,000. Envious people, who had thorns of anguish in their hearts at his advancement, secretly mixed poison in his drinking water; the Shaikh became ill, and Rūp, one of the servants of the King, who had drunk some of the same water, also fell ill. When the news reached the King, he himself administered antidotes, and both of them recovered.

In the 25th year, he was ordered to accompany Ismā'il Qulī Khān on the expedition against Niyābat Khān, who had rebelled, and did good service in the battle front. In the 26th year, he was deputed with the Prince Sultān Murād against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. On the day of arrival of the Prince at Kābul, the Shaikh with great military skill took possession of the pass of Chanārtū, and after fighting a battle with the forces of the Ḥakīm Mirzā joined the army of the Prince. One day Akbar was offended at the smell of wine which exuded from him, and excluded him from the Court. The Shaikh out of shame and pride squandered away all his property and assumed the garb of a mendicant. The King becoming greatly annoyed at this action put him into prison. After a time, however, his faults were forgiven and he was restored to favour. For a time he performed faithful service, but, as he continued with his vice, he later developed tremors. In the 30th year, while returning from Zābulistān (Afghānistān), he, owing to the increase of his malady, was permitted to stay at Lūdhīāna. In the same year, 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.), he<sup>2</sup> died.

<sup>1</sup> This biography is taken from the *Akbar-nāma*, Text II, pp. 70, 71, and Beveridge's translation II, pp. 108-110. See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> His biography mainly based on the above account in *Madāthir-ul-Umarā* is included in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 469, 470.

(MİR) JAMĀL-UD-DĪN<sup>1</sup> INJŪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 358-360.)

The Injūs belong to the Saiyids of Shīrāz, and they are descended from Qāsim-ur-Rāsi son of Hasan son of Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā'i Ḥusainī. Mīr Shāh Maḥmūd, and Mīr Shāh Abū Turāb were in later times the most distinguished of this family. By the help of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Asad Ullāh Shūstari the *ṣadr* of Irān, the first became in Shāh Tahmāsp's time Shaikh-ul-Islām of Persia and the second *Aqdī-ul-Qudḍāt* (Qāḍī of Qāḍis). Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn was their cousin. He came to the Deccan and was treated with respect by the rulers there, and they allied themselves with him. Afterwards he entered Akbar's service, and, in the 30th year, received the rank of 600. In the 40th year, he had the rank of 1,000. They say, that by the end of Akbar's reign his rank was 3,000. When in the end of the 50th<sup>2</sup> year the fort of Āsirgarh was taken, 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr showed a desire to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Dāniyāl, and Akbar sent off the Mīr there with the betrothal paraphernalia. The Mīr, in 1013, held the marriage feast on the bank of the Ganges (Godāvari) near Pattan and made over the bride to the Prince, and himself came to Āgra. He produced before the King such a tribute as never had come before from the Deccan. As he was intimate with Prince Sultān Salīm, he obtained the rank of 4,000 when the latter ascended the throne and was exalted with the gift of drums and a flag. When Sultān Khusrāu fled from the Court<sup>3</sup>, the Mīr was sent off to bring about a reconciliation by offering him the territories which Mirzā Muhammad Hākīm had held. He out of foolishness and an evil fate did not accept the offer. When he was captured and brought into the Presence with his companions, Hasn Bēg Badakhshi, who was the chief of Khusrāu's affairs, made a long story before Jahāngir and said, "I was not the only associate (of Khusrāu), all the Amīrs who are standing here, were partners in this business. Yesterday Mīr Jamāl-ul-Dīn Injū, who came to effect a reconciliation, took from us an agreement for an appointment as a *Panjhāzārī* (5,000)." The Mīr changed colour and became agitated (*dast pācha gasht*). The Khān A'zam boldly said, "It is strange that Your Majesty lends an ear to this babbler. He knows that he will be put to death, and he wants to have a number of persons killed along with himself, I am the prime mover in this business, let me be visited with every severity that I deserve." The King on hearing these words, turned away from the matter, and comforted the Mīr. After that the Mīr was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, he had the title of 'Aqūd-ud-Daula<sup>4</sup>. He presented a jewelled dagger—the

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 499-501.

<sup>2</sup> Āsir was taken in the 45th year, 1009 A.D., but the marriage did not take place till four years later.

<sup>3</sup> *Az akhāra*, apparently the author here uses a Hindūstānī word. The sending of Jamāl-ud-Dīn to offer terms to Khusrāu is not mentioned in the authentic Memoirs of Jahāngir, but is mentioned in Price's *Jahāngir*, p. 86. In the authentic Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 68) Jahāngir says he stopped Hasan Bēg when he began to talk wildly.

<sup>4</sup> *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 318. It appears that he presented the jewelled dagger on New Year's day of the 11th year, and before he got his title (*loc. cit.*, p. 320).

making of which he had himself superintended in Bījāpūr—on the hilt of which was a yellow ruby (*yāqūt*) of perfect water and of the size of half a hen's egg. It also had rubies of good colour and old emeralds of good water and colour. Its value was reckoned at Rs.50,000. For a long time he lived on his fief in Bahrā'ich. He came to the Court from there and died. He<sup>1</sup> had many accomplishments. He composed the *Farhang Jahāngiri*, which is highly esteemed and reckoned as an authority. Certainly, it is of great value on account of its definitions of words and its fixing of the diacritical marks. His eldest son Mīr Amīn-ud-Dīn was appointed to the Deccan along with him. He was married to the daughter of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān-Khānān, and obtained some promotion. He died in his youth. His second son Ḥusām-ud-Dīn<sup>2</sup> Murtaḍā Khān has been separately noticed.

(MIRZĀ) JĀNĪ BĒG ARGHŪN (the Ruler of Thatha).

(Vol. III, pp. 302-314.)

He<sup>3</sup> was a descendant of Shankal (or Shakal) Bēg Tarkhān. As Shankal's father Atkū Timūr had bravely sacrificed his life in battle against Taqatamish Khān, Timūr took care of Shankal in his childhood and made him a Tarkhān. Four generations intervened between Atkū and Arghūn Khān who was the son of Abāgh Khān son of Hulākū Khān. Just princes distinguished some of their servants by certain privileges and gave them the name of Tarkhāns. The ushers (*Chāwwashān*) had no power to prevent the Tarkhāns from having access to Timūr, and they and their children were not accountable so long as they did not exceed the commission of nine offences. Chengiz Khān had conferred the rank upon Qashliq and Bātā<sup>4</sup> for having given him information about the enemy, and out of unbounded graciousness relieved them from the duty of attendance and they were excused from having to surrender the royal share in the plunder. Some Tarkhāns were exalted by seven privileges: first a drum (*tabl*); second a *Tūmān-tōgh* (a yak-tail standard); third a *Naqqāra* (kettle-drum); fourth two of his chosen men had a *Qushūn-tōgh*, i.e. a *Chatr-tōgh* (umbrella standard); fifth his *qūr* (weapons) were also borne—among the Moghuls no one but the ruler can carry a quiver in his hand (*bar rū-i-dast*); sixth he could enclose a forest as his hunting-ground, and whoever entered it became his servant; and seventh he was the head of his tribe. In the State-hall the Amīrs sat on either side of him at a distance of a bow's length.

When Tughluq Timūr raised Amīr Lūlājī<sup>5</sup> to this dignity he had two additional privileges, viz., he could appoint and dismiss officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārt*), and secondly, he and his descendants were

<sup>1</sup> There is a very pleasing account of Jamāl-ud-Dīn in Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal*, *Hakluyt Society*, p. 238, etc. He died at Āgra in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.). He must then have been a very old man. His dictionary the *Farhang Jahāngiri* has been described by Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1868, pp. 12-15, and Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS.*, A.S.B. (1924), p. 676.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 382-384.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 635, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 973-975, and footnotes in which the various appellations are fully discussed.

<sup>4</sup> See Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 973, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Būlāgi* in *Akbarnāma*, see Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 974.

permitted to commit nine offences with impunity; an enquiry was, however, instituted when the number of offences exceeded nine. In retribution for having shed blood he was set upon a white horse which was two years old. A white rug was placed under the horse's feet. One of the grantees of the Barlās clan interrogated him, and one of the heads of the Arkiwat<sup>1</sup> clan conveyed his reply (to the Khān). They then opened his jugular vein (*shāhrag*). Those two grantees watched, one on each side of him, till he died. Then they took away his body from the presence and sat down and lamented over him. Khidr Khwāja raised Mir Khudādād to this dignity, and added three more distinctions. First, on the marriage day, when all the grantees are on foot except a royal *yastūl* who is mounted to keep order, the Tarkhān also will be on horseback. Second, at the happy banquet (of the marriage), one (of Khudādād's chamberlains) stood on the Khān's right holding the cup of mare's milk (*qamaq*) and another on the left. Third, that his seal was to appear on the front of protocols, but the seal of the ruler would be placed above his. Shaikh Abūl Faḍl says that all these favours, if they were conferred with prudence, would be acceptable to the Creator, but the provision about not inquiring into nine offences was not reasonable. Should rulers have ascertained by trial that the officer made a Tarkhān would not commit any wrong act, there was some sense in the procedure, but as for the provision about not inquiring into offences for nine generations, it would imply that the Almighty had given the ruler the power of knowing the future.

Mirzā 'Abdul 'Alī son of 'Abdul Khāliq was the fourth ancestor (great-great-grandfather) of Jānī Bēg and he obtained high rank from Sulṭān Mahmūd son of Mirzā Abū Sa'id, and was made governor of Bokhārā. Shaibānī Khān Ūzbeg was his servant, but when he came to the sovereignty he wickedly slew<sup>2</sup> his master and his five sons. The sixth was Mirzā 'Isā, who was six months old. The Arghūn clan being without a head left Transoxiana and came to Khurāsān to Mir Dhū-un-Nūn who was the Amīr-ul-Umarā and Commander-in-Chief of Sulṭān Husain Mirzā, and the guardian of his son Badī'uz-Zamān Mirzā, and held Qandahār in fief. When Badī'uz-Zamān rebelled against his father, Mir Dhū-un-Nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Afterwards, when the Mirzā (i.e. Sulṭān Husain Mirzā) died, his two sons Badī'uz-Zamān and Muẓaffar Mirzā succeeded him. Khurāsān fell into confusion, and Shaibak (Shaibānī) Khān came to attack it. Amīr Dhū-un-Nūn was killed in the battle against him. Shujā' Bēg, known as Shāh Bēg, was his son and held Qandahār. In 890 A.H. he took the fort of Sīvī (Sēhwān) from the Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn, commonly known as Jām Nandā who was the ruler of Sindh. In former times the sovereignty of Sindh belonged to the Sūmras. After 500 years, during which 36 persons ruled, and in the end of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq the sovereignty came to the Summas who belonged to the tribe of Jādūn. They called themselves descendants of Jamshēd, and each of them was called Jām. The country was annexed by the Emperors of Delhi. Occasionally it rebelled. Accordingly, Sulṭān Firūz Shāh in the time of

<sup>1</sup> See Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 975.

<sup>2</sup> In reference to the master who was killed, see Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 976, note 1.

Pān Bhata<sup>1</sup> thrice led an army into Sindh and brought him to Delhi. And he made over the country to his (own) servants. Afterwards, when Pān Bhata showed signs of good conduct he was made governor of the country and sent there.

When the Delhi Government became weak, the Sindh rulers allied themselves to the rulers of Gujarāt. But as the clans of Shāh Bēg were fixed in Sindh, he easily took Bhakkar and Siwistān. When Jām Nandā died, there arose a dispute about the sovereignty between Jām Firūz his son and Jām Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, who was one of his sons-in-law. The latter became successful through the help of Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. Jām Firūz was helpless, and took refuge with Shāh Bēg. He helped him with an army, and Jām Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was killed. Jām Firūz again became successful. When Bābur Bādshāh came from Kābul and besieged Qandahār, Shāh Bēg exerted himself to resist him. He was not successful, and so abandoned Qandahār, and laid hold of Thatha and its dependencies. The chronogram is *Kharābī<sup>2</sup> Sindh*—the ruin of Sindh (932 A.H. or 1526 A.D.). Jām Firūz could not resist him. He went off to Gujarāt and became an officer of Sultān Bahādūr. Shāh Bēg coined money and had the *Khuṭba* recited in that country in his own name. He was a brave man and possessed of learning and of excellence. The *Sharḥ-i-Aḡā'id Nasaḥī<sup>3</sup>*, the *Sharḥ Kāfiya*, and the *Sharḥ Maṭālī<sup>4</sup>* are by him. He took Multān from the Langāhs. When he died in 930 A.H., his son Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain succeeded him. He repaired the fort of Bhakkar, which is situated on a height in the middle of the Panjāb rivers and erected great buildings. He went on an expedition to Multān. Sultān Maḥmūd Langāh who was the ruler at the time suddenly died, and was succeeded by his son Sultān Ḥusain. Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain besieged the place and took it in 932 A.H., and appointed a governor of his own. Humāyūn, in the time of his misfortunes, came there, and was detained by Sultān Ḥusain by subterfuges for some time at Bhakkar. Afterwards, when he made Nāṣir Mirzā<sup>4</sup>—the paternal uncle of Humāyūn—his ally by promising to make him his son-in-law, he proceeded to contend with Humāyūn. The latter was obliged to go to Persia. Sultān Ḥusain, however, did not keep faith with Nāṣir Mirzā. They say, Sultān Ḥusain was overcome by a fever and could not repose except in the river. He spent six months in descending the river and six months in ascending it. When he was coming towards Bhakkar some distinguished Arghūns left him and raised to the throne Mirzā 'Isā son of 'Abdul 'Alī, the great-grandfather of

<sup>1</sup> See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 345, where it is Jām Bānhatiyah. It is Jām Mālitha son of Jām Anar in De and Prashad's translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 774 and Jām Bānhatiya in De and Hidayat Hosain's Text, III, p. 513.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram is wrong, and should be *Kharābī Sind*, and not *Sindh*. This yields 927. 932 must be incorrect for Shāh Bēg died in 928, and the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* a little lower down gives 930 as the date of his death. Sindh is no doubt a copyist's error. The true date is 928 as shown by the chronogram *Shahr Sha'bān*. The month and the year are Sha'bān 928 A.H. or June, 1522 A.D. See Elliot, I, p. 502. Much of the history of Sindh in *Maāthir* article is taken from the *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation II, p. 345, and some is derived from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and Ferishta's History.

<sup>3</sup> The list of Shāh Bēg's writings is taken from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, see De and Prashad's translation III, p. 782, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Properly Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā. He was Humāyūn's cousin, being the son of Bābur's half-brother Nāṣir Mirzā. The name Yādgar may imply that he was a posthumous child.



Jānī Bēg, whose family had formerly been chiefs of the tribe. Shāh Ḥusain, with the help of his fosterbrother Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was governor of Bhakkar, fought with 'Isā. A sort of peace was made, and Mirzā 'Isā got three shares, and Shāh Ḥusain two. When he died in 963<sup>1</sup> A.H. (1556 A.D.) the whole country came into the possession of Mirzā 'Isā. He died in 975 A.H. A quarrel arose between his sons Muḥammad Bāqī and Jān Bābā. Muḥammad Bāqī, the elder brother, prevailed and became the ruler. In 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) he was overpowered by madness and having fixed a sword hilt in the wall, drove the point into his belly and died. The Arghūns gave the sovereignty in name to his son Pāyinda Muḥammad, but as he was a recluse and inclined to be mad, the work of administration was entrusted to his son Mirzā<sup>2</sup> Jānī Bēg.

When the Panjāb was for fourteen years the residence of Akbar, the Mirzā, although he was so near, did not wait upon him. In the end of the 35th year, 999 A.H. (1591 A.D.) an order was issued to Khān-Khānān—who had been sent off from Lāhōre to take Qandahār—to send someone to Jānī Bēg to warn him to be careful otherwise he was to punish him at the time of his return. Khān-Khānān held Multān and Bhakkar in fief. He left aside the direct route by Ghazni and Bangash and took the long route with the intention of visiting his fief. Meanwhile, as Sindh was added to his possessions, he obtained permission to conquer Sindh. Mirzā Jānī Bēg advanced 150 *kos* with a large force to encounter him and fought a gallant battle with him on the borders of Siwistān. He was defeated in Muḥarram 1000 A.H. and compelled to make peace. In the 38th year, 1001 A.H., he accompanied Khān-Khānān to Lāhōre, and paid homage to Akbar. He received the rank of 3,000, and was granted the fief of Multān. Sindh was assigned to Shāhrukh Mirzā. But at that time news came that the Arghūns to the number of 10,000 men and women, were coming up the river by boat. The boatmen and the servants were distressed by the emigration (*mulk raftgi*) and were tearing<sup>3</sup> themselves with their hands and teeth. Akbar out of his imate kindness had compassion on Mirzā Jānī Bēg, restored him to the government of Sindh. The port of Lāhari (Lāri Bandar) remained crown-land and the *Sarkār* of Siwistān—which (Jānī Bēg) had formerly given as *pēshkash* (tribute)—was given in grant to other men. In the 42nd year his rank was 3,500. The Mirzā was adorned with eloquence and wisdom, and his words and deeds showed honesty. He was addicted to drink from his early years, but he did not show any evil effects from it, and was careful in his speech and acts. Excess of wine made him ill, and he got convulsions and delirium. He died in 1008<sup>4</sup> A.H., in the 45th year of the reign, at Burhānpūr after the taking of Āsir. They say, that one day at an assembly he said that if he had held such a fort as Āsir he would not surrender it for a century. Tale-bearers repeated this to

<sup>1</sup> See De and Prashad's edition of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 784, note 1. The year of the death of Shāh Ḥusain's death is given there as 962, but this is apparently incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> See *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 786.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 642, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 985, 986.

<sup>4</sup> He really died in 1009. See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 783, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 1172. Perhaps the author means to insinuate that Akbar poisoned him. It was a charge against Akbar that he tried to poison Mirzā Ghāzī the son of Jānī Bēg, but the latter by mistake took the poison pill himself.

Akbar and he was displeased; at this time Jānī Bēg died. He had a poetical vein. His pen-name was Ḥalīmī. These verses are his:

*Verses.*

Fortunate was the time when love was my companion;  
Sighs during the night and cries in the morning were my normal routine.

Heaven's sad influence, however, did not leave it to me  
To enjoy the fruits of sorrow which graced my life.

The length of the country of Sindh<sup>1</sup> from Bhakkar to Kachh and Mokrān is 257 *kos*, its breadth on one side from Badīn to Bandar Lārī is 100 *kos*, and on the other from Chāndū, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bikanīr is 60 *kos*. On the east lies Gujārāt, to the north Bhakkar and Sīvī, to the south the ocean, and to the west Kachh and Mokrān. It is situated in the second climate and lies in the Longitude 102° 30' and Latitude 24° 10'. Its Capital city formerly was Brahmanābād; at present it is known as Thatha and Dabīl. It is noted for its good climate and abundance of fruits; verdure adds to the beauty of the landscape; love of ease and music are characteristic of the people, and wine and music are to be found in every house. The dress of the womenfolk whether old or young is saffron coloured. Though education is widespread, and learned and intellectual men are commonly found, iniquity and debauchery are rampant. Nobles and plebians go over to the tomb of the Pīr of Paṭha (who is the patron saint of the country) situated on a high area at a distance of about a league from the city. The Pīr was a follower and successor of Shaikh Bahā'ud-Dīn Zakariyā; his name was Ibrāhīm and title Shāh 'Ālam. In the north the mountains form several ranges, one extends to Qandahār, and the second from the sea-coast to the town of Kōhmār (also known as Rāngar) and terminates in Sīwistān, where it is known as Lakhī. This area is inhabited by an important Balūch tribe called Kalmānī, and which can raise twenty thousand horsemen. A fine breed of camels is indigenous in the area. A third range runs from Sīwistān to Sīvī, it is called Khar<sup>2</sup>, and is inhabited by a tribe called Tahmurī that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Next is another tribe of Balūch, known as Zaharī with a force of a thousand men. A fine breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain, which touches Kachh on the one side and the Kalmānī territory on the other, is known as Kārah, it is inhabited by four thousand Balūchīs. From the boundary of Multān and Achh there run in the north to Thatha high mountain ranges inhabited by numerous clans of Balūchs, while in the south from Achh to Gujārāt there extends a barren sandy mountainous tract; and also from Bhakkar to Naṣār-pūr and Amarkōt. The people are dark and poor and are dependent on others for support. In the winter season there is no need of *postins* (fur-lined coats), and the summer heat is moderate except in Sīwistān. Fruits of various kinds are found and mangoes are specially

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the topography of Sindh and the Liver-Eaters is taken almost verbatim from the account of the Sarkār of Thatha in *A'in-i-Akbari*, Text I, pp. 555-557, and Jarrett's translation II, pp. 336-339.

<sup>2</sup> *Khattar* and *Nohmardī* in Jarrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 337.

good. In the desert a variety of melon grows wild. Flowers are plentiful, and *Shālī* rice is abundant and of good quality. In the salt and iron mines of the area people can store curded milk for as long as four months. A species of fish known as *Palwah*<sup>1</sup> which is unrivalled for its taste and flavour is also found there. This area is very rich in its produce of grain, and one-third of the produce is taken over as the revenue. This area is divided into 5 *sarkārs* and 53 *parganahs*, and the revenue is 66,052,693 *dāms*<sup>2</sup>. During these days the whole province of Sindh is governed by *Khudāyār Khān* Latī who had for a long time farmed the *Šūba* of Thatha with the *Sarkārs* of Siwistān and Bhakkar on behalf of the Government (of Delhi), and subsequently when by treaty the country on the other side of the Indus was ceded by the Shāh of the time to Nādir Shāh, the area on his behalf continued to be administered by the said *Khān*.

The greatest wonder in the narrative of this land is the description of the Liver-Eater (*Jigar Khwār*)—they are known as *Dā'ins* (witches?). He is a person who can abstract a man's liver by glances and incantations. Some assert that at certain times and under certain conditions he can render senseless any person he looks upon, and then takes from this person something resembling the seed of a pomegranate, which he conceals for a time in the calf of his leg. During this time the person, whose liver has been abstracted, remains unconscious. And when they become hopeless of his recovery, he throws this seed on fire, and it spreads like a plate. This (? the roasted seed) is divided amongst his companions and eaten, and the unconscious victim dies. He gives a portion of this food and teaches the incantation to whomsoever he wishes to make a convert to the practice of this art. And when he is caught practising this art, they cut open his calf and extracting the seed give it to the victim to eat, and he recovers. Most of the followers of this sect are women. If they are thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they do not sink. When it is desired to deprive any of them of this power, they brand both sides of his head and all joints, and filling the eyes with salt suspend him for forty days in a subterranean<sup>3</sup> chamber, and give him food without salt, and some of them recite incantations over him. During this period he is known as *Dhahjrah*<sup>4</sup>. Although he has lost his power, he is still able to recognise (a liver-eater), and these pests are captured through his agency. He can restore people to health by incantations, and by administering certain drugs.

#### JĀNISH BAHĀDUR.

(Vol. I, pp. 511, 512.)

He was one of the *Yakahā* (single-fighters, i.e., paladins or champions) of Mirzā Muhammad Hākīm. After the death of the Mirzā he came with

<sup>1</sup> *Palwah* or *Palla* of Sindh is the famous *Hilsa* fish of Bengal. Its scientific name is *Hilsa ilisha* (Ham. Buch.).

<sup>2</sup> According to Jarrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, the revenue was 66,15,393 (or var. 66,15,293) *dāms* or Rs. 1,65,382-13-2.

<sup>3</sup> زیر زمین in the Text is apparently a mistake for زبر زمین.

<sup>4</sup> *Dohachrah* in Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

the Mirzā's sons to Akbar's Court in the 30th year, and received a suitable appointment together with a robe of honour, a horse and a sum of money. At the same time he went off with Zain Khān Kōka to settle the affairs of the Yūsufzā'is. When the royal army was defeated, and the Kōkaltāsh wished to kill himself, Jānish Bahādūr seized his reign and turned him back, willing or unwilling. Afterwards, he took part in the affair of the Tārikis (the Raushanis), first with Kunwar Mān Singh, secondly with Sādiq Khān, thirdly in assisting Zain Khān, and performed various services. In the 35th year when Khān-Khānān was appointed to take the fort of Qandahār, he was one of those who was deputed to accompany him. As that affair was delayed and Khān-Khānān was bidden to take Thatha, Jānish went there and did good service. In the 38th year he returned to the Court with Khān-Khānān and paid his respects. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan, and was finally in Rāmpūrī. In the 46th year corresponding to 1009 A.H. (1600-1601 A.D.) he died<sup>1</sup> of a pain in his belly. After him, his brothers got a *jāgīr* and served in that province. His son was Shujā't<sup>2</sup> Khān Shādī Bēg, of whom a separate account<sup>3</sup> has been given.

## JĀN NITHĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 527-529.)

He was a well-known officer, and his name was Kamāl-ud-Dīn Husain. He was a faithful follower of Prince Shāh Jahān from his early days, and was the head of his confidential and loyal servants. When Banārsī, the Inspector of elephants in Jahāngīr's time, who in the speed of his travel exceeded even that of the heavens, started at the instance of Yamīn-ud-Daula, with the news of the death of Jahāngīr Bādshāh, and from Kashmir in twenty days reached Junair in the Deccan on 19 Rabī' I, 1037 A.H. (28 November, 1627 A.D.), and conveyed the news of the death of the Emperor. From there, as the resolutions of Shāh Jahān in the matters of government did not brook delay or negligence, he after three days' mourning on the 23rd of the said month started for the Capital city of Āgra by way of Gujarāt. And he despatched Jān Nithār Khān<sup>4</sup> to Khān Jahān Lōdī at Burhānpūr with a *farmān* conferring various favours and concessions, and confirming him, as hitherto, in his *manṣab*, *jāgīr* and the *Sūbadārī* of the Deccan. The object was to obtain information regarding his intentions after winning him over by royal favour, more particularly as his insincerity and faithlessness were well known. As fortune and prosperity had forsaken him, he on receipt of the *farmān* showed his indifference, and sent back Jān Nithār Khān without any reply. The latter reached the royal Presence at Ahmadābād, and was honoured on the day of the audience with the grant of the rank of 2,000, 1,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drums, an elephant and Rs.15,000 in cash. And in the 3rd year, on the death of Diyānat Khān he was

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 537, 538.<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 538.<sup>3</sup> *Madhīr-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 662-664.<sup>4</sup> *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 298, 299, Khafī Khān, I, p. 391, and Banārsī Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 60.

appointed as the officer-in-charge<sup>1</sup> of the fort of Ahmadnagar; and was further favoured with the grant of Rs.40,000 as a contribution for expenses. And in the 4th year, on arrival at the Court, he was exalted by an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and appointed as *faujdar* of the Lakhī Jangal. And he was later transferred to Siwistān as the *faujdar*. When in the 11th year, Qandahār was conquered by the royal officers, the *ṣubadārs* and *faujdar*s of the neighbourhood with auxiliary forces reached there for help. Jān Nithār Khān also hastened from his area, and took an active part in the fighting; and in the company of Qulij Khān Ṣubadār of Qandahār, he rendered valuable services in the conquest of the fort of Bust. In the 12th year, another 500 horse were added to his *Manṣab*, and on transfer from Siwistān to Bhakkar he took up the government of the area in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān. And in the same year he died.

The Khān made a large harem by forcing most of the *Zamīndārs* of the area of the tribes of Simja and Sūdh to give their daughters to him; and in this way was able so successfully to carry out his policy (of control), that in a short time no trace of refractory or corruptive elements was left. After his death, all the *Zamīndārs* took away their daughters from his house by force. Perhaps this happened in Bhakkar (the boundaries of which adjoin those of Siwistān), for as is well known<sup>2</sup> he did not die in the province of Siwistān. His son Mirzā Ḥafiz Ullāh received, in view of his claims as a *Khānazād*, royal favours from his childhood. In the reign of Aurangzib he was exalted with the title of Basālat Khān, and was the *Bakhshī* of the army of Prince 'Āzam Shāh at Bijāpūr, and for a time he remained in this office. They say, that he used to drink constantly and so died.

(MAHĀRĀO) JĀNŌJĪ JASWANT NIMBĀLKAR.<sup>3</sup>

(Vol. III, pp. 806, 807.)

He was the son of Rāo Ranbhā<sup>4</sup> who in Aurangzib's time held high office, and was appointed to the Deccan. As he (Jānōjī) had had frequent disputes with the officers of Rāja Shāhū Bhōnsle, they, after making agreements with Husain 'Alī Khān made accusations against Jānōjī. Husain 'Alī Khān in order to please them managed by guile to imprison him. He was released at the request of Muḥammad Anwar Khān at the time when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh went to the Deccan from Mālwa and crossed the Narbādā, and was appointed to the auxiliary force at Burhānpūr. He, who was in distressed circumstances (?) (*lit.* had a sore on his liver), was introduced to Āṣaf Jāh by Muḥammad Ghīyāth

<sup>1</sup> Khafi Khān, I, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> This Jān Nithār Khān should not be confused with Yādgār Bāg, Lashkar Khān otherwise known as Jān Nithār Khān who was sent an ambassador to the Shāh of Persia; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 168-171, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 201, 202. In the latter work no distinction is made between the two persons.

<sup>3</sup> Banālkar in the Text appears to be a *lapsus calami* for Nimbālkar. Nimbāl kars of Phaltan are well known in Marhatta history, see Kincaid and Parasani, *History of Maratha People*, p. 73, etc.

<sup>4</sup> He is apparently the Ranbhāji Deccani mentioned in 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 249, 293.

Khān Bahādur, and entered his service. In the battles with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and Mubārīz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself and received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After Āṣaf Jah's death he held a suitable rank and had hereditary estates. He was a good manager of property, and developed the estates. He collected a suitable force and distinguished himself in battles. As he held high rank, he acted as a go-between for the Marhattas. In the time of Nāsir Jang the Martyr, he received the title of Jaswant, and he did good service in his company in the Phulchary battle, though it was rumoured that he had a share in Nāsir Jang's death<sup>1</sup>. He died in 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.). His eldest son Anand Rāo Jaiwant who was distinguished for excellence died during his lifetime. At present his second son Māhā Rāo, and Rāo Ranbhā the son of Jaiwant hold the fiefs, and are in government service.

## JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 535-537.)

He was the third son of Mukhtār Khān of Sabzawār. His name was Mīr Bahādur Dil. At the time when Aurangzīb left the Deccan with the intention of obtaining the sovereignty and proceeded towards the Capital, Jān Sipār Khān accompanied the all-conquering royal stirrups with his elder brother Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Mukhtār Khān. In the battles which that fortunate King waged against his foes, Jān Sipār Khān showed fidelity and daring. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and received the title of Jān Sipār Khān. After that he was appointed to provincial duties (*Kārhā-i-bērūnjāt* or outside duties), and always behaved well. In the 24th year, he was made governor of the fort of Bidar. After the conquest of Haidarābād he was made *faujdar* of Zafrābād. When Aurangzīb returned after settling that newly conquered country and encamped at Bidar-Zafrābād, Abūl Hasan the ruler of Telang—who, though his addiction to luxury and pleasure had during the fifteen years of his rule never gone farther from Haidarābād than Muḥammadnagar Gōlkonda, which is one *kos* distant, and for whom even daily riding was difficult—prayed that he be allowed to retire. And in truth Aurangzīb also disliked his disposition which was the very opposite of his own. Accordingly, he did not deal with him as he had dealt<sup>2</sup> with Sikandar the ruler of Bījāpūr after its conquest. He did not even summon him to his Presence, and from the first day kept him under surveillance. Accordingly, Jān Sipār Khān, who was *faujdar* of Bidar, was ordered to convey him to Daulatābād<sup>3</sup> so that he might spend the rest of his life in comfort with his dependants. After that the said Khān was made the governor of Haidarābād which was a rich and well-inhabited country, especially when the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty had laboured to improve it. He spent a long time in that country and

<sup>1</sup> Nāsir Jang was killed on 17 Muḥarram, 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1750 A.D.), vide *Maṭṭhir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 855 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Aurangzīb began by being generous to Sikandar (*Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 280, 282), but he afterwards imprisoned him. He died three years afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp. 384, 385, for Abūl Hasan's capture and his transfer to Daulatābād. Also *Maṭṭhir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 309.

administered it well. Since Shāyista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā and 'Āqil Khān Khawāfi few have exerted such power for so long a time. He died<sup>1</sup> in the 45th year, 1113 A.H. (1701 A.D.). His eldest son was Rustam Dil, of whom a separate account<sup>2</sup> has been given.

#### JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN KHWĀJA BĀBĀ.

(Vol. I, p. 530.)

He was the brother's son of Naqīb Khān<sup>3</sup> of Qazwīn. In the time of Jahāngir he was given the title of Jān Bāz Khān and attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in his former rank, and in the 3rd year he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse. For a time he was *faujdar* of Mandasūr, and in the 18th year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died. From the list (*fihris*) at the end of the second decennium in the *Shāhnāma*<sup>4</sup> it appears that he obtained the title of Jān Sipār Khān and the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, but the date of this occurrence has not been recorded.

#### JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN TURKAMĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 516-519.)

His name was Jahāngir Bēg, and he was one of Jahāngir's officers. He was long employed in the Deccan, and by his zeal and bravery he did valuable services in the cause of the King's government. When the affairs of the Deccan were not improved by Prince Parvīz in spite of his long stay in Burhānpūr and appointment of leading officers, and large armies, and the expenditure of much treasure; on the contrary the rulers of the Deccan shook off the rope of obedience, for example, Malik 'Ambar who took entire possession of the Bālāghāt estates, it became necessary in the 11th year to appoint Prince Sultān Khurram<sup>5</sup>—who after his victories received the title of Shāh Jahān—to settle the affairs of the country. His rising Fortune was dreaded by the Deccanis and they bowed their humble and submissive shoulders beneath the burden. The arms with which they interfered with the imperial estates were shortened, and they had to pay tributes and the government revenue. In the 12th year the Prince distributed his companions and the officers of the Deccan to the *thānas* and *faujdaris*, as he judged proper. Jahāngir Bēg was favoured and sent off to administer the *thāna* of Jālnāpūr which is 25 *kos* (East) from Daulatābād, and was at that time the chief *thāna* in Bālāghāt, and many royal officers were appointed there in accordance with their ranks. Later some of the treacherous Deccanis

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 439, where it is stated that Jān Sipār Khān the *Nāzim* of Haidarābād died in that year.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 324-328.

<sup>3</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 496-498.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently the *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 762, but the number of horse there is 1,500.

<sup>5</sup> For the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngir*, pp. 266-279 and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 19-21. Also see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, pp. 329, 337.

proceeded to break their engagements and to take possession of the royal estates. Nor were they content with the Bālāghāt, but even raised their standards as far as Burhānpūr. The Prince was compelled to undertake a second expedition to the Deccan and in the beginning of the 13th year of Jahāngir's reign he came to Burhānpūr. An army was appointed to chastise Nizām Shāh and Malik 'Ambar. After much fighting and severe battles, in every one of which the Prince's forces were victorious. Malik 'Ambar once more witnessed the Fortune of the Prince and turned aside from his evil ways and entered by the door of repentance, and stretched the hand of supplication towards the skirt of a desire for peace. Every one of the leaders remained on one of the estates of Bālāghāt till the end of the rains, and Jān Sipār Khān with 3,000 horse remained at Bir. When a new division was made of the *thānas* he received an increase of rank and was made the *thānadār* of Bir. When in the 19th year a battle took place at Bhātūrī<sup>1</sup>—which is a dependancy of Ahmadnagar—between Malik 'Ambar and Mullā Muhammad Lārī the Commander-in-chief and *Vakil-us-Saltanat* of Bijāpūr, and whom 'Adil Shāh its ruler both in verbal and written messages addressed as Mullā Bābā, the Mullā was killed by fate's decree, his army was thrown into disorder, and the royal officers who had been appointed to assist the Mullā were seized with the exception of Khanjar Khān who escaped to Ahmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān who conveyed himself to his own fief and strengthened the fort of Bir. Shortly before Jahāngir's death, Khān Jahān Lōdī handed back Bālāghāt to Nizām Shāh and wrote to the imperial officers, who were in the *thānas*, that they should make over the estates to the agents of Nizām Shāh and come to Burhānpūr. Jān Sipār Khān obeyed the order and joined Khān Jahān. A few days had not elapsed when the report of the accession of Shāh Jahān gave fresh joy to the whole of India, and Jān Sipār Khān flew on the wings of swiftness, and having donned the pilgrim's dress paid his homage at the commencement of the reign<sup>2</sup>. He obtained an increase of 1,500 *Dhāt* and 1,000 horse and so had the rank of 4,000 *Dhāt*, 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. In succession to Jahāngir Qulī Khān he was sent to take up the governorship of Allahābād. But according to the rule of the revolving heavens—that every good is allied with evil, and every joy is mixed with grief—the wine of success in this instance was followed by the crapulousness of failure, and the limpid waters of joy had at the bottom a sediment of sorrow. The cup was no sooner filled than it was emptied, and the roll not finished without the pages being turned over; in this very year did the cup of his life overflow. His son Imām<sup>3</sup> Qulī held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was in company with A'zam Khān<sup>4</sup>, the governor of the Deccan, when one day in Bālāghāt the 'Adil-Shāhī and Nizām-Shāhī troops fell upon their rear. Multafat Khān, the leader of the army, left the flank exposed, and Imām Qulī and some others bravely sacrificed

<sup>1</sup> See Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 185. His rank was, however, increased to 4,000 *Dhāt* and 4,000, not 3,000 horse, and in addition to the grant of a flag and drums he was given a *Khil'at*, and a jewelled dagger, and appointed governor of Allahābād.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 244, 304, 305.

<sup>4</sup> Iradat Khān the *Mir Bakshī*, who was in general command of the Deccan campaign.



their lives, and gathered eternal fame. Jān Sipār Khān also had a brother named Murtaḍā Qulī. He had the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. He died in the Deccan in the 10th year.

(MAHĀRĀJA) JASWANT SINGH RĀTHŌR.

(Vol. III, pp. 599-604.)

He was the son of Rāja Gaj Singh. In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he came with his father to the Court, and succeeded <sup>1</sup> him after the latter's death. This was because, contrary to the custom of the other Rājput̄s—according to which the eldest son succeeds—the Rāthōrs choose the son whose mother was the special favourite of the father. Accordingly the King made Jaswant Singh his father's heir although Amar Singh was the elder son, and gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and the title of Rāja in accordance with his father's will, and also gave him a flag, drums, a horse with golden saddle and an elephant from the royal herd. In the 15th year he was awarded a special *Khil'at*, a jewelled dagger with *Phul Katārah*, a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant from the royal herd and was sent to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh, and in the 18th when the King moved from Āgra to Lāhōre, he was ordered to take charge of the city till the arrival of Shaikh Farid son of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, and afterwards join the Court. In the 21st year his rank was 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 3,000 were *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse). At the end of the same year the rest of his troopers were also made *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. In the 22nd year Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur went to Qandahār which was besieged by the Persians, but according to orders stayed in Kābul. When in the end of the same year the King came to Kābul, Jaswant Singh paraded 2,000 of his troopers before him. In the 26th year his rank was 6,000 with 5,000 *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* troopers, and this was increased in the 29th year, he also received the title of Mahārāja. As his marriage with the daughter of Sarab Dēo Sēsōdīa had been arranged in the same year, he was permitted to go to Mathurā and afterwards to his home at Jōdhpūr. In the beginning of the 32nd year when news of improper movements on the part of Murād Baksh and of the departure of Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur from the Deccan was received, Dārā Shikōh in view of his own interests appointed two armies to block the way of his two brothers. The Mahārāja had his rank increased to 7,000 with 7,000 horse and was appointed governor of Mālwa in succession to Shāyista Khān and received one hundred horses, one with golden trappings, an elephant and a female elephant and a lac of rupees. He arrived at Ujjain, and though Aurangzib endeavoured to conciliate him he was haughty and resisted. After fighting and after some Rājput̄s had been killed and others had fled, Jaswant Singh thought himself lucky to have saved his life. In the first year of Aurangzib's reign when the royal army came to the

<sup>1</sup> See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p. 34, for an account of the ceremony of disinherence of Amar Singh; the name is written as Umra in that work.

Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Jaswant Singh, through the mediation of some officers, was pardoned and paid his respects. He was allowed to remain at Delhi till the end of the pursuit, and in the battle with Shujā' he commanded the right wing.

As he had been accustomed to the favouritism of Shāh Jahān and did not see any such in Aurangzib, he felt hurt, and eventually from foolishness joined the malcontents and removed the veil from the face of his actions. One night he left his station empty and went home with his troops. In the turmoil some of the baggage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān and of the King and the officers and soldiers was plundered. It was a great shock to the troops. After the end of the battle with Shujā' the King moved towards Ajmēr. At this time, as he was hopeſess of the King's favour, he intrigued with Dārā Shikōh who was coming to his country from Gujarāt. Meanwhile he was by the intervention of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh made hopeful of pardon, and withdrew from Dārā Shikōh's party. As on account of his frequent faults he could not approach the King, he was, in his absence (*ghā'ibāna*) confirmed in his old rank and given the title of Mahārāja, and made governor of Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt). In the 4th year, he in accordance with orders went with all his troops to assist Shāyista Khān in the Deccan. In the 5th year he was removed from the government of Gujarāt and served for 2 or 3 years in the Deccan, partly with Shāyista Khān but chiefly with Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam who had been appointed governor in the room of Shāyista Khān. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power in laying waste Shivā's country and in the end of the 7th year he came to the Court. When in the 9th year the friendship between the King and Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia changed to enmity, Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, who had been appointed to Kābul before the imperial army marched, was accompanied by Jaswant Singh. When news came of the death of the King of Persia, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned from Lāhōre, Jaswant Singh also returned. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan in attendance on the same Prince, and in the 14th year he was made *thānadār* of Jamrūd in the province of Afghānistān. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1089 A.D. (December, 1678) he died<sup>1</sup>. On account of his wealth and the number of his followers he was at the head of the Rājās of India, but as

<sup>1</sup> This is rather a meagre account of Jaswant Singh. It tells us nothing of his career during the last eight years of his life. Nor does it discuss the genuineness of Ajit Singh. Tod does not give many more facts though he devotes several pages to Jaswant Singh. According to him Jaswant Singh lost two other sons during his lifetime, and he died not in 1678, but in 1681. 1678, however, seems correct though Beale puts the event in December of that year, and Orme in the beginning of the year. It occurred at or near Kābul. Jaswant Singh's being made a Mahārāja is mentioned in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 98. The account of his death and of the flight of the Rājputs with his son Ajit Singh is given on p. 259, etc. Orme in his *Historical Fragments*, p. 252, gives a translation of a remarkable letter said to have been addressed by Jaswant Singh to Aurangzib about the capitation tax, but it is doubtful if it was really written by Jaswant Singh. For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 324-334, and pp. 351, 352 for the parentage of Ajit Singh.

In *Madāthir-i-'Alomgiri*, p. 171, it is stated that Jaswant Singh died in the city of Kābul and gives the date (p. 171) as 6 Dhul Qa'da 1089 A.H., 20 December, 1678 A.D., Jaswant Singh's appointment to the *thānadāri* of Jamrūd is noticed in the same work on p. 109. Manucci also refers to Jaswant Singh's death (II, p. 233).

he had been brought up luxuriously and had lived apart<sup>1</sup> from the ups and downs of existence he did not possess the art of government. Outside of the walls of Aurangābād, towards the market place, there are a ward and a tank which bear his name. There are also the remains of a stone building on the bank of the tank. Kunwar Prithī Rāj his eldest son died in his lifetime. After his death two sons were born to two of his widows. One soon followed his father. The second is Muḥammadi<sup>2</sup> Rāj who became a Muhammadan, and was brought up in the palace. Another son, who his tribesmen say was conveyed to his home after many struggles, was made his heir and is Ajīt Singh. A separate account<sup>3</sup> of him has been given.

## (RĀJA) JUJHĀR SINGH BUNDĒLA.

(Vol. II, pp. 214-218.)

He was the son of Rāja Bīr Singh Dēo. After his father's death he had the title of Rāja and received a suitable *manṣab*. At the end of Jahāngīr's reign he held the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. In the first year of the reign of Shāh Jahān he did homage and received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with *Phūl Katārah*, a flag and drums. When Shāh Jahān looked into the affairs, Jujhār Singh who had, without any exertion, got much wealth which his father had accumulated, became suspicious in accordance with the saying that "The faithless are fearful", and relying upon his forts and his jungles fled at midnight from Āgra to Ōrcha (Ōndcha in Text), and set about strengthening his fortresses and collecting troops. Shāh Jahān sent Mahābat Khān and many other officers against him and an order was issued to Khān Jahān Lōdī the ruler of Mālwa to enter his country from the south by the route of Chandēri. 'Abdullāh Khān also received an order to proceed from his fief of Qanauj along with Bahādur Khān Rōhila and others from the east of Ōrcha. When all three forces arrived near Ōrcha they carried on a hot war, and 'Abdullāh Khān, Bahādur Khān and Pahār Singh Bundēla took the fort of Irīj. Jujhār Singh was helpless and sought an interview with Mahābat Khān, and prayed for forgiveness of his offences. The King accepted his prayer, and Jujhār Singh in the 2nd year came to the Court with the Khān who put a string round his neck and holding the two ends in his hands produced him before Shāh Jahān. He presented one thousand mohurs and 15 lacs of rupees, and forty elephants.

When Shāh Jahān resolved to proceed to the Deccan in the 3rd year to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to lay waste the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk—who had protected him—and appointed three armies to devastate the country, he wrote to Jujhār Singh to act along with A'zam Khān the governor of the Deccan and gave him the title of Rāja. Afterwards,

<sup>1</sup> *Az kam u ziyād waridāt ba yakaw zist namūda*, which may be translated as: he showed an existence apart from great or little circumstances. Apparently the meaning is that as he had always been affluent and powerful, he did not know the ups and downs of life.

<sup>2</sup> He died of Plague in the 32nd year, 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.), vide *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 755-760, Beveridge's translation, pp. 173-176.

when Yamīn-ud-Daula was appointed to command the Deccan forces, he (Jujhār Singh) and the other *manṣabdārs* were placed in the rear. When the provinces of the Deccan were entrusted to Mahābat Khān, Jujhār Singh after staying some time with Mahābat Khān left his son Bikramājīt in charge of his troops and took leave and went home. After returning home he<sup>1</sup> in the 8th year, at the dictates of his own seditious nature, led an army against Bhīm Narāin<sup>2</sup> the *Zamīndār* of Chūrāgarh which is the Capital of Garh Katankā<sup>3</sup>. He induced him by oaths and promises to surrender, and then put him to death with a large number of his kindred. He also took possession of his fort and his property. When Shāh Jahān heard of this event, he ordered that Jujhār Singh should surrender the land to the government, otherwise an equal amount of land would be taken from his own territory. Also that he should send 10 lacs of rupees of Bhīm Narāin's property to the Court. On hearing of this from his agent Jujhār Singh wrote to his son Bikramājīt, who was in the Deccan, to take to flight and come home. Three armies under the command of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, Firūz Jang Bahādūr and Khān Daurān marched off to punish him. Prince Aurangzib and Shāyista Khān also supported them. When the imperial armies had nearly arrived they first attacked Dhāmūnī and then Chūrāgarh. When Jujhār Singh could find no resting place, he went with his goods to the territory of Rāja of Dēogarh. The imperialists pursued him, and there were frequent fights. All his money and ornaments fell into the hands of the Ghāzī warriors. He himself crept into the jungles with his eldest son Bikramājīt. The Gōnds killed both of them in 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.). Khān Daurān on hearing of this cut off the heads of both and brought them to Firūz Jang who sent them to the King along with a *kror* of rupees from Jujhār Singh's buried treasures<sup>4</sup>.

## K

## KĀKAR 'ALĪ KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 148, 149.)

He was one of Humāyūn's paladins. In the year when Humāyūn set out to conquer India, Kākar 'Alī Khān attended on his stirrups. In the reign of Akbar he had the rank of 2,000. In the 11th year (973 A.H.) when Mahdī Qāsim Khān the *Ta'luqadār* of Garh made up his mind to go to Hijāz without Akbar's permission, Akbar appointed Kākar 'Alī Khān and others to that territory. In the battle with Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā which took place near the town of Sarnāl<sup>5</sup> in Gujarāt, Kākar 'Alī Khān was one of the fighters. Afterwards he was appointed to accompany Mun'im Bēg Khān-Khānān to the Eastern districts. One day when the imperial army was besieging Patna, Kākar 'Alī Khān and his

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 95.<sup>2</sup> More correctly Narāyan, but so in Text.<sup>3</sup> Garh Katankā or Gōndwāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 321-326.<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 79-89.<sup>5</sup> Middle of Sha'bān, 980 A.H. (December, 1772 A.D.), vide *A'in*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn.), pp. 353, 417.

son attacked the enemy and distinguished themselves. They slew many of the foe and were themselves slain, in the year 980<sup>1</sup> A.H. (1573 A.D.).

### KĀKAR KHĀN, or KHĀN JAHĀN KĀKAR.

(Vol. III, pp. 152, 153.)

He was one of the *Wālī-Shāhis* (body-guard) of Shāh Jahān. After the accession he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and a present of Rs.6,000. In the 3rd year when the Royal Court was established in the Deccan he, along with Rāja Gaj Singh<sup>2</sup>, was appointed to the forces which were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī, and to ravage the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk. In the 8th year he was appointed<sup>3</sup> along with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah to punish Juhār Singh Bundēla. In the 10th year his rank was increased<sup>4</sup> by 500 with 600 horse, and in the 13th his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Kākar Khān. Afterwards he was appointed to the fort of Qandahār, and he stayed there a long time. When in the 22nd year the King of Persia came and took the fort<sup>5</sup>, he went with Khawāss Khān the governor, and waited upon the Shāh. He received permission and returned to India. Along with Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādur, who had been appointed for the second time to the expedition, he was sent (to Qandahār). In the 26th year he went there in attendance on Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh<sup>6</sup>. No more account of his life has been noticed.

### KAMĀL KHĀN GAKKHAR.

(Vol. III, pp. 144-148.)

He was the son of Sulṭān Sārang younger brother of Sulṭān Ādam. The Gakkhars are a large tribe and dwell between the Jhelum and the Indus in the folds of the hills and inhabit caves, etc. In the time of Shaikh Zain-ud-Dīn of Kashmīr a Ghaznī officer named Malik Kid, who was connected with the ruler of Afghānistān, came and took the country out of the hands of the Kashmīris. He brought under his sway the whole tract from the Nīlāb (Indus) to the slopes of the Siwāliks and the borders of Kashmīr. Though other<sup>7</sup> tribes such as the Khattar, Janūth (?), Aīwān (Awān), Chatarnīh, Bhukiyāl<sup>8</sup>, Jhapa (Chibh) and

<sup>1</sup> In *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 82, Beveridge's translation III, p. 115, the siege of Patna is stated to have been in the 19th year or 981 A.H. (1574 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> The Qandahār fort was surrendered to Shāh 'Abbās II on February 11, 1649; see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> For the expeditions of Aurangzīb and Dārā Shikōh, see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-235, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 204-208.

<sup>7</sup> This account is partly taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 323, 329, Beveridge's translation I, p. 559, and partly from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's translation II, pp. 267, 268. For correct names of tribes, see Delmerick in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XL, pt. i, 1871, pp. 67 *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> Apparently the correct spelling is Bhugiyāl, descendants of Sulṭān Bhuga. Elliot, VI, p. 309, note, and *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 47, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 97.

Maikwāl live there, they are all subject to the Gakkhars. When Malik Kid died, his son Malik Kalān succeeded him. After him his son Nabīr obtained the chiefship, and after him Tātār became the head of the tribe. At the time of the conquest of India he did good service under Emperor Bābur especially in the battle with Rānā Sāngā. He had two sons, Sultān Sārang and Sultān Ādam, and the first of them obtained the chiefship. He had great contests with Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh, and fought bravely. He made many Afghāns prisoners and sold them into slavery. Shēr Shāh with the object of chastising this tribe founded the fortress of Rohtās<sup>1</sup>, and afterwards he in accordance with the dictates of Fate managed to get him (Sārang) into his power and put him to death. He imprisoned his son Kamāl Khān in the fort of Gwāliyār, yet he could not conquer the country. The chiefship of the Gakkhar tribe fell to Sultān Ādam. Salīm Khān too made great efforts in order to reduce the country, but did not succeed.

They say, that Salīm Khān on one occasion ordered all the prisoners in the fort of Gwāliyār to be put to death. A pit was made under the prison and filled with gunpowder. The explosion blew the prison and the prisoners into the air, and their limbs were scattered. Kamāl Khān was there, but the Almighty power (*Qādir-i-pur-Kamāl*) preserved him from the calamity. No whiff of the fire reached the corner of the room where he was. When Salīm Shāh heard of this Divine protection, he took oaths from Kamāl Khān and set him free. He went home, and as his uncle Sultān Ādam had got full power, Kamāl Khān and his brother Sa'id Khān had to spend their days in affliction, and in a pretence of submission. In the beginning of Akbar's reign Kamāl Khān came to Jālandhar<sup>2</sup> and introduced himself, and was made an officer. He did good service in the battle with Hēmū and at Mānkōt, and was rewarded by favours. In the 3rd year he was appointed to put down the Miyanah Afghāns who were making a disturbance in Sirōnj in Mālwa. He went against them with a suitable force, and was victorious. Akbar gave him the towns of Karra<sup>3</sup> and Fathpūr Hanswa, etc., in fief, and in the 6th year on the occasion of the war with the son of Mubārīz Khān 'Adlī—whom the Afghāns had raised up—Kamāl Khān brought a well-equipped force and shared in the campaign with Khān Zamān Shaibānī. He fought bravely in the battle, and Akbar on hearing of this remarked that Kamāl Khān had done his duty and that it was time to reward him, and that he would give him whatever he wished. When he came to the Court in the year 970 A.D. he represented to the courtiers that in his love for his native land he hoped that he would get his father's lands, which through evil fate his uncle had taken possession of. Akbar wrote to Khān Kalān and the other Panjāb officers to divide the Gakkhar territory into two portions and to give one to Sultān Ādam and the other to Kamāl Khān. If Sultān Ādam resists this order by disobedience, they are to punish him. When Sultān Ādam was informed of this order he and his son Lashkarī—who managed his father's affairs—refused obedience,

<sup>1</sup> For the construction of the Fort of Rohtās, see Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, pp. 405, 406, also pp. 233–235 for his campaign against the Gakkhars. Also see Hidayat Hosain's edition of *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p. 205, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 22, Beveridge's translation II, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 78, 191, 192, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 119, 297.

and the Panjāb troops along with Kamāl Khān entered the Gakkhar territory and fought a great battle at the township of Hilān<sup>1</sup>. There was a severe engagement and Sultān Ādam was made a prisoner. His son Lashkarī fled to the hills of Kashmīr, but he too was made prisoner. The whole of the Gakkhar territory which none of the former rulers of India had been able to subdue was conquered and made over to Kamāl Khān. Sultān Ādam and his son were also delivered up to him. He put Lashkarī to death and kept Sultān Ādam in confinement till he died.

It is stated in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*<sup>2</sup> that Kamāl Khān attained the rank of 5,000, and that he was distinguished for bravery and generosity. It is also stated that he died in 970 A.H. (1562-63 A.D.) which was the very year of his success. God alone knows what is true!

#### KĀMGĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 159, 160.)

He was the second son of Ja'far Khān. He received a suitable rank in the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign. In the 7th year his rank was increased to 1,000 with 200 horse and he was granted the title of Khān. In the 10th year he became Bakhshī of the *Aḥadīs* in succession to Luṭf Ullāh Khān. In the 12th year he was appointed *Dārōgha* of the Jewel market, and in the 19th year was dismissed for some reason, but in the 21st year he was again received into favour and made Master of Works (*Buyūtāt*<sup>3</sup>) in place of Rahmat Khān. In the 22nd year when the King went to Ajmēr, he was made governor of the fort of the Capital. In the 24th year he was made Reporter (*Wāqī'a khwān*) in place of Ashraf Khān, and in the 25th year, on the death of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān he became 3rd Bakhshī. In the 27th year he became Master of the Horse in succession to Mughal Khān and in the 28th year *Dārōgha* of the *jilau* (retinue) and in the 30th year Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna*<sup>4</sup> in succession to Bahrahmand Khān. In the end of the same year, on the death of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān he became *Khān-i-Sāmān*<sup>5</sup>. Afterwards, he was removed and in the 33rd year was ordered to proceed with a body of men to convey Muḥammad Mu'azzam's ladies to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). In the 43rd year he obtained the rank of 3,000. For a time he was governor of the fort of Akbarābād (Agra). His simplicities are well known, and though he was without talent, he on account of his illustrious descent was much wrapped up in himself and did not defer to anybody.

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 193, Beveridge's translation II, p. 299. It is a ferry on the Jhelum.

<sup>2</sup> De's edition, Text II, p. 438, Translation II, p. 664. The date of his death is given there as 972 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> For duties of *Buyūtāt*, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>4</sup> For *Ghuslkhāna* or *Daulatkhāna*, see Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 68-70, 77-80.

<sup>5</sup> For *Khān-i-Sāmān* or *Mīr Sāmān*, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 275; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 48-52, where his duties are described in detail. Also see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 234-252.

They say, that one day the King directed Amīr<sup>1</sup> Khān of Thatha to give a message to Kāmgar Khān. He sent word of this by a confidential person and requested the Khān to visit him. The Khān pretended ignorance and asked: "What Amīr Khān? Amīr Khān was our cousin." The go-between said: "Amīr Khān 'Abdul Karīm of Thatha." The Khān said: "He is 'Abdul Karīm the *Farrāsh* (carpet-spreader). Tell him that we do not visit the houses of *farrāshes*." By this remark he alluded to the fact that Mir 'Abdul Karīm had been for a long time Superintendent of the Oratory. When Amīr Khān reported this story to the King, he said: "After all he is the son of Ja'far Khān. You should not have sent for him to your house." The verses (*Qit'a*) of Nī'mat Khān 'Alī, of which this is the first couplet, refer to Kāmgar Khān.

Verse.<sup>2</sup>

The second marriage of the Khān of lofty lineage (?)  
Took place with perfect honour and splendour.

(RĀNĀ) KARAN.

(Vol. II, pp. 201-208.)

He was the son of Rānā Amrā son of Rānā Pratāp alias Kikā son of Rānā Udai Singh son of Rānā Sāngā *Zamīndār* of Mēwār. Mēwār is a part of the province of Ajmēr, and the *Sarkār* of Chittōr belongs to it. It has 10,000 villages<sup>3</sup>. Its length is 40 *kos* and its breadth 33 *kos*. It has three important forts, Chittōr the Capital, Kōmbalmīr, and Māndal. The chief was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time he has been styled Rānā. He belongs to the Gahlōt clan. When they made their home in the village of Sēsōd they became known as Sēsōdias. They claim to be descended from Naushīrwān the Just. Their great ancestor was compelled by Fortune to come to Berār and became known as the ruler of Narnāla<sup>4</sup>. When Narnāla came into the possession of the enemy, a young boy, Bāpā by name, was conveyed from there to Mēwār by his mother. She took protection under Rāja Mandalīk, a Bhīl. When he grew up he became famous for slaying beasts of prey, and became one of the trusted servants of the Rāja. When the latter died he became the

<sup>1</sup> Amīr Khān Sindhī of *Madhīr-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 303-310, Beveridge's translation, pp. 253-259.

<sup>2</sup> The poem is a coarse satire on an old man's marrying a young woman. It was Kāmgar Khān's second marriage. Ja'far Khān the father of Kāmgar Khān had the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and was nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Nūr Jahān's brother Āṣaf Khān. This biography is based mainly on the references in *Madhīr-ul-Umarā*, pp. 82, 156, 166, 172, 206, 216, 240, 260, 281, 297, 330, 405 and 497.

<sup>3</sup> See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 268, where for villages "troops" is suggested. The number of villages is probably correct, as in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, p. 93, it is stated that there are 6,044 villages and towns in Mēwār (Udaipur) excluding 94 managed by Government of India. It is the area given in Text and in *Ā'in* which seems to be wrong. In reality Mēwār has an area of over 12,000 sq. miles.

<sup>4</sup> Var. Parnāla. See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 234, 268. Narnāla is in the Akālā district of the Berārs, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 379. The text is taken verbatim from the *Ā'in*, Text I, p. 505.



Rāja. Rānā Sāngā was one of his descendants. He in 933 A.H.<sup>1</sup> (13 Jumāda II) along with other Rājas brought together 100,000 horse and fought a battle with Bābur and was defeated. In 934 A.H. (1528 A.D.) he died, and Rānā Uday Singh succeeded him.

In the 12th year of his reign Akbar proceeded to chastise the sons of Sultān Muhammad Mirzā who were stirring up strife in Mālwa. When he came to Dhōlpūr, he, in order that the turbulent elements of Mālwa might be thrown off their guard, observed<sup>2</sup> that many Rājas of India had waited upon him, but that the Rānā was still in the sleep of forgetfulness. Now he would make a rapid march and punish him. He turned to Sakat Singh, the son of Rānā Uday Singh, who was one of his servants, and said: May be that you can render useful service in this case. He in appearance agreed, but was alarmed and fled. In view of this Akbar determined to punish the Rānā. He first established stations in fort Sivi<sup>3</sup> Sūpar and the town of Kōtha and he also took the forts of Māndal and Rāmpūr. The neighbourhood of Udaipūr was also devastated. Chittōr was taken after a long siege. The Rānā hid himself in the folds of the hills. It appears that after some time he died, and that Rānā Pratāp succeeded him. Accordingly, Abūl Faḍl writes in the *Akbarnāma* that in the 18th year when Kunwar Mān Singh after chastising the *Zamīndār* of Dōngarpūr came to Udaipūr, the Rānā came out to meet him and put on with respect the royal robe of honour. He expressed himself warmly to the Kunwar and excused himself for his delay in waiting upon Akbar. In the same year the Rānā sent his eldest son Amrā along with Rāja Bhagwān Dās—who had come there from Idar—and he made use of many flattering words and promised that after purging his offences he too would come and kiss the threshold. He also had an interview with Rāja Tōdar Mal—who was coming from Gujarāt—and exhibited much humility. Amrā after coming to the Court entered the King's service. In the 21st year Kunwar Mān Singh was ordered to chastise Rānā Pratāp and came to Māndalgarh. After collecting his forces he marched to Gōganda. A great battle took place and the Rānā was defeated and fled. In the same year Akbar came there in person, and as the Rānā had taken shelter in the hills, a force was appointed to act against him and to bring him and his eldest son to the Court. Meanwhile, the rebellion of Khusrāu took pace and the Rānā sent his younger son Bāgha. Afterwards, 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang, and then Mahābat Khān were sent to pursue him. But there was no result. At last in the end of the<sup>4</sup> 9th year Sultān Khurram was appointed to the task. He established stations and pressed him so hard, that he had to submit and wait upon the Prince, and to give his eldest son Karan to accompany him. Kunwar Karan received a robe of honour and a sword, and to subdue his savagery he was every day awarded new favours. In the 10th year he was made

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Khānna on 16th March, 1527, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 17. In De's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II, p. 39, note 1, the Hijri date is given correctly, but 25th March, 1526, is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 302, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 442, 443.

<sup>3</sup> "Sheepoor, 12m. S.W. Agra," Elliot, V, p. 325, the Sheepoor of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 271, in the Gwalior State.

<sup>4</sup> He was appointed in the end of the 8th year, see *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 256. The Rānā submitted in the 9th year (*op. cit.*, pp. 273-276). His name in that work is Rānā Amar Singh.

a *Panjhazārī* with 5,000 horse, and was allowed to go home. Afterwards his son Jagat Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour and went home with Har Dās Jhāla. In the 11th year Kunwar Karan came to the Court, was honoured and again returned home.

When Sultān Khurram was appointed to the Deccan campaign, Rānā Amrā Singh and Kunwar Karan waited upon him and sent the grandchild (Jagat) to accompany him with 1,500 horse. In the 13th year, when Jahāngīr was proceeding from Gujarāt to Āgra, and came near the Rānā's territory Kunwar Karan did homage. In the 14th year Rānā Amrā Singh died <sup>1</sup>, and Jahāngīr made Kunwar Karan the Rānā, and granted him a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant. In the 18th year Jagat Singh his son came to the Court. When Shāh Jahān, after his father's death proceeded from Junair towards Āgra, Rānā Karan waited on him in the vicinity of his territory and was graciously received. He died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1038 <sup>2</sup> A.H. (1628 A.D.), and Jagat Singh became Rānā and had the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the campaign against Khān Jahān Lōdī when Shah Jahān went to the Deccan, 500 horse under the command of the Rānā's uncle named Arjun were in attendance. For some time the heir-apparent served with the expedition, and it was agreed that 500 horse under the charge of a responsible officer should always be on duty in the Deccan. He also received from the King presents of jewels, a robe of honour, an elephant and a horse. In the 26th year the Rānā died, and the heir-apparent was granted the title of Rānā Rāj Singh and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and received his native land in fief.

As in Jagat Singh's lifetime it was reported, that he had begun to repair Chittōr, although the agreement was that it should never be repaired, the King appointed someone to inquire into this matter. When it was reported that one or two gates out of the seven had been repaired, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was sent in the 28th year with a force to destroy the fort and to devastate the country. Some parganas also were made imperial stations. Rānā Rāj Singh went to Prince Dārā Shikōh and represented his humility, and agreed to send his son and heir and to demolish the repairs. He begged that his country might not be devastated by the troops. Accordingly, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān returned after destroying <sup>3</sup> the fort. The Rānā sent his eldest son, who was six years old, to the Court which was then at Ajmēr together with his responsible officers and a present (*pēshkash*). The King presented him with a robe of honour, jewels, an elephant and a horse, and as it appeared that the child had not yet been named by the Rānā, he was called Subhāg <sup>4</sup> Singh. An order was also passed that the Rānā should send his son and 500 horse to the Deccan.

When Aurangzīb came to the throne, the Rānā received a robe of honour, and in the 22nd year when the King was at Ajmēr Rānā Rāj

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), I, p. 296, states that Rānā Karan (Kurrūn) died in Jahāngīr's reign, though he gives the year as 1628, but Jahāngīr died on 7th November, 1627.

<sup>3</sup> Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 297, represents Jagat Singh or as he calls him Juggut Sing as having repaired Chittōr, and does not speak of the fortifications having been destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> Subhāg—the fortunate. There is the variant Suhāg.

Singh, after asking permission to do so, sent <sup>1</sup> his son Kunwar Jai Singh to the Court. After some days he received a robe of honour, a *sarpēch*, a horse and an elephant. In the same year when the levy of the *Jizya* <sup>2</sup> (poll-tax) was approved of by the King, the Rājput annoyance was added to their natural recalcitrancy, and they became presumptuous. Accordingly, it was resolved in the 23rd year to march from Ajnēr against Udaipūr and to chastise the Rānā. The Rānā abandoned Udaipūr and fled, and an army under Hasan 'Alī Khān <sup>3</sup> was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, Muḥammad A'zam Shāh and Sulṭān Bidār Bakht were nominated to the task. When the Rānā's territory was trampled upon, he left his home, and was without a refuge. In the 24th year he supplicated the Prince and in lieu of the *Jizya* surrendered the parganas of Māndal and Budhnūr. Then he came to the Rāj Sumandar <sup>4</sup> tank and waited upon the Prince, and was confirmed in the title of Rānā and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the same year he died and a mourning robe was sent to Rānā Jai Singh, his son.

(RĀO) KARAN BHŪRTHIYA.<sup>5</sup>

(Vol. II, pp. 287-291.)

He was the son of Rāo Sūr. After his father's death he, in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāo and the fief of Bikanūr. In the beginning of the 5th year he came from his native country and did homage. He was sent off along with Vazīr Khān to take Daulatābād. When the said Khān, in accordance with orders, returned while on the march to that place, he too came back. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan and did good service in the taking of Daulatābād. He also served well at the siege of Parēnda. After the death of Mahābat Khān he was attached to Khān Daurān the governor of Burhānpūr. In the 8th year when the King came to the Deccan, and Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah was sent off to take Bījāpūr, he was appointed under him <sup>6</sup>. In the 22nd year he was made governor of Daulatābād in succession to Siyādat Khān and had an increase of 500 horse and the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 23rd year he had an increase and his rank became 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and afterwards, when the fort of Daulatābād was given to Sulṭān Aurangzīb Bahādūr

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 174, 175.<sup>2</sup> For *Jizya* see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, III, pp. 268-275; it was levied from 12th April, 1679, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 242.<sup>3</sup> In the text Ḥusain, but the variant Ḥasan agrees with *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 186.<sup>4</sup> Rāj Sumand, 25 miles north of Udaipūr (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, III, p. 13, and Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 310). See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 208, where the *paizanas* are called Māndalpūr and Budhnūr. According to Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 310, the Muhammadans were several times defeated by the Rājputs; cf. Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 263, 264, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 379, 380.<sup>5</sup> Kurrun son of Raja Rae Sing according to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 145.<sup>6</sup> For the campaigns against Aḥmadnagar, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 137-149.

the increase of 500 and 500 horse—which he had received on condition of governing the fort of Daulatābād—was withdrawn. When the duty was entrusted to him of conquering the *Sarkār Jawār*<sup>1</sup> in the province of Aurangābād, which is bounded in the North by Baglāna, South by the Kōnkan, West by some districts of the Kōnkan, and East by Nāsik,—and of which the port of Jewal is a part—and where Sripat the *Zamīndār* was behaving contumaciously, he, on the recommendation of Prince Aurangzib, was restored to the above increase, and *Sarkār Jawār*—of which the revenue was 50 lacs of *dāms*—was assigned to him. He was deputed by the Prince and proceeded towards that district. When he arrived at the borders of *Sarkār Jawār*, the *Zamīndār* was not able to resist him and submitted. He gave money by way of tribute and took the revenues of the district into his charge, and made over his son to accompany Rāo Karan as a hostage. After his return Rāo Karan waited on the Prince in the 28th year. When on the occasion of Shāh Jahān's illness the influence of Dārā Shikōh became supreme, the officers who had been sent with Aurangzib to conquer Bijāpūr were recalled and set off for the Court. Rāo Karan also left the Deccan without the Prince's leave, and went to his home. Accordingly, in the 3rd year of Aurangzib's reign, Amīr Khān Khawāfī was deputed to Bikanīr. When he reached the boundary, Rāo Karan submitted<sup>2</sup> and came to the Court with the Khān and did homage along with his sons Anūp Singh and Padam Singh. He received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again appointed to the Deccan. In the 9th year he went off with Dilēr Khān Dāūdza'i to punish the *Zamīndār* of Chānda<sup>3</sup>, but as he committed faults he became an object of censure. The chiefship of his tribe and the government of his native country were given to his son Anūp Singh, who was granted the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Owing to the income from his fiefs having been stopped, he fell into distressed circumstances and came and settled in Aurangābād. In the 10th year corresponding to 1077 A.H. (1666-67 A.D.<sup>4</sup>) he died. Outside of the town of Aurangābād, on the south side, inclining to the west, there is a quarter which is named after him. He had four sons, Anūp Singh, Padam Singh, Kōsarī Singh, and Mōhan Singh. The three last died childless.

They say<sup>5</sup> that Sultān Muḥammad Mu'azzam was favourably inclined to Mōhan Singh, and that on this account the latter became an object of envy to the Prince's servants. One by the name of Muḥammad Shāh the *Mīr Tusuk* (Master of Ceremonies),—whose tame deer had entered Mōhan Singh's premises—had a quarrel with Mōhan Singh in the open *Darbār*, and this became very acute. Each used weapons against the other. Other men joined and Mōhan Singh was wounded. Though Padam Singh was not on good terms with his brother, he on

<sup>1</sup> Jawhar, a native state in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 87. It is the Djavar of Tiefenthaler, I, p. 486.

<sup>2</sup> *Maḥṭab-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 32; *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 599; *Khāṣi Khān*, II, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Maḥṭab-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 59, the name of the *Zamīndār* of Chānda was Mānji Malār.

<sup>4</sup> The 10th year of Aurangzib's reign extended from July, 1667 to June, 1668 and Rāo Karan must have died during this period.

<sup>5</sup> See the story in Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 145, note. He refers to Ferialta, but as that writer died in Jahāngir's reign, the reference is really to Jonathan Scott's translation.

hearing of the affair came and killed Muḥammad Shāh. They put Mōhan Singh into a palanquin and were taking him to his house, but he died on the way. Anūp Singh was at first appointed to the Deccan expedition and in the battle fought by Bahādur Khān Kōka he was on the left wing along with 'Abdul Karim Miyāna. In the 18th year, at the request of the said Khān he received the title of Rāja, and in the 19th year when a battle took place under the leadership of Diler Khān Dāūdza'i with the Deccanis, he was in the rearguard. In the 21st year he was left to defend Aurangābād. In that year Shivā Bhōnslé invested the city. Anūp Singh came out with his troops to his own quarter. Meanwhile, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who in that year was governor of the Deccan, came up, and the enemy fled. In the 30th year he was appointed governor of the fort of Nagratābād, and in the 33rd, he, in succession to Rāo Dalpat Bundēla was appointed to the charge of Imtiyāzgarh Adōnī. In the 35th year he was removed from there and in the 41st he died. The chiefship then came to his son Sarūp Singh who held the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and who did service under Dhūlfāqār Khān Bahādur. After him his son Anand Singh and his grandson Zōrāwar Singh became chiefs. At the time of writing, Gaj Singh the adopted son of Zōrāwar Singh, who is of the same tribe, is the chief.

## KĀRTALAB KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 153, 154.)

He was originally a Mahratta, and his name was Baswant Rāo. In the reign of Jahāngir he became one of the royal servants and was appointed to the Deccan. He was given the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when he became a Muhammadan, he had the title of Kārtalab Khān. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when the royal standards were established in the Deccan, his rank was increased to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 9th year when the King came to the Deccan for the second time, and troops were appointed to chastise Shāhū Bhōnslé and to ravage the territory of 'Adil Khān, he was sent along with Khān Zamān. After that he served with the governors of the Deccan. In the 30th year he was attached to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur in the expedition against Quṭb-ul-Mulk<sup>1</sup>. After that business was disposed of, he was sent off by the Prince along with Kēsār Singh Zamīndār of Dēogarh to collect a sum of money for which the above named (Kēsār Singh) was responsible. Afterwards when the Fates made another arrangement, and the Prince proceeded to Upper India on the pretext of inquiring after his father's health, he conciliated Kārtalab Khān and took him with him. He was attached to Aurangzib's stirrups in the battles<sup>2</sup> against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Dārā Shikōh. He died at his appointed time.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the expedition against Gōlconda in 1655 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 204-212.

<sup>2</sup> Battle of Dharmat, April 25, 1658 A.D. and Sāmūgarh, June 8, 1658 A.D., see Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 359, 377.

## KHALIL ULLĀH KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 775-782.)

He was the younger brother of Aṣālat Khān<sup>1</sup> *Mir Bakshshī*. He was married to Hamida Bānū Bēgam the daughter of Saif Khān<sup>2</sup> and the daughter's daughter of Aṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula (Nūr Jahān's brother). In the reign of Jahāngīr he was imprisoned by Mahābat Khān along with Aṣaf (Yamīn-ud-Daula) at the time of Mahābat Khān's usurpation of authority. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān, and afterwards was made *Mir Tuzuk*<sup>3</sup> (Court Chamberlain). In the 6th year<sup>4</sup>, 1042 A.H., 1632 A.D., he was made *Mir Atish* (Head of the Artillery), and in the 9th year he attained the rank of 2,000, and was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman). In the 18th year he obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse<sup>5</sup> and was made *Qurbēgi*<sup>6</sup> (Keeper of the Arsenal). In the 19th year he was sent along with Prince Murād Bakshsh for the capture of Balkh and Badakhshān, and became leader of the left wing of the reserve. The Prince sent off Khalil Ullāh Khān with Chīn Qulij Khān and Mirzā Naudhar<sup>7</sup> Ṣafavī from Chārikārān to go by Ābdarah and take the forts of Kahmard<sup>8</sup> and Ghōrī. The Khān by his rapidity went on one stage ahead with Mirzā Naudhar and when they passed the *katal* (defile) of Gandak<sup>9</sup>—which is the boundary between the province of Kābul and Kahmard, he appointed a body of men to go with all possible speed to Kahmard. The Ūzbegs were disconcerted as soon as the heroes arrived and left the fort and fled. A few of them at first stood firm, but at last they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort.

Khalil Ullāh Khān after taking steps for strengthening the fort, went on with Mirzā Naudhar a stage ahead of Qulij Khān and sent on a force against Ghōrī—who had come out of the fort under the impression that the imperial troops were men of the Hazārājāt,—but after a short struggle fled. The gallant men followed close on his heels and entered

<sup>1</sup> Aṣālat Khān Mir 'Abdul Hādī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 167-172, Beveridge's translation, pp. 295-299.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 416-421. His name was Saif Khān Mirzā Ṣafī and his wife—the daughter of Yamīn-ud-Daula—was Malika Bānū. She died in the 14th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Khalil Ullāh Khān was son of Mir Mirān of Yazd. His grandfather, who was also called Khalil Ullāh Khān, left Yazd and came to India with his son Mir Mirān on account of his family having been ill-treated by Shāh 'Abbās, *vide Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 627; this was in Jahāngīr's time. The grandchildren remained in Persia, but afterwards came to India.

<sup>3</sup> See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 273. He was the Court Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed discussion of the terms *Dhāt* and *Suwār*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 249-259; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 9; Tripathi, *Indian Historical Records Commission*, V, pp. 60-62; Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-289.

<sup>6</sup> *Qurbēgi* in dictionaries is given to mean Keeper of Arsenal, but Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 273, following Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 96, calls him "in charge of the royal standards" or "Lord Standard-bearer". Irvine in *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 205, describes him as officer entrusted with the insignia and standards.

<sup>7</sup> Son of Mirzā Haidar and grandson of Mirzā Muṣaffar Ṣafavī, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 99, 521.

<sup>8</sup> North of Bāmiān.

<sup>9</sup> *Gambadḥak* in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 521.

the fort after fighting with him, Qabād took refuge in the citadel, and then came to terms with Khalil Ullāh Khān and waited upon him. The said Khān made over the fort to Ihtimām Khān and joined the Prince along with Qabād. After that country had come into the possession of the imperial servants and the learned Sa'ad Ullāh Khān had arrived in the city of Balkh for the purpose of making a settlement, Khalil Ullāh Khān took the confidential servants of Nadhar Muhammad Khān with him and returned to the Court. In the 20th year he again went off to the Balkh campaign with the fortunate and victorious Prince Muhammad Aurangzib. He had arrived at Duhāk when he heard <sup>1</sup> of the death of Aṣālat Khān (his elder brother), and from excess of affection his heart turned away from worldly matters and he retired into solitude. Though the Prince came to console him and gave him counsels of patience and said to him that at such a crisis it was repugnant to loyalty to withdraw himself from the King's service, the exhortation had no effect. Accordingly, he was punished by being deprived of his rank and *jāgīr*. In the 21st year he showed signs of repentance, and was again given the *manṣab* of 4,000 *Dhāt* with 3,000 horse, the fief of Mēwāt and its *faujdārī* in succession to Shāh Bēg Khān, and was ordered to go to his fief from Lāhōre without having the honour of waiting upon the Sovereign. In the 22nd year he was made Bakhshi. In the 23rd year he was appointed in succession to Ja'far Khān to the high post of *Mīr Bakhshī*, and in the 24th year he received an increase of 1,000 horse, and on the death of Mukarmat Khān he was made *Shūbādār* of Shāhjahānābād. In the 26th year he was made a *Panjhazārī* (5,000) with 4,000 horse and was appointed with a large force to go in company with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā to protect Kābul—the government of which had been assigned to Prince Dārā Shikōh and his son—which the Prince was leaving to besiege Qandahār. After that, as the ruler of Srinagar (Garhwāl)—which is in the hills north of the Capital—trusting to the strength of his fort and the difficulties of the hills, had not since the accession of Shāh Jahān paid his respects, and was showing signs of rebellion, Khalil Ullāh Khān was appointed to chastise him. He was, however, ordered first to go to his fief and put it in order, and then to go on the expedition. In the 29th year he came from his estates to the Capital and in Safr 1065 A.H. (December, 1654 A.D.) set out with 8,000 horse. The *Zamīndār* of Sirmūr <sup>2</sup>—which is the top of a hill north of the Capital, and the place from which ice comes to Shāhjahānābād—joined Khalil Ullāh Khān and assisted him. When he came to the Dūn—which is a place outside of the hills of Srinagar and is in length 20 *kos* and in breadth five *kos*, and one end of which touches the Jumnā and another the Ganges, and has in both directions villages and cultivated estates—he began near Khēlāghar to establish stations (*thānas*). Up to the bank of the Ganges he built earthen forts at every place that he judged proper, and appointed bodies of men to look after them. When he came to the bank of the Ganges, which had to be crossed in order to enter the hills, he sent a force across and took possession of *thāna* Chāndni which was a dependency of Srinagar outside of the Dūn and Khēlāghar. Bahādūr Chand the ruler of Kumāōn joined the army with the intention of rendering service.

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 677.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, VII, p. 105.

As the rainy season had nearly arrived, and the season for campaigning and for entering the hill-country was over, and moreover there was no reason for capturing that country the climate of which was inimical to all but the inhabitants, who belonged to the race of demons and wild beasts, Khalil Ullāh Khān, in accordance with the imperial orders reserved the question of the hills and settled the Dūn—the revenue of which at that time was 150,000 rupees or sixty lacs of *dāms* for the twelve months—on Chatr Bhōj Chūhān as his fief on condition of his residing there. Chatr Bhōj then had a *manṣab* of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. The *thāna* of Chāndnī was made over to the *krōrī* of Hardwār<sup>1</sup>. Thereafter Khalil Ullāh Khān returned to the Court and was again granted an increase of two-horse and three-horse troopers. In the 31st year when after the sudden illness of Shāh Jahān, affairs took a different turn, and a change of residence became essential, he in Muharram 1068 A.H. (October-November, 1657 A.D.) moved from Shāhjahānābād to Āgra, the said Khān was appointed to take charge of the former city. When in the end of Shāh Jahān's reign Dārā Shikōh placed<sup>2</sup>, on account of suspicion, Muḥammad Amin Khān (son of Mir Jumla) the *Mir Bakshī*<sup>3</sup> under surveillance, that high office was restored to Khalil Ullāh Khān. After that, when Dārā Shikōh resolved to oppose Aurangzib, he, from the great confidence that he had in Khalil Ullāh Khān, sent<sup>4</sup> him off with a strong army by way of vanguard from Āgra to Dhōlpūr. On the day of the battle he, with the Mir<sup>5</sup> (?) Tūrāniāns and royal officers had command of the right wing. As he had secretly made promises of service and loyalty (to Aurangzib) he, in the height of the engagement, with 15,000 troopers who were swordsmen and spearmen, did not move from his place though the Ūzbek troops who were with him behaved bravely and did what they could to repulse the foe. After Dārā Shikōh's defeat, and when Aurangzib was encamped in the environs of Āgra, Fāḍil Khān the *Khān-i-Sāmān* came again<sup>6</sup> on behalf of Shāh Jahān and offered congratulations and invited Aurangzib to wait upon the Emperor. Aurangzib at first accepted the proposal, but afterwards at the instigation of self-opinionated advisers refused to go and do homage to his father. Shāh Jahān sent Khalil Ullāh Khān and Fāḍil Khān with messages. Khalil Ullāh Khān who in consequence of the former concord was admitted to a private interview before Fāḍil Khān, spoke so much against the invitation that Aurangzib's alarm and dread were increased a hundredfold, and he detained<sup>7</sup> Khalil Ullāh Khān and sent back Fāḍil Khān without the latter

<sup>1</sup> Nāger Dās the Krōrī of Hardwār, *vide* Elliot, VII, p. 107. For Krōrī see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 41, note †.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 84, 95.

<sup>3</sup> For *Mir Bakshī* see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 210-233. He discusses in detail the meaning of the word *Bakshī*, the number and duties of the officers at the Capital, on tour and on the battlefield.

<sup>4</sup> Khalīl Khān, II, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Khalil Ullāh Khān was not a Tūrāniān, but he had Ūzbeks under him, *vide* Khalīl Khān, II, p. 26. Apparently the word occurs in text because the author is abstracting from *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 95, where at line 4 from bottom the word *Sōyar* (سایر) occurs after the mention of some Ūzbek names.

<sup>6</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 112. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 114, 115; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 416, where all relevant authorities are noted.



having attained his object. Though the office of *Mir Bakḥshī* was restored to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, but 'Umdat-ul-Mulk *Khalīl Ullāh Khān* was raised to the rank of 6,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers. He was sent off from Agharābād <sup>1</sup> in Delhi in command of the forces in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, and he, with Bahādur Khān Kōka did not draw the reins till they reached Multān. At the same time, in the beginning of the year 1069 A.H. (1658 A.D.) *Khalīl Ullāh Khān* was made governor of the Panjāb. In the 4th year he fell ill at Lāhōre and as the illness became protracted he came to the Capital, but on account of weakness was unable to pay his respects and alighted at this own quarters. Taqarrub Khān (Hakīm Dā'ūd) and others of the royal physicians were ordered to visit him. He had been much reduced by the length of the illness, and a slight injury—the consequence of carelessness in the matter of food—made his case beyond the reach of medicine! On 2 Rajab, 1072 A.H. (21 February, 1662 A.D.) he died. Aurangzib <sup>2</sup> in appreciation of his services cast the shadow of kindness on his representatives and showed them various favours. *Mir Khān*, Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, and 'Azīz Ullāh his sons and Iftikḥār Khān, Multafat Khān and Bahā'ud-Dīn his brother's sons and Saif Ullāh Ṣafavi his son-in-law received dresses of honour. His wife and daughter received an annual allowance of Rs.50,000, and his sons and son-in-law received increases of rank.

*Khalīl Ullāh Khān* was of noble origin, and had great ability; he long served the royal dynasty. He spent his last days in loyalty to the reigning Emperor. For these reasons he acquired a great name. They say that *Khalīl Ullāh Khān* in comparison with his elder brother Aṣālat Khān was rough in speech and manners. When both brothers were appointed to accompany Shāh Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda, Mahābat Khān was as much vexed with and full of complaints about *Khalīl Ullāh Khān* as he was pleased with Aṣālat Khān. Aṣaf Khān too was always worried on account of his unaccommodating nature <sup>3</sup>.

(MIR) KHALIL ULLĀH YAZDĪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 335-342.)

He was a descendant of that paragon of wisdom Saiyid Nūr-ud-Dīn Shāh Nī'mat <sup>4</sup> Ullāh the saint who is famed throughout the world for his

<sup>1</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, p. 39, who says the Agharābād garden is now known as Bāgh Shālāmār; see also Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 39, and *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 662, 663.

<sup>3</sup> Bernier, pp. 53, 54, refers *Khalīl Ullāh* and speaks of his treacherous advice to Dārā, but see the judicious remarks of Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn.), p. 584. According to Bernier, *Khalīl Ullāh* was made *Mir Bakḥshī* in place of his patron Dānishmand who had resigned as he was not a favourite with Dārā. He also says that *Khalīl Ullāh* behaved treacherously to Dārā because the latter had had him beaten with slippers. If *Khalīl Ullāh* stood still and did not attack the foe, would he have ventured afterwards to advise Dārā or would Dārā have listened to him? Bernier seems to be the only person who speaks of *Khalīl Ullāh's* having 30,000 Mughals under him. Khāfī Khān, II, p. 26, speaks of his attacking Murād Bakḥsh with 3 or 4,000 Uzbek archers. The *Tadhkirat-ul-Umarā* says he made the Shālāmār gardens in Lāhōre at a cost of six lacs. For further details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 399, note.

<sup>4</sup> In *Khawāza Aṣfiya*, I, p. 114, it is stated that Nī'mat Ullāh belonged to the Qādiri order. Also see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 203, according to which he died in 1424 or 1431 A.D.

miracles and expositions. His lineage goes up to the Imām Mūsā Kāzīm (the 7th Imām), may God's blessings be on him and his venerable descendants! The place where the Saiyid was born and reared has not been ascertained, but after acquiring knowledge from many distinguished men he settled in Kirmān. The learned men of that place accused him of heresy, and he answered, "They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same, but the greater part of them are unbelievers" (Sūra 16, v. 85). As the Saiyid was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Yamānī Shāfa'ī some regarded him as belonging to the Shāfa'ī sect, but the following verse of his proves the contrary.

*Verse.*

They say to me what is your religion?  
O ignorants, what religion do I have?  
From Shāfa'ī and Abū Hanīfī.  
I hold my own mirror before myself;  
They are all followers of my ancestor;<sup>1</sup>  
I hold the faith of my ancestor.

His writings in treatises and pamphlets amount to nearly 500. As the report of his abilities spread everywhere the kings of the age put the rings of his discipleship in their ears. He died in the year 728 A.H., and is buried in Māhān<sup>2</sup> one of the dependencies of Kirmān.

Authorities differ in the accounts of his sons. Those of the order, who to this day sit on the seat of their ancestors, maintain that they are descended from Amīr Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn who was the direct son of the Saiyid. But some maintain that the only son of the Saiyid was Shāh Khalīl Ullāh. When Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī of the Deccan, who founded the city of Bīdar became, in absence<sup>3</sup>, a disciple of the Saiyid, he begged that he would send him one of his sons. The Saiyid was not willing to send his son, as he had only one, and so sent his son's son Nūr Ullāh<sup>4</sup>. Under the circumstances, Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn may be a title of Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, and it is also probable that the birth of Amīr Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn may have taken place after this event.

They say that Sultān Ahmad considered the arrival of his Master's descendant (grandson) a great boon, and with his officers and sons met him in the environs of the city and brought him to his home. He established a village at the place of meeting and called it Nī'matābād. He exerted himself to the utmost to do him honour and gave him the title of King of Shaikhs (*Malik-ul-Māshā'ikh*) and ordered that he should

<sup>1</sup> Presumably, Mūsā Kāzīm who was born in 128 A.H. = 745-46 A.D., see *Khazina Aghya*, I, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Māhān is situated to the south-east of Kirmān. Seven appears to be a mistake in the Text for 8, as Nī'mat Ullāh belonged to the 8th century of the Hijra and died in the 9th century in 834 A.H. (1431 A.D.), see Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn.) I, p. 329 and Rieu, Persian MSS. Cat. II, p. 634, where it is stated that Māhān is eight passages (leagues) from Kirmān, and that Nī'mat Ullāh died there on 22 Rajab, 834 A.H. (April, 1431 A.D.) at the age of 103 or 104 lunar years.

<sup>3</sup> *Ghā'ibāna*, i.e. without having had a personal interview with the Saint.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishta says Nī'mat Ullāh first sent his disciple Qutb-ud-Dīn, and afterwards his grandson Nūr Ullāh, vide his account of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, I (Newal Kishore edn.), pp. 328, 329.

have precedence over the son of Saiyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz. He also gave him his daughter in marriage. Shāh Khalil Ullāh also after his revered father's death came with his two sons Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh and Shāh Muḥib Ullāh to Muḥammadābād (Aḥmadābād) Bidar. When he had accomplished his purpose he returned to his native country. But some<sup>1</sup> say that he died in the Deccan. As Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh and Shāh Muḥib Ullāh became connected by marriage with Sultān Aḥmad and his son Prince 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh entered<sup>2</sup> the service of the son, and made over the charge of the monastery to his younger brother Shāh Muḥib Ullāh. He himself assumed the pomp and circumstance of Amīrship and indulged in drums and a retinue. He obtained the township of Bīr as a fief. When the sovereignty came to the son of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn who was known as Humāyūn Shāh the Tyrant, he imprisoned Ḥabīb Ullāh who had opposed him. As the latter's brain was suffused with the vapours of leadership, he escaped from confinement, but was at last put to death. The chronogram<sup>3</sup> is: *Bar āmad rūḥ pak Ni'mat Ullāh* (The pure soul of Ni'mat Ullāh departed). His descendants are still living in the Deccan. Some persons in Badakhshān and Tūrān also claim relationship with the Saiyid. Probably in course of time one of his descendants had gone to those regions. A strange thing is that every one of them has a different creed and ascribes it to the Saiyid. Those who are in Yazd and Kirmān, and represent their great ancestor, have not varied but preserve his doctrines, and his lineage. One of this family who rose to honour and prosperity in Persia (Fārs) and 'Irāq was Mīr Nizām-ud-Dīn 'Abd, the successor of Shāh Ṣafī-ud-Dīn son of Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn. He became *Ṣadr* of Shāh Ismā'il Safavi. The *Vakil* of the State, Amīr Najm Thānī, had great faith in this family, and when he went to Balkh he made the Mīr his deputy. When Amīr Najm Thānī was killed (at Gajdiwān) the Mīr became the royal *Vakil*. He fell into the hands of the Turks at the battle of Chāldīrān in 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.) and was killed. His son Saiyid Na'im-ud-Dīn known as Ni'mat Ullāh II—who was distinguished for his piety and abstinence and who spent his days in prayer—was married by Shāh Tahmāsp Safavi to his own sister, Khānīsh Khānam. He died in Hamadān and left behind him more than 40 laos of rupees; these were divided between his son Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Muhammad Mīr Mīrān and his daughter Pari Paikar (Fairy-faced) Khānam. Mīr Mīrān was the object of honour by the Shāh and had the title of Murtaḍā-i-Mammālīk-i-Islām—the chosen of the realms of Islām. His sons Mīr Ni'mat Ullāh and Mīr Khalil Ullāh became famous by marrying in the Safavi family. The faithful of the order of Shāh Ni'mat Ullāh behaved to him as disciples, and received enlightenment from him. They were unrivalled for their grandeur, houses,

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be taken from Ferishta, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> There is evidently something wrong in the Text here. In *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 337, it is stated that Ḥabīb Ullāh died (*dar guzash*) in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, but on the next page it is noted that Ḥabīb Ullāh was put to death in Humāyūn Shah's reign. It also speaks of Nūr Ullāh when apparently Ḥabīb Ullāh is meant. It was Muḥib Ullāh who became the son-in-law of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn (see Ferishta, *op. cit.*)

<sup>3</sup> The chronogram is by Saiyid Ṭāhir Astarābādi, and forms the 4th line of a quatrain, see Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 342 and De and Prashad's translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 84.

gardens, etc. Their pensions, perquisites, etc., came to 5,000 *tōmāns* and as the disposition<sup>1</sup> of the Mīr was not free from ambition and self-seeking, in 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.) the 3rd year of Shāh 'Abbās I's reign, Yaktāsh Khān Afshār son of Vali Khān Qūrchibāshi the governor of Kirmān and Yazd, who was a trickster and an ambitious man, and was the son-in-law of the Mīr (Mīrān) instigated him to aim at the rule of all Persia. The end of the affair was, that there was fighting at Yazd with Ya'qūb Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā of the country and that Ektāsh Khān entered the city. Ya'qūb Khān sent a message to the Mīr Mīrān that as Yaktāsh Khān was the enemy of the King, he makes him over to the Mīr. The latter, in order to avert suspicion from himself and to save himself, contrived to get Yaktāsh Khān into his power, and kept him in custody until he committed suicide. Thereupon Ya'qūb Khān felt contempt for the Mīr and his other sons, and levied from him large sums as tribute and fines. But he increased his defence for Mīr Khalīl Ullāh, who had always been opposed to his father and to Yaktāsh Khān. After Yaktāsh Khān's widow, who was the daughter of Mīr Mīrān, had observed the time of her mourning, he (Ya'qūb Khān) married her. Afterwards, when Mīr Khalīl reached the summit of success, and he became arrogant, the Shāh proceeded in the 4th year of his reign to Fārs. Mīr Mīrān waited upon him. Meanwhile Shahr Bānū Bēgam, the wife of Mīr Nī'mat Ullāh, his son—who was the husband of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter—died a natural death in Isfahān, and the Shāh himself paid him a visit of condolence and consolation. But except that Mīr Khalīl was graciously treated, he did not get any further honour. When the Shāh came to Yazd, he alighted at the Bāgh Gulshan—which was Mīr Khalīl Ullāh's residence, and Mīr Khalīl Ullāh's wife, who was the daughter of Ismā'il Mīrzā the son of Shāh Tahmāsp, performed the duties of a hostess. The Shāh conferred various favours on Mīr Khalīl and made over the affairs of Yazd to him. Afterwards, however, Mīr Khalīl also for some reasons became the object of the Shāh's censure, and from fear of his life fled with his two sons Mīr Mīrān and Mīr Zahr-ud-Dīn in very straitened circumstances to India which is the abode of security. In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1016 A.H. (1608 A.D.) he did homage at Lāhōre, and received the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, and a fief, and a present of Rs.12,000 for expenses. The year had not ended when he died of diarrhoea<sup>2</sup>. His eldest son Mīr Mīrān received royal favours and was married to Šālīh Bānū Bēgam the daughter of Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula, and his two sons Mīr 'Abdul Hādī and Mīr Khalīl Ullāh—who on account of their tender age had remained in Persia—were out of kindness asked to be sent to India by Jahāngīr in a letter to Shāh 'Abbās. They both rose to high ranks in the Indian Empire, as has been mentioned separately in their accounts<sup>3</sup>. Mīr Zahr-ud-Dīn resigned service and lived in retirement. Shāh Jahān granted him an annual allowance of Rs.18,000, and on the feast of the 'Īd and at the New Year showed him special

<sup>1</sup> Taken from '*Ālam Ārā'i*', account of 2nd year of Shāh 'Abbās I.

<sup>2</sup> He died in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign in June 1608 A.D., see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 145, 305.

<sup>3</sup> For the biography of Aṣālat Khān Mīr 'Abdul Hādī, see *Madthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 167-172, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 295-299, while that of Khalīl Ullāh Khān (Text I, pp. 775-782) is published immediately preceding this account, pp. 767-770.

favours. His son Mīr Nī'mat Ullāh received the rank of 1,000. In the 25th year he became the son-in-law of Mīrzā Murād Kām Safavi the grandson of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār and who was *faujdar* of Jaunpūr and was made his deputy. In the beginning of Aurangzib's reign he got the title of Khān and had an increase of rank and was living with his father-in-law.

#### KHĀN DAURĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 782-785.)

He is Saiyid Maḥmūd the second son of Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang<sup>1</sup>. After his father's death he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. By grace of fortune and in view of his good services, he surpassed his elder brother Saiyid Muḥammad in the pursuit of promotion and riches. In the 22nd year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) he had a *manṣab* of 2,000 and in the Qandahār campaign he was attached to Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur. In the 23rd year at the time of the return he came with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—who was hurrying to salute the threshold—and had the honour of an audience. He received his father's earlier title of Naṣīrī Khān. After that, he was made an auxiliary officer of the province of Mālwa and got the fief of Rā'īsīn and the government of its fort. In the 30th year he went to the Deccan in company with the governor of Mālwa, who, along with all the contingent of that country, had been appointed by Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib the governor of the Deccan to chastise 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh (of Gōlcōnda<sup>2</sup>). After executing that duty in a proper manner, he returned to his home; and in the same year he was again ordered to the Deccan, and as an attendant on Prince Aurangzib did good service in attacking and devastating the territory of 'Adil Shāh<sup>3</sup>.

When Shivā and Manājī Bhōṁsle<sup>4</sup>, at the instance of the Bijāpūrīs, raised the head of disturbance in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar, and attacked certain estates, Naṣīrī Khān went there with 3,000 horse in company with a number of officers such as Kārtāl Khān and Īraj Khān, and acted bravely, and put many of Shivā's men to the sword. He took up his quarters in Pāndya Bīrgāōn, so that the rebels might not reach the royal estates. After the taking of the forts of Bīdar and Kālyān, the exertions of every one of the contingent were brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by the Prince and every one was suitably rewarded. Naṣīrī Khān received the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In one campaign after another he distinguished himself by good service and became a favourite with the Prince, and when, after the battle with Rāja Jaswant<sup>5</sup> the Prince encamped at Gwāliyār, Naṣīrī Khān came, according to orders, from fort Rā'īsīn and did homage, and received the high title of Khān Daurān. In the battle<sup>6</sup> with Dārā Shikōh he commanded the right wing of the reserve, and after the victory, was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse. He with

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 749-758.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 209-217.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-250.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp. 49-53.

<sup>5</sup> Battle of Dharmat, 25th April, 1658.

<sup>6</sup> Battle of Sāmūgarh, 8th June, 1658.

a portion of the army was sent to govern Allahābād after taking the fort, which was famed for its strength, and which was held by Saiyid Qāsim Bārah on behalf of Dārā Shikōh. The latter, though he had heard of the flight of Dārā Shikōh, resolved upon loyalty, and did not desert, but exerted himself to strengthen the fort. Khān Daurān set about besieging the fort, but when Shujā' came from Benāres with the intention of giving battle, and arrived near Allahābād, Khān Daurān raised the siege and joined Prince Sultān Muḥammad who had come near the fort as the vanguard. When Shujā' gave fortune to the winds, and an army under the command of Muḥammad Sultān pursued the vagabond, Khān Daurān acted as the Prince's auxiliary.

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Bārah the governor of the fort of Allahābād, who in accordance with Dārā Shikōh's letter had joined Shujā's army, made a rapid march to Allahābād after Shujā' had been defeated<sup>1</sup>, and entered the fort before his arrival. Now he, from a consideration of final results, shut the gates against that hopeless one, and wisely chose the King's service. When Sultān Muḥammad came near Allahābād, Saiyid Qāsim turned to Khān Daurān, who, before this, had obtained the command there and was besieging the fort. Saiyid Qāsim made him the instrument for procuring the pardon of his offences, and Khān Daurān, in accordance with the King's order, encompassed him with favours, and took possession of the fort, and addressed himself to the government of the province<sup>2</sup>. In the 2nd year when the government of that province was made over to Bahādūr Khān Kōka, Khān Daurān was made the governor of Orissa. He went there and spent a long time in that distant province. In the 10th year<sup>3</sup>, 1077 A.H., he died there a natural death.

### KHĀN DAURĀN AMIR-UL-UMARĀ.

(Vol. I, pp. 819-825.)

<sup>1</sup> His name was Khwāja 'Āṣam, and he came of a noble family<sup>4</sup>. His ancestors came to India from Rūstāq in Badakhshān and settled in Āgra. Some took to military life and some spent their days as darvishes. His elder brother Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far was one of the respected hermits. The discussion which Shaikh 'Abdullāh Wā'iz (preacher) of Multān had with him in the 3rd year of Farrukh-siyar's reign about asceticism and the virtues of the saints is well known. Khwāja Muḥammad Bāsīt was the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far. At first Khwāja 'Āṣam held a small post in the body-guard (*Wālā-Shāhīyān*) of Sultān 'Āzīm-ush-Shān. When the latter, on the death of Aurangzib, proceeded to Āgra from Bengāl at his father's summons, and left his son Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar in Bengāl, he put his son in the Khwāja's charge. As he was possessed of good manners, and ability,

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Khajūhā, 14th January, 1659.

<sup>2</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 62. where the appointment of his successor to the *Sūbadārī* of Orissa is mentioned; his death must have occurred early in 1667 or late in 1666.

<sup>4</sup> For his life see Sir Jadunath Sarker's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 264-266, etc.

he in a few days became the favourite of Farrukh-siyar, and had the management of his affairs. Other dependants wrote such attacks about him that Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān summoned him to his presence. When Bahādūr Shāh died and Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān was killed in battle with his brother, and Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar sat upon the throne, and with the aid of the Bārah Saiyids proceeded to make war upon his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, the above-named Khwāja came to Farrukh-siyar and was made *Dārōgha* of the *Divān-i-Khās*, and received suitable emoluments and the title of Ashraf Khān. He was also for some time *Mīr Atish* (Head of artillery) in addition to his *Dārōghaship*.<sup>1</sup> After Farrukh-siyar had vanquished his uncle and had come to Delhi, the Khwāja was in the first year raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and had a flag and drums and the title of *Ṣamsām-ud-Daula Khān Daurān Bahādūr Maṣūr Jang*. Afterwards, when in consequence of the levity and inexperience of the Sovereign, and the arrogance of the Saiyids of Bārah friendship between them was changed into enmity, the Khwāja—who possessed caution and good sense—did not break off with the Saiyids though he shared in the Emperor's counsels. In the 2nd year when the Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān went off to the government of the Deccan in succession to Nizām-ul-Mulk<sup>1</sup> Fath Jang Bahādūr, he was made deputy of the Mīr Bakhs̄hī. At the same time he was made 2nd Bakhs̄hī in succession to Muḥammad Amin Khān Bahādūr. Afterwards he was made governor of Gujarāt, and Haidar Qulī Khān, who had been made Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, was made his deputy.

When the sovereignty came to Muḥammad Shāh, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was killed in the first year of the reign and his troops gathered together and Saiyid Ghairat Khān, Ḥusain 'Alī's sister's son, came to the royal enclosure with his men, the King, at the instance of his well-wishers mounted on an elephant and stood in front of the *Daulatkhāna*. The Khwāja during the height of the commotion came with his men and was attached to the vanguard. After Ghairat Khān had been killed, and the disturbance was quelled, the Khwāja received the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā and the charge of the office of Mīr Bakhs̄hī. For a long time he remained in that appointment. He had pleasant manners, and was affable, and was fond of the society of the learned. In his company subjects of learning were always discussed. He was courteous to strangers, but reserved with his rivals. Whatever he got from his fiefs he spent upon his soldiers who were all in good condition, and there was no self-seeking in his management of state affairs.

They say that when Ja'far Khān, the governor of Bengāl, died and Shujā'-ud-Daula the son-in-law of Ja'far Khān was appointed in his place, he sent a large sum of money, which might mean lakhs<sup>2</sup> (of rupees) for the Khwāja in addition to the royal tribute, and the Khwāja deposited the whole of it into the royal treasury. The Rājās were much in league with him. When the Mahrattas of the Deccan made a disturbance in Mālwa in 1147 A.H. (1734-1735 A.D.) he went along with the Rājās

<sup>1</sup> The Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He got the title of Fath Jang from Farrukh-siyar. For an account of his life, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 837-848 and pp. 875-882, also Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 267-271, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ke ta'bir balakūk towān karā*. Lakūk is given in the *Qhiṣṣ-ul-Lughāt* as the plural of *lak*, a lakh or 100,000.

to chastise the vagabonds, and there was another army under Itimād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the Khān Daurān encountered Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar. But nothing suitable resulted, and he returned to the Court after arranging a sort of peace. In the year 1149 A.H. when Bājī Rāo made a commotion around the Capital, Khān Daurān<sup>1</sup> came out of the city and opposed him. In 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) when Nādir Shāh came to India, and the reigning Sovereign proceeded to Kārnāl to engage him, Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān the governor of Oudh, who had fallen behind, made a forced march and joined him, and on hearing the news of the plunder<sup>2</sup> of his baggage hastened to oppose the Persians. Khān Daurān too followed with his troops to assist him. The opposing army came on the field in Cossack-fashion (in skirmishing order). Khān Daurān stood firm and fought to the best of his power. Many of his companions were killed, and he himself was wounded by a bullet. He was carried to his tent and died on the following day. Three<sup>3</sup> of his sons who were with him, and Muẓaffar Khān his brother—who had acquired a name for excellence, and had for a while been governor of Ajmēr,—were killed in this battle. His son Khwāja 'Ashwarī, who was made prisoner by the enemy, received his father's title in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, and in 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) was made *Mir Ātish*. In the time of 'Ālamgīr II he was made Amīr-ul-Umarā, and after some time died.

As Nādir Shāh has been mentioned, some notice of him is indispensable. He was of the tribe of Qırqlū which is a section of the Afshār Turkamāns. In ancient times this tribe lived in Turkistān. In the days of the supremacy of the Mughals in Tūrān (the Afshār Turkamāns) they came away from there and took up their residence in Adharbā'ījān. In the time of Shāh Ismā'il Šafavī they marched forward and took up their abode at the fountain of Manāt<sup>4</sup> Kōnkān Maḥāl Anīward (?) (Abīverd?) belonging to Khurāsān, north of the holy Mashhad and twenty *farsakhs* distant from it and near the district of Marv. He was born in 1100 A.H. (1688 A.D.) and received the name of his grandfather Nadhr Qulī. As in the last days of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Ḥusain Šafavī there was confusion in the government owing to abundant slackness, and the absence of punishment, which is essential for rule—there arose in every brain and heart a desire for power. Accordingly, the Abdālī Afghāns and the Ghilza'ī Afghāns took possession of territories in Khurāsān and Qandahār, while the men of Rūm (the Turks) took places on their borders. He first rebelled in his own country and fought with

<sup>1</sup> Bājī Rāo arrived outside Delhi on 9 Dhul Hijja, 1149 A.H. (9th April, 1737), see *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, VIII, p. 61, Sir William Jones—*Histoire de Nader Chah*, p. 297, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> In Sir William Jones's *History*, p. 299, only one son is spoken of as having been killed. In a note in Frazer's *Nadir Shah*, p. 158, it is said that the eldest son of Khān Daurān was killed, and that Khān Daurān had two bullet wounds, one in the arm and another in the side. In Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 348, he is stated to have been mortally wounded in the face. The battle of Karnāl was fought on 23rd February, 1739; 24th February according to *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Jones in his life of Nādir Shāh, *op. cit.*, p. 27, has: the fountain of Meiab Kiupe Kale twenty parasangs north of Mashhad and near Merv. It was their summer quarters. Frazer says he was born at Calot (Kalat-i-Nadir). That place lies to the N. of Mashhad. Wardeh of the maps is probably Abīverd. Sykes in *History of Persia* (1930), II, p. 248, says he was born at Kala Kūhna or Old Fort in the autumn of 1100 A.H.



his own tribesmen who opposed him, and prevailed over them. Afterwards, in repeated battles he killed the Afghāns and checked their power. After that he accomplished the conquest of the holy Mashhad (1138 A.H., 1725-26 A.D.) and in 1141 A.H. took Isfahān. In 1145 A.H. he defeated the armies of Rūm and made peace on five<sup>1</sup> conditions. (1) The learned men of Rūm should count the Imāmiya sect as the fifth sect. (2) The four pillars of the mosque at Mecca belong to the four Imāms; the men of the Imāmiya religion should share with them in one pillar and say their prayers according to the Ja'far rites. (3) A *Mir* Haj to be appointed every year from Persia, and to be treated with respect and honour. (4) The prisoners of the countries of Persia and Rūm to be released, with whosoever they might be, and the buying and selling of them to be prohibited. (5) An agent from either Court to be always present so that the affairs of each country may be suitably disposed of. In the year 1147 A.H.<sup>2</sup> he ascended the throne, and in 1151 A.H. (1738-1739 A.D.) came to India. Muḥammad Shāh at last made peace with him and made over to him a large sum of money and endless goods<sup>3</sup>, among them the Peacock Throne which was made by Shāh Jahān. In 1152 A.H. he returned, and got possession of the whole territory of Persia, Balkh and Khwārazm. In the year 1160<sup>4</sup> A.H. his sentries entered his tent at night and killed him. After him some of his sons rose to power. The last of them had nothing left but a name.

#### KHÂN DAURÂN NAŞRAT JANG.

(Vol. I, pp. 749-758.)

His name was Khwāja Šābir, and he was the son of Khwāja Hişārī Naqshbandī. In the time of Jahāngīr he obtained an office and was

<sup>1</sup> There is no such account in Sir William Jones's life of Nādir Shāh. Afterwards at all events Nādir Shāh was a bigoted Sunnī. There were said to be four orthodox sects of Muhammadans, and apparently Nādir demanded that the Shi'as should be recognised as a fifth orthodox sect.

<sup>2</sup> See *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 317-320, for Nādir Shāh's early life. This date should be 1148 A.H. On p. 319 he is stated to have ascended the throne on 26th February, 1736; see also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 357, and Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> For details of the indemnity levied by Nādir Shāh at Delhi, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's account in *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 371-373.

<sup>4</sup> In Sir William Jones's *History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 400, 401, the date is given as 8th June, 1747, and the names of the murders are Ali Kuli Khan, Mohammed Saleh Khan and Mohammed Kuli Khan; and the place is stated to have been Fathabad two farsangs distant from Khabouchan. In the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 371, the date is 2nd June, 1747. Sykes in his *History of Persia*, II, pp. 272, 273, mentions the names of only two, 'Mohamed Saleh Khan and Mohamed Kuli Khan', and states that he was killed in 1160 (1747).

Sir William Jones's *History* in French was a translation of the Persian MS. of *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādirī* (see Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian MSS.*, *As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 30, 1924) by Muḥammad Mahdī. In the Persian Text of this work published by the Asiatic Society in 1845, the date, on p. 326, of Nādir Shāh's murder is given as *یک شنبه یازدهم جادانی آخری سال هزار و صد و شصت*. The same date and day are given in Oskar Mann *Das Muḥmil et-Tārīkh-i-Ba' DNādirīja* (Leiden, 1896), p. 15. This according to Wüstenfeld-Mahler *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (1926) would correspond to 20th June, 1747 A.D. The day, however, does not agree, as according to these tables 10th June was a Saturday, and 20th, therefore, would be a Tuesday and not a Sunday as recorded by the Author of the Persian work.

appointed to the Deccan. Khān-Khānān<sup>1</sup> observed in him signs of courage and skill and patronised him. For some reason he retired from his service, and attached himself to Nizām Shāh. As he perceived that young men were encouraged there, he entered among them and so exerted himself that he became an intimate companion, and received the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Later he gave up this service and became a servant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and received the title of Naṣīrī Khān. He was the Prince's close attendant in all the vicissitudes of his fortune and did not leave the least point of good service undone. In the case of occasional necessity he even looked after the saddles and bridles of the special horses. In the Tōns<sup>2</sup> battle (near Benāres) he was leader of Shāh Jahān's troops. As on that day all threw the dust of instability on their heads, he too could not maintain his ground. After 'Abdullāh Khān had behaved unfaithfully and had separated from the Prince, Khān Daurān also deserted in consequence of his being 'Abdullāh Khān's son-in-law and joined Malik 'Ambar. On his death he joined Nizām-ul-Mulk, who had established himself in position. In the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself at the Court and received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and his old title of Naṣīrī Khān. When in the 3rd year Shāh Jahān in Burhānpūr appointed a large army to chastise Khān Jahān (Lōdī) and to conquer the Nizām-Shāhī territory, Khān Daurān was directed to proceed in company with Rāja Gaj Singh. Out of his zeal he represented that if the task of taking the country of Telingāna and Qandahār<sup>3</sup>—whither Rāo Ratan had been sent—were entrusted to him, he would in a short time accomplish it. He received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and was deputed to that expedition. He set before himself the taking of the fort of Qandahār<sup>4</sup>—which was famed for its strength—and began by defeating Sarafrāz Khān the leader of the army of that country and who had prepared for a battle between the town and the fort. Muqarrab Khān, Bahlūl Khān and Randaula Khān the 'Adil-Shāhī had come in force to the assistance of the garrison and were making a commotion, but Khān Daurān's vigorous efforts made them turn back. At this time A'zam Khān the *Ṣubadār* of the Deccan came to his help, and as the besieged saw that their capture was at hand, they surrendered. After four months and nineteen days Ṣādiq the son-in-law of Yāqūt Khudāwand Khān gave up the keys in the 4th year, 1040 A.H. (1631 A.D.). The guns<sup>5</sup> Malik Dabt, Bijli, and 'Ambari known as Major and Minor, and other great and small cannon to the number of 116, each of which was enough to overthrow an army or a city, together with other materials for the defence of a fort, were taken possession of. Naṣīrī Khān had

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān-Khānān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 693-713, Beveridge's translation, pp. 50-65.

<sup>2</sup> Tōns is a tributary of the Ganges, see Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p. 456. The battle was fought in 1624 at Damdama, a village in the Allahābād district near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges, vide *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173. For an account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366-386, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 40-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādeśhāhnāma*, I, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādeśhāhnāma*, I, pp. 374-377.

<sup>5</sup> *Bādeśhāhnāma*, I, p. 377. Two guns of the name of 'Ambari are mentioned there, and instead of Bijli we have Tajalli. It was only the four large ones which were fit for use.

an increase in rank of 1,000 and of 1,000 horse. In the same year at the time of his leaving for Bālāghāt he received, at his request, the distinction of the *Māhi-o-marātīb*<sup>1</sup>; this, in old times, was a decoration which was customary with the Delhi Sultāns and which was given by them to the rulers of the Deccan. After that it acquired great glory in this country (the Deccan), and was given by the princes thereof to whosoever was considered by them worthy of great favour. In the 5th year he was appointed as the *Şubadār* of Mālwa in succession to Mu'taqad Khān.

They say that when Ujjain and Sārangpūr became his fief after the death of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan,—who had developed them for a long time—there was such a famine in Khāndēsh and the Deccan that a loaf was dearer than a life (*nānē bajānē mē arzīd*). The reliance of the inhabitants of those countries for food was on the corn of Mālwa. Naşiri Khān filled the granaries with gold. Never was so much money obtained from the estates of Mālwa.

When in the 6th year Mahābat Khān besieged the fort of Daulatābād, Naşiri Khān was appointed to assist him, and distinguished himself. One day Khān Zamān had filled a mine with seventy maunds of gunpowder, when it was fired, 28<sup>2</sup> yards of the wall of 'Ambarkōt and 12 yards of its bastion were blown up, and a wide path was laid open. But on account of a rain of musketry and rockets by the garrison no one advanced. Mahābat Khān wanted himself to go forward on foot, but Naşiri Khān said: "Such an idea on the part of a leader is contrary to all canons of skill. I'll go." He cast the shield of Divine protection over his face and ran to the fort. He passed through the arrows and bullets and fought with sword and dagger. The garrison, on seeing such devotion and zeal, after a short struggle, retired to the Mahākōt (the great fort). And when that too was opened by a mine they surrendered and delivered up the keys. Every one<sup>3</sup> whom Mahābat Khān appointed to defend the fort rejected the task because there was no food in the fort, and because during the four months of the siege they had endured various hardships. Naşiri Khān, who had 2,000 troopers in his service, accepted the duty from his great love of work, and in concert with Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān superintended the defence of the fort. After the Bijāpūr troops had followed the Commander-in-chief for some stages, they returned to Daulatābād. They entered the batteries, which were still standing and invested the fort. As Naşiri Khān repeatedly showed activity and energy, they failed<sup>4</sup> and had to retire. He received the title of Khān Daurān and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and, in accordance with orders, made over<sup>5</sup> the fort to Murtaḍā Khān and returned to Mālwa.

When in the 7th year Prince Muḥammad Shujā' was appointed to take Parēnda, Naşiri Khān was appointed to accompany him. One day when the enemy had pressed upon Khān-Khānān at the time of foraging<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 512; Elliot, VII, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 532; Elliot, VII, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 533. Khān Daurān made frequent sallies.

<sup>5</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 534.

<sup>6</sup> *Naubat-i-gaḥī* means turn of foraging. Each commander apparently had to take his turn in looking after the foraging. *Bādshāhnāma* makes this clearer by adding the pronoun *ao* in *naubat-i-gaḥī-i-ao būd*: it was his turn for foraging. *Gaḥī* here means forage or a party of foragers. Details are given in *Bādshāhnāma*,

(*naubat-i-gaḥī*) and it was leading almost to a big defeat, Khān Daurān perceived the position and came up quickly and forced the army which was behind Khān-Khānān on to the forces on his right wing, and then made both bodies join in with the force in front of Khān-Khānān. He also rescued the wounded, and joined Khān-Khānān. On this success the enemy fled; and this great<sup>1</sup> deed was the cause of Khān Daurān's receiving a great reception at the Court. When Mahābat Khān died, Bālāghāt was made over to Khān Zamān (his son), and the Pāyānghāt—which included the whole of Khāndēsh and much of Berār—was made over to Khān Daurān at a revenue of 92 krorrs of *dāms*. An order was also given that Sarkār Bijāgarh, Sarkār Nadarbār<sup>2</sup> and that part of Sarkār Hāndia, which was on the other side of the Narbadā, should be regarded as belonging to Khāndēsh. When<sup>3</sup> Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, who, with his father's contingent, was with Khān Zamān in Bālāghāt, at a hint from his father, who was meditating rebellion in his wretched country, fled to his home, Khān Daurān heard of it and came out of Burhānpūr to pursue him. He came up with him at Ashta<sup>4</sup> in the Mālwa *Ṣūba*, and nearly caught him. Bikramājīt fled wounded into the difficult jungles and joined his father in Dhāmūnī. Khān Daurān waited for orders in Mālwa, and when the government of Mālwa was entrusted to him, he was sent to uproot this plant of disaffection. In conjunction with 'Abdullāh Khān he displayed great energy in the pursuit and completed the task. In the 9th year he sent the heads of Jujhār and his son to the Court<sup>5</sup>, and as a reward received the title of Bahādūr. In the same year, when Shāh Jahān came to visit the fort of Daulatābād, Khān Daurān, with Rāja Jai Singh and other Rājputs as a vanguard, and Mubārīz Khān Niyāzī and other Afghāns as the rearguard was appointed to take the forts of Ūdgīr, and Aūsa, and to ravage the territories of Bijāpūr and Gōlcōnda. He destroyed every cultivation and habitation to within twelve *kos* of Bijāpūr, and repeatedly punished Bahlūl Khān Miyānah and Khairiyat Khān Habshī. When 'Adil Shāh trod with humility the path of obedience, Khān Daurān withdrew his hand from devastating his territory and went off towards Ūdgīr. After a siege of three months and odd days on 8 Jumāda I, 1046 A.H. (28 September, 1636 A.D.) he captured this strong place from Sidi Miftāḥ<sup>6</sup> and addressed himself to the siege of Aūsa. Bhōjrāj<sup>7</sup> the governor after a struggle surrendered the fort, and after then an order was passed that the elephant Gajmōṭī (Pearl of elephants)—which was the finest elephant with Quṭb-ul-Mulk—should be taken possession of. He

I, pt. 2, p. 37, etc., and in Khāfi Khān, I, p. 396, etc. After Mahābat Khān arrived at Parēnda a foraging party was sent out. The Deccanis came out to attack it and Mahābat Khān first sent his sons and then went himself to defend the party. The Deccanis lured him on to their main body by pretending to fly and then hemmed him in. He would have been cut off but for Khān Daurān's help.

<sup>1</sup> *Kār dashtabasta*, literally an affair that sent one to his prayers.

<sup>2</sup> Nadarbār or Nadhrbār of Text is the *Sarkār of Nazarbār* of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 195, note 1, 208, 251, note 1. It was in Mālwa, and is the modern Nandurbār in Western Khāndēsh, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 362, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, VII, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, pp. 110-116. Also for the whole campaign see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 86-89.

<sup>6</sup> An Abyssinian, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, p. 220, and Banarsi Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

proceeded to Kōtgīr<sup>1</sup>—which was on the boundary of his kingdom, and by his efforts got hold of the elephant and also a lac of rupees as tribute and then came to the frontiers of Dēvgarh. He took Kīlchar and Ashta—which are dependencies of Kararmāndgāon<sup>2</sup> in Berār—from the possession of the powerful Gōnds<sup>3</sup>, and took Nāgpūr after a siege of some days. Kūkiyā<sup>4</sup> the Rāja of Dēogarh paid a tribute of 1,50,000 rupees and 170 elephants and regained possession of Nāgpūr.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> 10th year Khān Daurān came to the Court and presented 200 elephants worth ten lacs of rupees together with eight lacs of rupees in cash—which the ruler of Gōndwāna, and other landowners had tendered, partly as tribute to the King, and partly as a present to himself, together with the elephant Gajmōti—which was valued at one lac of rupees, and whose name was changed to *Pādshāh Pasand* (Approved by the King)—with golden trappings (of the elephant) which were prepared by Khān Daurān at his own expense at a cost of one lac of rupees. As his loyalty and courage were conspicuous, and he had in a short time presented a *pēshkash*, such as none of the great officers had collected at one time, he received<sup>5</sup> various marks of favour and was given the title of Naṣrat Jang and a *maṇṣab* of 6,000 with 6,000 horse *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse)—the allowance (*tankhwāh*) for which was 10 krons, 80 lacs of *dāms* for twelve months of the year which came to 27 lacs of rupees,—and also the *tankhwāh* of pargana Shujā'atpūr<sup>7</sup> in the crown-lands. When in the 17th year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib came from the Deccan on the occasion of inquiring after the health of the Bēgam<sup>8</sup> Šāhiba, he having regard to various proceedings of his in the Deccan, which were repugnant to Shāh Jahān, withdrew his hand from worldly affairs and went into retirement<sup>9</sup>, before his father should show marks of displeasure. This causeless proceeding increased Shāh Jahān's vexation and he made over the government of the Deccan to Naṣrat Jang who was in charge of Mālwa. He received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and a present of one kror of *dāms* which formed the highest limit of advancement for officers.

They say that Khān Daurān during his government of the Deccan made a new world by his innovations. Many *dēshmukhs* and *dēshpāndās* were beaten with mallets (*mekh kōb zada*) and sent to annihilation. Also in order to develop the country he consolidated the *tankhwāhs* of the *maṇṣabdārs* who held fiefs in various places. He also visited all the forts, and made full arrangements for the garrisons (*aḥshām*) and their provisions. He sent to the Court nearly a kror of rupees of Govern-

<sup>1</sup> Kōmgir, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Kararmāndgāon is the Māndgāon Karar in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 233.

<sup>3-5</sup> See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 233, 246.

<sup>6</sup> See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> In Sarkār Sārangpūr, *vide* Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 204; wrongly printed as Shujāa-pūr.

<sup>8</sup> Jahān Arā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān was badly burnt in March, 1644, and was confined to bed for 4 months, see Banarsi Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 316; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66.

<sup>9</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 376, and Khāfi Khān, I, p. 600. Also Elliot, VII, p. 69. Aurangzib was restored to favour and office at the request of his sister, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 606; also Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 316; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

ment treasure which was in the forts and crown-parganas so that the world might see that whereas (hitherto) money was always sent from the Court, but he in his *Šūbadārī* was sending money from the Deccan. When he was satisfied with the settlement he had made of the country, he set himself to take Bijāpūr. In the 18th year he was summoned to the Court for some deliberation about administration. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmīr, and then took leave and came to Lāhōre. He halted two *kos* from the city. At the<sup>1</sup> end of the night he was asleep. By a strange fate a Brahman boy of Kashmīr whom he had converted to Islām and enrolled among his servants struck him a severe blow in the belly with a dagger. They say that it took seventeen stitches to sew it up. He did not knit an eyebrow, and conversed with Qulij Khān. He was in possession of his senses for one day, and divided his money and goods among his children, and left the balance for the exchequer. He wrote a petition, in accordance with these dispositions, with his own hand and sent it to the Court. He died on the night of 7 Jumāda I, 1055 A.H. (21 June, 1645 A.D.). Shāh Jahān gave to every one of his children more than was bequeathed in the will, and 60 lacs of the surplus reverted to Government. As his ancestors were buried at Gwāliyār he was buried there<sup>2</sup>.

Khān Daurān never slackened in the service of the Emperor, and was free from covetousness and avarice in this respect. He spent three watches of the day and one watch of the night in government service. He left nothing to others, but did all the work himself. But he was severe to the subjects, and behaved with harshness and oppression to God's creatures. It was the arrow of the sighs of the oppressed that finished him. On the day that the news of his death reached Burhānpūr there was no stock of sugar or sweetmeats in the shops which the people did not give away in thanksgiving. Most of the fine buildings in Burhānpūr were made during his time. Mandavī Zainābād<sup>3</sup> on the bank of the Tāptī was built by him. From Sarōnj to Burhānpūr he put up *serā'is* at every tenth *kos*. His sons Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Maḥmūd<sup>4</sup> obtained after their father's death the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. 'Abd-un-Nabī, who was young, received a *manṣab* of 500.

#### KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR ZAFAR JANG KOKALTĀSH.

(Vol. I, pp. 798-813.)

His name was Mīr Malik Ḥusain. His father was Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī Khawāfi who was a Saiyid known for his virtue and piety. He lived like a darvīsh. As his honoured wife suckled Prince Aurangzib, his sons Mīr Muzaḥfar Ḥusain and Mīr Malik Ḥusain were raised to suitable ranks and became Amīrs. The first, as his biography shows, was reared in the presence of Shāh Jahān. The second from his early years was

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 426. Khāfi Khān, I, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> According to Muḥammad Latif, *History of Lahore*, p. 168, his tomb is at Chintgarh, 2½ miles east of Lahore.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this is the garden 'Ālam Arāi, celebrated as the residence of Zainābādī, Aurangzib's favourite; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 790.

<sup>4</sup> Later Khān Daurān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 782-785, Translation, ante, pp. 774, 775.

brought up in the Prince's (Aurangzib's) service, and was an intimate courtier and was respected. In the 27th year he was displeased with the Prince's service and left him, and came from the Deccan with the intention of serving the King. Shāh Jahān gave him the rank of 700 with 100 horse, but as the Prince did not like his departure, he in the 30th year begged his father to give him the *faujdarī* of Hoshangābād Handia. In this way he was drawn by favour into the Deccan. In the 31st year when the Prince, after taking the fort of Bidar addressed himself to the taking of Kalyān, he was sent to take the fort of Nailanka<sup>1</sup>. After he arrived at the spot, though the besieged endeavoured to defend it, he succeeded in its capture. He seized all the defenders of the fort as also the horses and arms, and sent them to the Prince. When the Prince raised the standards of world-conquest and set out from Burhānpūr towards Āgra he gave him the title of Bahādur Khān. As the Prince was convinced of his bravery he was put into the van in the battle with Jaswant Singh<sup>2</sup>. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh<sup>3</sup> he had command of the right wing of the reserve. In his zeal he advanced as far as the vanguard. Suddenly Rustam Khān Deccanī with the whole force of the left wing encountered him. Bahādur Khān fought with skill and bravery, but was wounded, and when Aurangzib's army advanced full of glory from Āgra to the Capital (Delhi), he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse and was sent in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh who had gone to Lāhore to retrieve the position. The Khān by his alacrity crossed the Sutlej, the bank of which the enemy had fortified and which could not be crossed easily. He after crossing attacked the enemy and put them to flight. Nor could Dārā Shikōh maintain himself in Lāhore. He fled and went to Bhakkar. Bahādur Khān and Khalil Ullāh Khān followed him as far as Multān. In the battle of Khajūhā (north of Allahābād) with Shujā', Bahādur Khān had charge of the *Ilmish* and fought bravely. When Dārā Shikōh came to Cutch by way of Bhakkar, he after crossing the Indus went to Malik Jiwan (of <sup>4</sup>) Dhādhār on account of his former acquaintance with him, and after resting from his fatigues for a few days went off with the intention of going to Qandahār, but that unrighteous landowner saw his selfish advantage in seizing him, and blocked his path and made him prisoner. He wrote the account of this to Bahādur Khān who quickly came there, and after seizing Dārā Shikōh went off rapidly to the Court *via* Bhakkar, along with Rāja Jai Singh. On 16<sup>5</sup> Dhū'l Hijja of the 2nd year, he reached the Capital and did homage. On that day<sup>6</sup> Dārā Shikōh and his son Siphir Shikōh were placed in an open

<sup>1</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 1008, 1009.

<sup>2</sup> Battle of Dharmat, 25th April, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 359-362.

<sup>3</sup> Battle of Sāmūgarh, 8th June, 1658—*vide* Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-400.

<sup>4</sup> Dadar in Kach Gandava, Elliot, VII, p. 244, note. Jiwan was an Afghān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 539-540.

<sup>5</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 431. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 541, states that they arrived outside Delhi on 23rd August, 1659 Old Style or 2nd September New Style.

<sup>6</sup> *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 431: on Tuesday the 20th corresponding to 17 Shahrīyār. The anrur of the Text may mean next day, but even then it does not agree with the *Ālamgīrnāma*; according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 542, Dārā was paraded through Delhi on 29th August Old Style or 8th September New Style.

litter (*ḥauḍa*) on a female elephant and taken by the road between the city and the bāzār to Old Delhi, and guarded in a secure<sup>1</sup> place in Khidrābād. Next day, 21 Dhu'l Hijja, 1069 A.D., he was put to death, and buried in Humāyūn's tomb. The Khān received a present of one hundred horses—as many of his own had died owing to the rapidity of his movements. Later he was sent to put down the commotion of Bahādur Bachgōtī<sup>2</sup>—who had raised a disturbance in Baiswāra. When he had finished that business, he was made governor of Allahābād in succession to Khān Daurān and received a *manṣab* of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. He long governed the province. In the 10th year he was made governor of Gujarāt in succession to Mahābat Khān, and he proceeded there from Allahābād, and was long occupied in making a settlement of Gujarāt. In the 16th year he received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse—two-horse and three-horse. He also received the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur and the charge of the government of the Deccan in place of the agents of Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam. He received a special dress of honour and a decorated dagger which were sent to him along with the mace-bearers. An order was passed that he was to receive the *Māhi-o-marātīb* (Order of the Fish, etc.) and that he was to be allowed to display it. One of his feats in this year was that he marched rapidly sixty *kos* and inflicted a signal defeat on Sivā (Shivājī) Bhōnsle who at this time was plundering the people of the Deccan and disturbing their repose. He (Khān Jahān Bahādur) obtained a large amount of plunder. After he had by repeated attacks defeated and overthrown him, he displayed alacrity in chastising the other sedition-mongers of the Deccan and several times sent tribute from the rulers of Bijāpūr, and Haidarābād to the Court. The King in consideration of his good services gave him in 1086 A.H. (1675-1676 A.D.) the title of Khān Jahān Bahādur Zafar Jang Kōkaltāsh and made him an officer of the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and gave him a present of one *kror* of *dāms* and so raised him above his contemporaries. In the 20th year, 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.), he took, after a struggle, the fort of Naldrug which was one of the great forts of Bijāpūr, from Dā'ūd Khān Panī, who was a child<sup>3</sup> of four years (?). In the battle of the batteries in this siege, his son Muḥammad Muḥsin was killed. Inasmuch as high rank and greatness end in arrogance and presumption, and success and prosperity lead to independence and pride, or rather they lead from zeal to insouciance and craft (*kuḥna 'amlagī*), several offences of his were proved and he was summoned to the Court; he was dismissed, and deprived of his title; and his moveable and immovable property was confiscated. As he displayed marks of eminence, and the fame of his excellence was spread far and wide, and his

<sup>1</sup> 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 43. In the Khawwāspūra quarter. The *rūz dōwm* of the Text may mean two days afterwards. Dārā was put to death on the eve of Thursday the 22nd Dhu'l Hijja, 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 432. But Khāfi Khān, II, p. 87, says Dārā was put to death on the last day of the month. The *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 27, also gives Thursday eve as the date of death. The English date, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 548, is 30th August Old Style or 9th September New Style. Manucci, I, p. 356, puts the death into October.

<sup>2</sup> A Rājput clan—the Chūhāns are Bachgōtīs. See 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 451. The occurrence was in the 2nd year of the reign.

<sup>3</sup> There is surely some mistake here. See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p. 64, and Beveridge's translation, p. 459, where Dā'ūd is described as entering the royal service in the 18th year, yet the age is given as four in all the MSS.



long service and good performances were over and above this, he after some time, in the 21st year, was restored<sup>1</sup> to his rank and titles, etc., and the water which had departed returned to its old channel. When in the 22nd year Mahārāja Jaswant died and left no heir or representative, Khān Jahān<sup>2</sup> was appointed to take possession of his property. The royal standards moved to Ajmēr, and the Khān swiftly went off to Jōdhpūr—which was the capital of Jaswant's country—and set about destroying the idol temples. He brought in several cartloads of idols—many of which were adorned with gold and silver. After the King returned to the Capital, they were, by the King's order, thrown into the *Jilaukhāna* (place for keeping carriages, etc.) of the *Darbār* and under the<sup>3</sup> steps of the Jahānnumā mosque and for a long time were trodden under the feet of comers and goers till no trace of them was left. But the district was not settled, as it should have been. The commotion of the Rājputs and the contumacy of the Rānā came to a head, and it ended in a royal expedition. Khān Jahān went off from Chittōr to govern the Deccan, leaving Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam there. He in the height of the rains addressed<sup>4</sup> himself to the siege of the fort of Sālher—which was the loftiest fortress in Baglāna, and had come into the possession of the enemy,—but after enduring much suffering he had to withdraw without success, and came to Aurangābād. Mir Muḥammad Riḍā Lāhōri the commentator on the *Mathnavi Ma'navi* was with him as a *manṣabdār*. He described the expedition in verse, and said with reference to the mud and mire:

Verse.

The helpless bullock became a bullock<sup>5</sup> of the earth.

In the same<sup>6</sup> year, Muharram 1091 A.H. (February, 1680 A.D.) Sambhā Siwā'i marched 35 *kos* at night and fell, without warning, upon Bahādūr-pūra—which was a populous place two *kos* from Burhānpūr—and plundered it. Kākar Khān the *Nāyib* of Khān Zamān, the governor of Burhānpūr, shut himself up in the city with a few men, and the robber set fire at his ease to important quarters of the city and reduced them to ashes. Many noble families were dishonoured, some to guard their honour killed their wives and themselves were killed. When Khān

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 172. Jaswant left a widow and two sons, according to Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn.), p. 623. According to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 44, he only left a pregnant queen who afterwards became the mother of Ajit. The *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, pp. 176, 177, states that Jaswant left two pregnant wives and that both were delivered of sons in Lāhore. One of the sons died shortly afterwards—see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 325–330.

<sup>3</sup> The Text is not correct and the variant agrees with *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 175, from where the passage is taken. The idols were thrown into two places—into the *Darbār-i-Jilaukhāna* and under the steps of the Chief Mosque. Aurangzib treated the idols from Mathurā in the same way.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 270. Elliot, VII, p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> A pun on *Gāo-zamān*, the bull *Liyūnān* which supports the earth, see Prashad, B., *Qāwūn-Humāyūnī*, p. 11, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 272. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 244 *et seq.* The date appears to be incorrect; it was in the middle of February, 1681, that this attack by Sambhāji was launched after his coronation, see Kincaid and Parasnis—*A History of Maratha People*, p. 119.

Jahān heard of this, he hurried from Aurangābād, and in one night and day reached the pass of Fardāpūr<sup>1</sup> which is 32 *kos* distant. There he occupied four watches in crossing the pass. It was said that this inconsiderate delay occurred on account of the arrival of Sambhā's agent and the promise of a large sum of money. By this delay Sambhā got away with everything that he could carry away, together with all his prisoners whom he took by way of Chōpra to the fort of Sālher<sup>2</sup>. Khān Jahān who ought to have gone by a cross-road and come up with him, went straight by the right to Burhānpūr<sup>3</sup>. This neglect confirmed men's suspicions and was the cause of a fresh alienation of the Emperor's affection from him. An order of censure was sent to him, and in that year the propositions<sup>4</sup> he had made about ranks and increase were entirely rejected. By chance, in the same period Prince Muḥammad Akbar fled towards the Deccan in the 24th year. Orders were sent to all the officers to stop Akbar wherever he appeared; if possible, they were to take him alive, otherwise they were to kill him. As he was passing near the hills, of Sultānpur, Khān Jahān, who showed himself as very zealous to seize him and had come near him, drew rein until Akbar passed the hills of Baglāna and with the help of the Bhils and Kōlis came to Rāhīrī, and stayed for some days under Sambhā's protection. Though the news-writers kept this back, yet Mīr Nūr Ullāh the son of Mīr Asad Ullāh, the *faujdar* of Tālnēr<sup>5</sup>, who was an audacious man, and who relied upon his being a Khānazād (house-born one) and on his influence, communicated all the details (to the Emperor), and increased the store (of displeasure) in the Emperor's heart, and the craft and deceit of Khān Jahān became apparent to all.

As the inflicting of punishment on Sambhā and the chastisement of Akbar both demanded the attention of the Emperor, he, in the 25th year made the Deccan his residence. Khān Jahān was appointed to conquer the fort of Rāmsīj<sup>6</sup> which appertained to Gulshanābād (near Junair). But though he made great efforts, he did not succeed on account of the watchfulness and ability of the governor of the fort, who was an experienced Mahratta. He was obliged to retire, and on the day of his march he set fire to the materials of the batteries which were composed of wood, etc., of which a great quantity had been collected. The garrison came out on the battlements in great mirth, beat their great and small drums, and made ribald remarks. When he came within three *kos* of Aurangābād he was gratified by the receipt of a dress of honour, and was ordered to proceed to Bidar without coming to pay his respects. He was to take up his quarters there, and to pursue Akbar

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Sālher in Khāfi Khān, where it is stated that he should have turned to the left, but instead went to the right.

<sup>3</sup> Idalābād in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 275, Elliot, VII, p. 308. In Elliot the passage is translated as—"In his anger he took away from Khān-Jahān all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year." But what Khāfi Khān says is that contrary to the former practice, all Khān Jahān's recommendations about *mansabs* and their increases were disallowed. Apparently Khān Jahān had been in the habit of submitting lists for promotions and they had hitherto been passed.

<sup>5</sup> In the text Thānēsar, but really Tālnēr or Thālnēr. See Khāfi Khān, II, p. 299. It is in Khāndēsh "east of Nandurbār", Elliot, VII, p. 362.

<sup>6</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 282, etc.

whenever he got any news of his movements. When Akbar came away from Sambhā and embarked on a vessel with the intention of going to Persia, Khān Jahān proceeded to chastise the brigands, and in the 27th year attacked them when they were at a distance of thirty *kos*. By his vigorous proceedings their bands, which had been collected on the bank of the Kishnā, were broken up, many of the infidels were put to the sword and their property was plundered. In reward for this service he received a complimentary *farmān* and his sons Muzaffar Khān, Naṣrī Khān, Muhammad Samī and Muhammad Baqā received respectively the titles of Himmat Khān, Sipahdār Khān, Naṣrī Khān and Muzaffar Khān, while his brother's son and son-in-law Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khān was granted the title of Safdar Khān.

When Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh proceeded to the siege of Biḡapūr, Khān Jahān was ordered to take up his quarters at the *thāna* of Aindī<sup>1</sup> in order to send supplies to the Prince's camp. From there he was appointed in the end of the 28th year to accompany the Prince who had been sent off to chastise 'Abūl Hasan of Haidarābād. He went ahead of the Prince with 10,000 horse, and fought severe battles with Khalīl Ullāh Khān, the head of the army and with Husainī Bēg 'Alī Mardān Khān, who with 30,000 horse was presumptuously opposing the imperialist forces. One day the drums and trumpets sounded at early dawn, and for three *pahars* there was a hot market of warfare. The gallant men passed from guns and bullets to fighting with daggers and there were heaps of slain on both sides. In that battle his son Himmat Khān was hard pressed, and though he sent a message to his father for help, the latter was so hemmed in by the enemy who surrounded him like a halo that he could not move a step. At this time Paṭab<sup>2</sup> Khān, who was called *Hāt Paṭhar* (the stone-hand), whose stone-like hand was dealing bullets around, urged on his horse, and lance in hand, came in front of Khān Jahān's elephant and cried out: Where is the leader? and wanted to pierce him with his lance. Khān Jahān shouted: I am the leader, and without giving him time to use his javelin<sup>3</sup>, cast him to the ground with an arrow. At last the predominance of the enemy was such that Khān Jahān was nearly being defeated. Suddenly Aurangzib's good fortune displayed itself in another form, a raging elephant came among the enemy from the King's side and caused their horses to rear up. Two or three leading men were overthrown, and the Haidarābād troops took to flight. They were driven off in spite of repeated onsets.

Verse.

*Shud<sup>4</sup> jath bajang Haidarābād.*

(Haidarābād was conquered in battle; 1097 A.H., 1686 A.D.)

<sup>1</sup> Pargana Indī, Khāfi Khān, II, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 297, Bari or Pari Khān. His sobriquet is given as *Hāt Bhatta*.

<sup>3</sup> The word in Khāfi Khān is *bhāla*.

<sup>4</sup> The *Maithir-i-Alamgiri* puts the victory in 1096, see editor's note on p. 268, but the chronogram given there yields 1097. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 300, says that Aurangzib was very angry with him for not following up his victory, and that in writing to him he quoted a line of poetry which has become proverbial when any untoward event has been produced:

Verse.

O breeze of the Morn, all this is thy work.

is the chronogram of this battle, and of the ruler's shutting himself up in the fort of Gölconda. As in reality the Prince and Khān Jahān did not wish to destroy Abūl Ḥasan, and their first and foremost desire was that there should be peace, and that Aurangzib should forgive his offences, though his ignorant officers urged him on to battle, they restrained themselves, and ignored the attacking and plundering (of the city). This view increased the Emperor's displeasure, and he summoned Khān Jahān to his Presence. As he had been the King's playmate and in addition had the relationship of fosterage—which is a strong tie—and was also proud of his skill and knowledge of affairs—especially in Deccani matters which, he thought, could not get on without him—and moreover he had no control over his tongue or his hands, he behaved insolently in the Presence, and in the King's absence said improper things in the *Divān*, and in administrative matters did without hesitation whatever he wanted to do. If an order was received from the King, he did not carry it out. For instance, forbidden <sup>1</sup> things, which were prohibited by the King, were in common use in his camp. One day there was a great disturbance between his men and Mu'azzam Khān Ṣafavī <sup>2</sup> in the *Jilaukhāna* (portico) about the leaving of a palanquin. Khān Jahān was allowed to leave so that he might restrain his men. When he came out, he, in his insolence, told his men to go and loot Mu'azzam Khān's bāzār. This added to the King's displeasure, and he became more vexed with him than ever. He resolved to break his presumption and whenever he was appointed to any province he was removed before he could benefit by the harvest, and all his financial <sup>3</sup> arrangements were upset.

In fine, in the end of the 29th year he was sent <sup>4</sup> off to punish the Jāts and the sedition-mongers of the Āgra province, and received a present of two krers of *dāms*. With the exception of Himmat Khān, who was appointed to manage the affair of Bijāpūr, his sons were sent with him. As that difficult task could not be accomplished without a large army and much effort, Prince Bidār Bakht the eldest son of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh was also appointed to this expedition. Afterwards by the excellent exertions of the Prince, and the management of Khān Jahān, Rājā Rām Jāt the leader of the rebels was killed by a bullet in 1099 A.H. (1688 A.D.). The Prince destroyed Sansanī and other places which had been founded by Rājā Rām and became the controller of that country. Khān Jahān was sent <sup>5</sup> to the government of Bengāl, and in the 23rd year was made governor of Allahābād. In the 34th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In the 37th year he was summoned to the Court from Lāhōre. After that he did not go anywhere else away from the Court, till

<sup>1</sup> Vice and immorality, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Father-in-law of Prince Kām Baksh, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanbandi*; presumably it is *san-bandī* or the arrangements for the year, but it may be a clerical error for *sibandī* which is given as a variant. It is the Anglo-Indian *Sebundy*, and means militia, and also the expenses connected therewith. The passage in the Text is taken from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 395, who speaks of the heavy expenses in travelling which the Khān Jahān had to incur on account of his being frequently moved about. There is also a Deccani word *sambandī* or *sambandī*, meaning relationship and perhaps this is the word here meant.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 316. Cf. Elliot, VII, p. 522. Sansanī is sixteen miles N.W. of Bharatpūr. Irvine in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1904, p. 289, states that Rājā Rām was killed in July 1688.

<sup>5</sup> But he never reached there.

in the 41st year, on 19 Jumāda I, 1109 A.H. (23rd November, 1697 A.D.) he died in the camp of Islāmābād Brahmāpūr<sup>1</sup>. As his illness lasted a long time, Aurangzib at the time of returning from Shōlāpūr visited his quarters and inquired after his health. As he was confined to bed, he could not rise, and lamented saying as he could not have the honour of kissing the feet, he wished that he had died on the field of battle. The King replied that he had spent his whole life in faithful service and devotion, and did he at this<sup>2</sup> age still have a wish left? (He desired that) his bier should be conveyed to the town of Nakōdar<sup>3</sup> in the Dūāba of the Panjāb as his family tomb was there. The accounts of his sons Himmat Khān and Sipahdār Khān have been given separately (Text III, pp. 949-951). His other sons were not so distinguished. Nasīrī Khān was a mad man and without dignity. His youngest son Abūl Fath lived into the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He spent his days in affliction.

Khān Jahān<sup>4</sup> Bahādur, the Commander-in-chief was the central figure in the government. He was unequalled among the nobility for his grandeur, lofty buildings and splendid possessions. He was polite and gracious and was endowed<sup>5</sup> with many good qualities. His receptions (*maḥfils*) were superb. Scarcely anyone but he could express an opinion. He spoke openly what he wanted, and others could only answer by assent. He did not like much talking. The chief things discussed in his company were prose and poetry, swords, jewels, horses, elephants and aphrodisiacs<sup>6</sup>. He was a good judge of physiognomy. One day, when he was governor of the Deccan, he said to Amānat Khān Mirak Mu'in-ud-Din the great grandfather of the writer of these lines who at that time was the chief *Divān* of the Deccan: 'The King at the time of granting me leave said "If you hear that Muḥammad Mu'azzam intends to rebel, accept the statement, even though he takes no step towards doing so, but if such a report be spread about Muḥammad A'zam, beware of crediting it whatever he may do; and Muḥammad Akbar is a child" But (said Khān Bahādur) from my knowledge of physiognomy I can say that none but he will tread this wrong path'. At that time there was not the least sign of Akbar's becoming a leader, nor any report of it. After six months this untimely flower blossomed, and the discernment of Khān Jahān proved to be in accordance with facts. His haughtiness and domineering spirit brought him into collision with a King like Aurangzib who trusted to his own genius and did not have regard for others. Hence<sup>7</sup> it was that at last he was without

<sup>1</sup> Brahmāpūr later named Islāmpūr not Islāmābād as in Text, see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 381, etc., and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, p. 6. It was in the Shōlāpūr District on the southern bank of the Bhīma river.

<sup>2</sup> The text has 'umr, age, but the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 390, has *amr* matter, viz., the matter or point of life-devotion. This reading seems preferable.

<sup>3</sup> Jarret's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 317. In Sarkār Dūāba Bet Jālandhar. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 448, puts Khān Jahān's death into the 39th year, 1106, instead of the 41st.

<sup>4</sup> Taken from *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 390, it is *mustajama'-i-marātib-i-birr o ipān*, which appears to be more appropriate.

<sup>6</sup> *Adwiyā-i-mubāhhi*, but *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 390, has *adwiyā-i-mushṭahi* which perhaps means only carminatives or tonics.

<sup>7</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 448.

a *jāgīr* or employment and was kept in the Presence under surveillance. To his disgust <sup>1</sup> some of the new *Khānazāds* rose into fame for military service. For instance Tahawwur Khān, son of Salābat Khān and Jān Nithār Khān Khwāja Abūl Makārim were sent off at this time to put down Santā the brigand and had a battle <sup>2</sup>. The whole army and park of the artillery were plundered and Jān Nithār Khān escaped half dead. Tahawwur Khān was wounded, and flung himself among the dead <sup>3</sup> and so had a second life. When this occurrence was reported to the King, he said: "All these happenings are due to Destiny, and are not in anyone's power". When Khān Jahān heard this remark he said, "Good, there'll be no revising <sup>4</sup> of reports in heaven; to give and then take away (praise). In my long leadership I never had a defeat". False stories about him and tales, which reason cannot accept and which belong to the class of romances, are well known and are on men's lips <sup>5</sup>. Although there can be no question about the merits and great qualities of Khān Jahān, for they followed close upon one another, yet a just review must admit that there was a strain of levity in him. How could it be otherwise. He advanced from 700, all at once to 5,000, without passing through the intermediate stages. But it was strange that such a King as Aurangzib, who was not wanting in wrath and pride, should have entertained a servant with such unrestrained presumption.

In the end <sup>6</sup> of his days he showed the King in his hall of justice a small, round porcelain water-pot (*āftābu*) and said it had belonged to Moses—Peace be upon him! Aurangzib looked at it and gave it to the Princes Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Din and Muḥammad Mu'azzam. There were two lines resembling some writing engraved on the neck of the vessel. The Princes said: "This should be Hebrew". Bahādur examined the letters and said, "I know nothing about its being Hebrew-Ebrew—('Ibrānī mabrānī); some vendor put these marks on it". The King said: "They are letters, the porcelain is not bad".

#### KHĀN JAHĀN BĀRAH.

(Vol. I, pp. 758-766.)

He was Saiyid Muzaḥfar Khān, one of the Tihanpūrī<sup>7</sup> Saiyids. His name was Abūl Muzaḥfar. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign

<sup>1-3</sup> Khāfī Khān, II, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> The story comes apparently from Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 417, 418, but if so, the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* has not quoted it correctly. According to Khāfī Khān, Khān Jahān did not say that he never had a defeat, and it is not likely that he would say so, for it would not have been correct. What he said was—What is given in heaven, is given once for all (there is no revision there). And then Khāfī Khān explains this as meaning that he, Khān Jahān, had never been defeated. But he does not put these vaunting words into his mouth.

<sup>5</sup> Probably this is an allusion to the romantic account of the battle from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 297.

<sup>6</sup> The story is from *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 371. The text has *Chinik bad nēt* which does not seem intelligible. In the text of *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* we have *Chinik-i-bad nēt*—the bit of China is not bad. A note to the text of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* says that several MSS. have *Khushk*: *Khushk āwardan* means to keep silence, and perhaps what Aurangzib said was: When such language is used, silence is best.

<sup>7</sup> The chief town of the Tihanpūrī Saiyids was Jānsath, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 428-430.

when Prince Sultān Khurram was sent to the Deccan, he in the battle with the Deccanis fought bravely and was wounded and fell on the field. His military aptitude became impressed on the Prince. When the Prince chose to separate himself from his respected father, and came to the Deccan, and when the crossing of the Narbadā by Mahābat Khān and Prince Sultān Parviz had made it impossible for the Prince to stay in Burhānpūr, he went off by Sikākōl (Chicacole) belonging to Qutb-ul-Mulk's territory towards Bengāl, and there fought a battle with Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang<sup>1</sup>. Abūl Muzaffar distinguished himself in the battle, and all the time during separation, was attached to the Prince's stirrups. He served well and showed devotion and so gained a place in the Prince's heart. When the Prince ascended the throne he, in the first year, gave Abūl Muzaffar the rank<sup>2</sup> of 4,000 *Dhāt* with 3,000 horse and a flag and drums, and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and the present of a lac of rupees. He appointed him as the governor of the fort of Gwāliyār, and placed its dependencies in his fief. In the same year he was sent with Mahābat Khān to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had broken out into rebellion. On the representation of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān, his offences were overlooked, and the royal *Divāns* told to him such portion of the territory in his possession as corresponded to the amount<sup>3</sup> of his *manṣab* and assigned the excess of his *jāgīr* to Abūl Muzaffar and other officers. In the 2nd year when Khān Jahān Lōdī, on account of a suspicion which had arisen in his mind, fled from the Capital, Abūl Muzaffar was appointed, along with Khawāja Abūl Ḥusain Turbatī, to pursue him. In his alacrity he went off that same night without waiting for his leader and at six *gharis* of the day came up with Khān Jahān Lōdī on the banks of the Chambal near Dhōlpūr, and faced him bravely. Muḥammad Shāfi' his grandson and nineteen of the Saiyids of Bārah were killed, and fifty of his companions were wounded. When this was reported to the King, Abūl Muzaffar received an increase of 1,000 horse and a steed from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year he received a *Khil'at*, a decorated dagger and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant with gilded trappings and was appointed to the vanguard of the force which had been placed under A'zam Khān for the chastisement of Khān Jahān Lōdī<sup>4</sup>. Later<sup>5</sup>, when it was heard that the Khān was unable to ride on account of a swelling above the navel, Jagjivan, the surgeon, was directed to go and treat him, and the Khān was told to return to the Court after convalescence. Inasmuch as the surgeon on account of the amount of matter had to open the swelling and much pus had been removed, the Khān waited for some time for the wound to heal and then came to the Court. The appreciative Sovereign gave him a *Khil'at* and an adorned dagger with *phūl katāra*<sup>6</sup> and an increase.

<sup>1</sup> See *Tāzūk-i-Jahangīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation), II, p. 299, 'Amal-i-Šāhī', I, pp. 180-184, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 47-49.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 255. His *manṣab* was of 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

<sup>4</sup> For the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lōdī, see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-79.

<sup>5</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> *Katāra* is an Indian word for a dagger. *Phūl*, i.e. flower, is a word used for embroidery, and *phūl katāra* probably means a decorated dagger. See *Bādshāhnāma*, *loc. cit.*

of 1,000 *Dhāt* so that he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was granted a horse with a gilded saddle from the special stables.

When the territory of Nizām Shāh was trodden under the feet of the royal armies, Khān Jahān Lōdī saw it was difficult to remain there and went off to Mālwa. Abūl Muẓaffar, who was famed for bravery, and noble lineage, received a special *Khil'at*, and a sword, and a *Qipchāq* horse from the special stables and was sent to pursue him. As 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr was also ordered to pursue him with a separate force, the order was passed that if 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr should come to the borders, both armies should join up and uproot the thornbush of sedition. Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān quickly crossed the Narbadā at the Akbarpūr ferry and sent out his scouts. At the station of the village of Tālgāon in Mālwa 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr joined him, and then they learnt at the village of Nīmī<sup>1</sup> belonging to the country of Bāndhū—which is 15 *kos* from Sahēnda and 30 from Allahābād—that Khān Jahān had taken to flight after the contest had failed. The gallant men did not desist from pursuit, and after two days they came up with him, and an engagement took place. He was killed in the encounter with the vanguard of Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and Saiyid Mākhan the son of Saiyid 'Abdullāh, the daughter's son of Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and 27 others attained martyrdom. After that Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān came to the Court and received an increase of 1,000 horse and was raised to the rank of 5,000 *Dhāt o suwār* and received the title of Khān Jahān. In the 4th year, he and his following consisting of 1,000 horse *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse) was sent off with Yamīn-ud-Daula to chastise 'Adil Khān of Bijāpūr. In the 5th year he waited on the King and received an increase of 1,000 horse, *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. In the 6th year he was granted a similar rise of rank. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Muḥammad Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda. He did good service on this occasion, and when the taking of the fort was delayed, the Prince, in accordance with the orders of Shāh Jahān, came to the Court, and Saiyid Khān Jahān quickly arrived and did homage near Āgra. In the 8th year an addition was made of *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* troopers to his contingent, and in the same year he was appointed with other officers to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had rebelled. When Jujhār Singh had after a struggle proceeded to Dēogarh—which was near Berār—and 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr Firūz Jang and Khān Daurān were ordered to pursue him, Saiyid Khān Jahān halted in accordance with the commands to settle the conquered country and to search for the treasures hidden near Chūrāgarh. After that he came to the Court when Shāh Jahān intended to visit Daulatābad and after crossing the Narbadā had encamped on its bank. He received a special *Khil'at* with a gold embroidered *chārqab*, a decorated dagger with a *phūl-katāra*, a decorated scimitar, and a lac of rupees in cash. In the 9th year he received a special *Khil'at*, a special scimitar and a horse from the special stables and was sent off with a posse of officers to chastise 'Adil Shāh Bijāpūri. He came from Bīr to Dhārwar and leaving his baggage there proceeded to Shōlāpūr. On the way he sent men and took Sarādhūn. He also attacked the fief of Rīḥān of Shōlāpūr and established a station (*thāna*)

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 348. See also Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79.



at the town of Dhārāsīn<sup>1</sup>. On several occasions he fought with the Bijāpūris. The said Khān displayed personal valour and every time inflicted disastrous defeat upon them.

They say that one day Randaula<sup>2</sup> Bijāpūrī was wounded and fell from his horse but one of his companions brought him a horse and took him off the field. After portions of the Bijāpūr territory had been devastated, and the rainy season had commenced the Khān turned back in order to go into quarters and came to Dhārwar. Afterwards, when 'Adil Khān came to terms and submitted, the said Khān, in accordance with orders, returned to the Court. When in the end of the same year the King resolved to go to the Capital, the charge of the four provinces of the Deccan, that is, Khāndēsh, Berār, parts of Telingāna, and some of Nizām-ul-Mulk's territory was made over to Prince, Saiyid Khān Jahān received a special *Khil'at*, and was ordered, during the absence of the Khān Zamān at the sieges of Junair, etc., to remain in attendance on the Prince. In the 10th year he came to the Court and was sent to Gwāliyar—which formed a part of his fief. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and as the King intended to go to Lāhore, Khān Jahān obtained leave to return to his fief. In the 14th year he waited on the King in Lāhore and received an increase of 1,000 horse so that his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, 5,000 of which were *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. At this time, when Prince Jagat Singh the son of Rāja Bāsū rebelled, Khān Jahān was appointed with a force to chastise him and to take possession of his forts. At the time of taking leave he received a special *Khil'at* and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant together with a female elephant and a lac of rupees as an advance. In accordance with orders he spent the rainy season in Lāhore and later when he had traversed the passes of Bahalwān<sup>3</sup> and Machlūbhawan he encamped within half a *kos* of the fort of Nūrpūr, and made excellent preparations by erecting earthworks and digging mines. Though a bastion of the fort was blown up, but as the besieged had erected a wall behind each bastion, there was no means of entry. Afterwards, in accordance with royal orders, he undertook the siege of Mau' fort and displayed courage. In the fights he so pressed the besieged that the royal forces were able to enter the fort on another side, and Jagat Singh took to flight. As a reward an addition of 1,000 *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* troopers was made to his contingent. Afterwards, when Jagat Singh expressed his penitence, his offences were forgiven, and the said Khān returned to the Court with Prince Murād Bakhsh. As in this year it was reported that Shāh Šafi, the ruler of Persia, was coming to take Qandahār, Prince Dārā Shikhōh was deputed to check him. The said Khān received a special *Khil'at* and an ornamented sword, and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant, and was appointed to accompany the Prince.

During this time the death of Shāh Šafi was reported. In the 16th year the Khān received permission to go to his Gwāliyar fief. In the 17th year he again came to the Court and, when Shāh Jahān went to

<sup>1</sup> Dhārāsīyūn in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> He is the famous Bijāpūr general Randaula Khān, who played such an important part in the war against the imperialist army. The incident is mentioned in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Bahalwān, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 261. For a connected account of the campaign against the *Zamīndārs* of Nūrpūr, see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-102.

Ajmār, he was left in charge of Āgra. After the return of Shāh Jahān, he remained at the Court for some time. In the 18th year he was allowed to go to his *jāgīr*. In the 19th year he was summoned and did homage in Lāhōre. In the middle of the same year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he became paralytic and after remaining bedridden for two months died. The appreciative Sovereign grieved for his loss and made provision for his sons Saiyid Mansūr Khān, Saiyid Shēr Zamān and Saiyid Munawwar—the two last became known as Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān and Saiyid Lashkar Khān; a separate account<sup>1</sup> of them has been given.

The Khān had a great name, and was possessed of much character and generosity. He spent his life with honour. To every one of the royal servants who was associated with him he gave villages out of his fief. He was very gentle and considerate. They say that one day Shāh Jahān seated him at his table and made him share his meal. Afterwards when the King rose, Khān Jahān ran and placed his slippers under his feet. The King was angry and said, "You should have respect for your high title. When a person has such a title, we and all the Princes, not to speak of the officers, need his support. And he does not make an exception in anybody's favour." The King said, "In future in all proceedings the code (*tōrah*) and rules must be observed". But they say that he did not succeed in worldly matters, and did not trust his officers. He greatly favoured servants from his native land, and their statements were believed by him. One day a collector who had embezzled five thousand rupees of the revenue of his *jāgīr*, sent through a servant *ashrafis* to the value of Rs.3,000, with the request that this was the sum due to the *Divān* and the accountant, but that he was afraid that they would tomorrow give a verdict for putting him to death. The said Khān was pleased and took the *ashrafis*. Though after this the clerks stated that Rs.5,000 of the revenue were due from him, the said Khān would not accept their statement.

### KHĀN<sup>2</sup> JAHĀN LŌDĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 716-732.)

He was the son of Daulat Khān Lōdī and belonged to the Shāhūkhal clan. His name was Pir Khān. In early youth he quarrelled with his father and came to Bengāl to Rāja Mān Singh with his elder brother Muhammad Khān. One day, when they were desirous of crossing the river and entering the city (Gaur?) a dispute arose on board the boats, and it ended in a fight. It happened that two brother's sons of the Rāja were killed. After the Rāja had heard of what the two brothers had done in the matter he, on account of his former knowledge of them, presented them with Rs.30,000 and sent them away lest they should be maltreated by the Rājapūts. Muhammad Khān died in early youth and Pirā had the good fortune to become a favourite with Prince Sultān Dāniyāl. They say his intimacy became such that they were inseparable, and that

<sup>1</sup> *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 465-468.

<sup>2</sup> For a notice of Khān Jahān, see Khāfī Khān, I, p. 411, etc. The Shāhūkhal clan is mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 308 and in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 564. For the origin of the Lōdīs, see Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p. 99. Shāhū perhaps refers to Shāh Husain the Lōdī.

the Prince spoke of him as his child (*farzand*). After the Prince's death, he in his twentieth year entered into the service of Jahāngir and became a special favourite<sup>1</sup>. First, he obtained the rank of 3,000, and the title of Šalābat Khān and shortly afterwards received the high title of Khān Jahān and the rank of 5,000. In point of intimacy and the influence of his words he had no rival, and Jahāngir ordered that he should have a seat in the *Ghuskhāna*. He repeatedly took him into the female apartments, and wished to marry him to a relation of the royalty, and to give him the title of Sultān Jahān. He represented that the title of Sultān was reserved for princes, and that sitting in the King's presence, and entering the female apartments were also their privileges, and begged that he might be spared such ceremonials, and also that the proposed connection with the royalty might not take place. They say that Jahāngir did not insist on the relation of master and servant between them, and treated him as a friend. But he did not withdraw himself from service and did not extend his foot beyond the proper limits. When Prince Parvīz was appointed to the Deccan, along with Rājā Mān Singh and Sharif Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā to assist Khān-Khānān; the work did not make much progress, and in the year 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.) Khān Jahān was sent with 12,000 horse to assist the imperialists. At the time of his departure, the King descended from the public and private *jharōka* and placed his own turban on Khān Jahān's head, and took his hand and set him on his horse. An order was passed that as he went he should beat his drums. On one side the King, and on the other Khān Jahān indulged in unrestrained weeping on account of the impending separation. At every stage presents for him arrived from the King. Khān Jahān did not delay in Burhānpūr but proceeded towards Bālāghāt where the imperial camp was. A great battle took place at Malkāpūr with Malik 'Ambar. The Hindūstānī (i.e. up-country) soldiers, who did not know the Parthian<sup>2</sup> tactics of the Deccan, went on rapidly and suffered much loss. After that Khān-Khānān came, and treated him with much politeness, and conveyed him to the Bālāghāt. As it had been arranged by the Emperor that on one side Khān Jahān should advance with the army of the Deccan, and on the other 'Abdullāh Khān<sup>3</sup> Zakhmī should advance to Daulatābād with the Gujarāt army, and so

<sup>1</sup> There is a detailed account of Khān Jahān and his ancestors in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīr* I, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Burgi-giri*, cf. Elliot, VI, p. 428, last line. Burgi is a name for the Mahrattas. For an account of the battle, see Khāfi Khān, I, p. 318 and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngir*, pp. 261, 262.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why the epithet *Zakhmī* is added to the name of 'Abdullāh Khān. He is 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 777-789. Perhaps *chashm zakhmī*, the defeated, is what is meant. In the notice of Khān Jahān Lōdī (p. 718) it is said that Malik 'Ambar intrigued with Khān-Khānān, and that accordingly the latter detained Khān Jahān Lōdī in Zafarnagar by pretences and so brought about 'Abdullāh Khān's defeat whereas in (Text II, p. 780) in the account of 'Abdullāh Khān it is said that this account is not correct, as Khān-Khānān was not then in the Deccan but had returned to the Court. It appears that the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* has confounded two events. The time when Malik 'Ambar is said to have intrigued with Khān-Khānān was the 5th year of Jahāngir's reign (vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 179, and Elliot, VI, p. 323). This was not the time when 'Abdullāh was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat, as that occurred some three years later in the 7th year of Jahāngir's reign, see Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 219, and Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 273, 274.

surround Malik 'Ambar, and chastise him, they say that the latter got alarmed and intrigued with Khān-Khānān. The latter accordingly by stratagem detained Khān Jahān for some time in Zafarnagar so that 'Abdullāh Khān reached Daulatābād and was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat. Malik 'Ambar having got rid of him addressed himself to plundering the grass and food for Khān Jahān's camp. The price of corn rose so high that a *sēr* could not be had for a rupee. There was also a great mortality among the quadrupeds. He was reduced to complete confusion and had to make a sort of peace and return to Burhānpūr. The disaster attached a stigma to the name of Khān-Khānān. Khān Jahān wrote <sup>1</sup> that "all this has occurred from the hypocrisy of the old trickster. Things must either be left to him, or he must be summoned to the Court, and I with 30,000 cavalry will in two years after relieving the fortresses make Bijāpūr part of the empire, or not show my face among the royal servants" Accordingly, the management of the whole affair of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Jahān, and Khān A'zam Kōka, Khān 'Alām and other officers were added to the former auxiliaries and Khān-Khānān hastened back to the Court. But the secret treachery of the royal officers still persisted, and nothing could be achieved. Khān Jahān was censured and given the fief of Thānēsar <sup>2</sup> and made to reside in Ilīchpūr while the command was transferred to Khān A'zam. After a year, when Khān Jahān came to the Court, his old intimacy and influence were restored, and there was not a hairbreadth of difference. In the 15th year when it appeared that the Qazalbāsh (Persian) was trying to conquer Qandahār, Khān Jahān was appointed governor <sup>3</sup> of the province of Multān and sent to his post. In the beginning of the 17th year when Shāh 'Abbās took the fort of Qandahār after a siege of forty days, Khān Jahān, in accordance with orders, went with all haste to the Court to advise about this matter. But his return at such a time was regarded by those who did not know of the royal orders, as a slight to Khān Jahān and indicating that he was not a leader. They were sure that on this occasion he would fall from his rank, and that he may not escape even with his life. The facts are that commands repeatedly came to him to the effect that he should beware of making an attempt on the fort and that only princes could oppose princes. After his arrival at the Court, it was settled that until the Prince came he should proceed to Multān and arrange for the expedition.

They say that many of Afghān tribes from the neighbourhood of Qandahār came to Multān and said to Khān Jahān that on account of tribal feeling, if government would give five *tankas* (pice) a day per horseman, and two *tankas* for footsoldiers—which amount was indispensable for food—they would serve in his van in large numbers till they had conquered Isfahān. They also promised that they would provide the

<sup>1</sup> Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 179 and Elliot, VI, p. 323, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 45. For a connected account of the Deccan campaigns, see Benī Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 261-266.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake for Thālnēr.

<sup>3</sup> See Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 191, for the appointment of Khān Jahān as governor of Multān; there he is designated my son: *farzand*. According to the *Tūzūk* it was not till the beginning of the 17th year that there was any indication that the Persian king would attack Qandahār (p. 233). Khān Jahān was recalled and then sent in advance of the expedition against Qandahār.

camp with grain at the rate of five *sêrs* (seers) for the rupee. Khân Jahân said that if ever the King came to know of this kind of agreement he would never allow him to live. Meanwhile the heavens caused another revolution, for there arose a disagreement between the King and the heir-apparent Shâh Jahân and there was disturbance and war. The despatch of troops against Qandahâr was stopped, and repeated orders were sent, summoning Khân Jahân. At last the King wrote "If at this time Shêr Khân Sûr were living, he would in spite of all his enmity come to us, and yet you have not come!" It happened that Khân Jahân fell ill, and for thirteen days and nights he was insensible. After his arrival at the Court he was ordered to guard the fort of Agra and the treasures there, and to take <sup>1</sup> up his abode at Fathpûr Sikrî. In the 19th year he on the death of the Khân A'zam Kôka was appointed governor of Gujârât. When Mahâbat Khân was removed from the guardianship of Sultân Parviz and made governor of Bengâl, Khân Jahân was appointed in his place and joined the Prince in Burhânpûr. In the 21st year, 1035 A.H., when Sultân Parviz died, the whole management of the Deccan was entrusted to Khân Jahân. He went to the Bâlâghât to chastise Fath Khân, the son of Malik 'Ambar, who was stirring up commotion in the imperial territory, and did not draw rein till he came to Khirkî. At that time, Hamid Khân <sup>2</sup> the Abyssinian—whose wife managed the army—was the Prime Minister of Nizâm Shâh. He had recourse to cajolery and deceived Khân Jahân into making over the royal territory to him for a tribute of three <sup>3</sup> lacs of *hûns*. Accordingly, the *faujâdars* and *thânadârs* of Bâlâghât, in accordance with the letters from Khân Jahân, made over their posts to the agents of Nizâm Shâh and assembled at Burhânpûr, with the exception of Sipahdâr Khân <sup>4</sup> who did not surrender Ahmadnagar on the plea of not having received the King's orders. They say that Khân Jahân out of his far-sightedness, by this kindness to the Nizâm Shâh, made him his friend in contemplation of his having a place of refuge on the day of misfortune. At any rate the stain of this evil deed remained on his reputation. At the same time when Mahâbat Khân withdrew from the Court with evil designs and joined Shâh Jahân in Junair, Jahângîr gave him title of the Commander-in-chief to Khân Jahân. Many days had not elapsed when Jahângîr went to the other world. Shâh Jahân sent Jân Nithâr Khân <sup>5</sup>—who was a confidential and tactful servant—to Khân Jahân with a gracious *farmân* and an order for the confirmation of his governorship of the Deccan. Jân Nithâr Khân was to ascertain further his secret sentiments and to ask his opinion about Shâh Jahân's marching by way of Burhânpûr. But Khân Jahân, although he had not fallen short in serving the Prince at the time when he was in Junair, at this time accepted the instigation of Daryâ Khân Rôhila, and the advice of Fâdil Khân the *Divân* of the Deccan, who said that Sultân Dâwar Bakhsh had been placed on the throne in the camp, and that Shahriyâr was laying a claim to the sovereignty in Lâhore. He

<sup>1</sup> He could hardly protect Agra if he stayed in Fathpûr Sikrî some 24 miles away. Khâfi Khân, I, p. 343, says he was left in Agra in the 19th year.

<sup>2</sup> Khâfi Khân, I, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> It is three lacs in *Iqbâl-nâma-i-Jahângîrî*, see Elliot, VI, p. 433. Khâfi Khân, I, pp. 411 and 429, speaks of six lacs of *hûns*.

<sup>4</sup> Khanjar Khân in Khâfi Khân, *loc. cit.*, but it is Diyânât Khân on p. 429.

<sup>5</sup> Khâfi Khân, I, p. 391, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 68, 69.

also said that Shāh Jahān—to whom he had rendered such services—had been joined by Mahābat Khān the day before yesterday, and that Shāh Jahān had given him the title of *Sipahsālār* which had been conferred on him (Khān Jahān) by the (late) King (Jahāngīr). “You”, he said, “are, by the goodness of God, master of forces and of tribes, enter the service of whoever becomes the King.” As the time of his fall was near at hand he, in spite of all his knowledge and ability—in which respects he was the unique of the age—made a mistake and sent back Jān Nithār Khān without even replying to the *farmān*.

When it was reported that Shāh Jahān had sent Mahābat Khān from Gujarāt against Māndū—where Khān Jahān's family was—he renewed the treaty with the Nizām Shāh and left Sikandar Dūtāni to guard Burhānpūr. He himself came with the auxiliary officers to Māndū and took Mālwa from Muzaffar Khān Ma'mūrī who was the governor. The royal officers all gathered round him and many of them said, “If you wish to fight, we all shall help you”. When they saw that Khān Jahān had not made up his mind, and that they would have a bad name to no purpose, they turned away from him and went off to the Presence (of Shāh Jahān). And Khān Jahān when he perceived that Shāh Jahān had marched by Gujarāt and that all the officers and Rājas from all quarters had appeared before him—and it became apparent that the accession of Dāwar Baksh was only a ruse, and was an adumbration of Shāh Jahān's sovereignty arranged by Āsaf Khān, he saw that what he (Shāh Jahān) had done was proper (*i.e.* in sending Jān Nithār Khān to him, etc.). But as the opportunity was gone, what was the good of repentance! He sent his *Vakil* to the Court and after the accession sent a tribute along with a coronet (*sihra*) of pearls. Shāh Jahān, who was a world of knowledge and graciousness, ignored his evil behaviour and made<sup>1</sup> him governor of Mālwa. In the 2nd year when he came to the Court after having settled the punishment of Jujhār Bundēla, though all the *Amīrs* did not receive him as in the time of Jahāngīr, yet the King<sup>2</sup> in order to please him sent away to Delhi<sup>3</sup> Mahābat Khān—who had become Khān-Khānān, and was always lording over everybody—and bowed his head to no one. But

*Verse.*

That cup was broken and that cupbearer was no more.

Where was the respect with which he had been treated by his master? Where was the public and private reception? Moreover there was no sincerity on either side. An order was given “Why have you all this army with you at the Court? You must discharge it”. Also under some pretext some valuable properties were taken from him. Continually, during the eight months that he was at the Court he was suspicious on

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> The account of Khān Jahān's behaviour after the death of Jahāngīr, etc., may be compared with the account of Fāḍil Khān in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 19, 20; Beveridge's translation, p. 549.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412, has the Deccan, but Delhi seems more correct; see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352.

account of his own actions, and lived unhappily and was agitated. One night, in the *Darbâr*, Mirzâ Lashkarî<sup>1</sup> the son of Mukhlîs Khân said in his hotheaded way to the Khân Jahân's sons, "Today or tomorrow they'll imprison your father". When these idle words, which had no trace of the truth, reached Khân Jahân, he, by reason of his seeing that he was out of favour, fell into confusion and suspense and confined himself to his house. Shâh Jahân sent Islâm Khân to him and asked for an explanation. He, being dominated by apprehensions, represented the alienation of the King's favour from him, and prayed that he might be favoured with a letter of security (*amân-nāma*) in the King's own hand. Shâh Jahân sent him such a letter and Yamîn-ud-Daula Âsaf Khân sympathetically said to him, "If you are to become a hermit, it is proper that we all should today become your companions". As the materials for his fall and ruin were apparent, he could not be reassured, and after the manner<sup>2</sup> of timid traitors suspicion augmented his suspicion.

They say that one night, when he wanted to leave Âgra and take the road of vagabondage, Âsaf Khân heard of it and reported the fact to the Emperor. He replied that as the promise had been written, it was not right to hinder him or to inflict punishment before the offence is committed. They were still conversing when news of his absconding was brought. Immediately Khwāja Abûl Hasan Turbatî and other officers were deputed to pursue him.

They say it was the midnight<sup>3</sup> of the Diwālî, 27th Şafr, 1039 A.H. when he came out of his house at Âgra. When he came to the Hatîyâpûl Gate, he threw the reins of his horse's neck and lowering his head on his saddle-bow said, "O God, Thou knowest that I am leaving in order to save my honour and that there is no rebellion in my heart". When he came to Dhôlpûr<sup>4</sup>, the first persons to encounter him were Muẓaffar Khân Bârah, Râja Bêthal Dâs, and Khidmat Parast Khân. A great fight took place. Husain and 'Azmat, his two sons, Shams his son-in-law, with his<sup>5</sup> two brothers Muḥammad and Maḥmûd who were grandsons of 'Âlam Khân Lôdî—who was an old leader of the Afghâns—together with sixty of his chief servants, such as Bhîkan Khân Qurêshî, and others were killed. Khân Jahân personally fought bravely and was wounded and endeavoured to reach the river Chambal, but on account of the violence of the current his women were not able to cross. His wife and daughters and some trustworthy dependants (*asāmî*) were put into litters on elephants and left behind in great agitation and confusion.

<sup>1</sup> Khâfî Khân, I, p. 412. See also Elliot, VII, pp. 8, 9, and *Bâdshâhnāma*, I, p. 273. The story is told with more detail and some verbal differences in *Maâthîr-ul-Umarâ*, Text III, p. 430, in the notice of Mukhlîs Khân. For a detailed account of Khân Jahân during Shâh Jahân's reign, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 66-79.

<sup>2</sup> Khâfî Khân, I, p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Two hours after nightfall, Khâfî Khân, I, p. 414. *Bâdshâhnāma*, I, p. 275, gives the date of flight as Sunday, 26 Şafr. See Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 71, where the date is given as October 5, 1629.

<sup>4</sup> Eighteen kos from Âgra. There is, or was, a Hatîyâpûrî or Elephant Gate at Delhi, but the elephants were originally at Âgra.

<sup>5</sup> That is Shams's brothers, *Bâdshâhnāma*, I, p. 278. Cf. with *Maâthîr-ul-Umarâ*, I, p. 715. 'Âlam Khân Lôdî had been killed along with Râja 'Alî of Khândesh in the great battle against Suhail.

## Verse 1.

I've brought myself half alive out of the valley of death,  
'Tis enough to have saved this out of a long march.

On account of the delay of the royal army for a night <sup>2</sup> and a day Khān Jahān crossed the river. He then entered the jungles of the country of Jujhār Bundēla. He took unfrequented ways and proceeded to Gōndwāna. Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār <sup>3</sup> ignored his coming, otherwise he could have apprehended him. Khān Jahān reposed for a time in Lānjī and then went by Berār to the country of Nizām Shāh. Bahlūl Khān Miyāna the *jāgirdār* of Bālāpūr, and Sikandar Dūtānī joined him. Nizām Shāh regarded his coming as a great gain and received him with much cordiality and pitched his tents outside of Daulatābād.

When Khān Jahān came near his enclosure (*sarāparda*) and had not yet alighted from his horse, Nizām-ul-Mulk came out to welcome him, and placed him on the *maṣnad*, and himself took a seat on its corner. He gave him money for his expenses and assigned to him *pargana* Bīr as his *tankh-wāh*, though it was an imperial *thāna*. He also gave fiefs to his companions and dismissed them. He himself proceeded to collect his army. In the beginning of the 3rd year, Shāh Jahān came to Burhānpūr and made it his residence to uproot him. Three bodies of troops consisting of 50,000 cavalry were despatched under the leadership of A'zam <sup>4</sup> Khān Sāvājī the governor of the Deccan. Khān Jahān confronted him with 40,000 cavalry of Nizām Shāh and others.

They say that on the day of battle he was sitting in his palanquin smoking and that 'Azīz Khān his son said to him, "If you want to give battle you should mount your horse and attack, otherwise why are you ruining the world?" He replied, "Do you believe that we shall prevail over the royal army? Alas! It has God-given Fortune. I wish that by these strugglings of a slaughtered animal an atonement may be made, and that there may be some hope for you, and that I may go to Mecca." These words of Khān Jahān caused the dispersal of the Afghāns who had come from Upper India with the idea of obtaining the sovereignty (of India). When the rains came, Khān Jahān took up his quarters in the village of Rājaurī four *kos* from the town of Bīr, and in the slope of the hills. When the rains ended, Muqarrab Khān the leader of the Nizām-Shāhī army and Bahlūl Khān on the approach of the army of A'zam Khān withdrew to Dhārwar from Jālnāpūr. Daryā Khān Rōhila had not joined (Khān Jahān); when A'zam Khān saw his opportunity and set out from Dēvalgāon and crossed the Godāvari, and from Manjhaligāon fell upon Khān Jahān who had not more than 400 horse. Khān Jahān prepared for the battle and sent off his women to the hills, and came out to fight. When he reached the highlands of Rājaurī an engagement took place between Bahādūr Khān Lōdī, the brother's son of Khān Jahān, and Bahādūr Khān Rōhila. Brave deeds were done on both sides, and though Bahādūr

<sup>1</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> The army halted for seven watches, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Jujhār was then in the Deccan. It is said there that Bikramājīt guided him out of his country to Gōndwāna, see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> From Sāvā in Persia, also called Irādāt Khān, see *Madāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge's translation, pp. 315-319.



Khān Rōhila fell on the field, the imperial army arrived with help. Bahādur Khān Lōdī lost heart and sought to fly. Rāja Bihār Singh Bundēla came up to that doomed man and killed him. Khān Jahān went off with his women on horseback from Sivagāon and came to Baidāpūr. Daryā Khān joined him on the way. From there he hastened to Daulatābād, and rested for a while. Though they urged him to sit upon the throne, he replied "Fifty years of my life have gone, I do not know if after me my sons will be fit for the sovereignty. Every Mughal will expel an Afghān with insult from the towns and country, and then the maidservants of the Afghāns will execrate me (*lit.* will take my name and strike their slippers on the ground), saying 'We have come to this state by his wickedness'. I cannot stand all this beating with slippers." Bahlūl and Sikandar became displeased and left him. Nor did he see much kindness on the part of the Nizām Shāh. Rather there were signs of the rise of disaffection. He was disgusted with his interested friendship, and at the advice of Daryā Khān Rōhila, Aimal Khān Tarīn, and Ṣadr Khān formed the plan of going to the Panjāb so that he might stir up commotion there with the help of the Afghāns. He came from Daulatābād to Antūr<sup>1</sup>, and passing by Dharangāon<sup>2</sup> and Amba Pātar proceeded towards Mālwa. 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang and Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārah pursued him. He was unable to halt. He continued his march, plundering as he went. Near Sarōnj he seized 50 of the royal elephants and entered the Bundēla territory so that he might reach Kālpī. Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Bundēla to amend his former fault attacked the rear which was commanded by Daryā Khān, and in that struggle Daryā Khān was killed. Khān Jahān was grieved at the death of such a companion and continued his march. When he came to the territory of Bhāndēr<sup>3</sup>, Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārah of the King's vanguard nearly caught him up. Khān Jahān sent on his family, and with 1,000 horse engaged in hot battle. His son Mahmūd Khān and many others were killed. Khān Jahān was helpless and turned his rein. When he came to Kālinjar, Saiyid Ahmad the governor of the fort barred his passage. In that fight his son Hasan Khān was made prisoner. Khān Jahān went on, a doomed man, some twenty *kos* more, and halted at the bank of a tank at Sahīnda<sup>4</sup>. He said to his men, "The royal army does not cease from following us and is close upon our heels. How long shall I fly? All our relatives and clansmen have been killed. I too am satiated with life. There is no remedy save death. Whoever wishes, may leave." He distributed to them whatever (property) remained. Many went off on 1 Rajab (24th January, 1631 A.D.), the others advanced with firm foot and engaged Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārah. At last Khān Jahān dismounted along with his son 'Azīz Khān, Aimal Khān Tarīn, and Ṣadr Khān, and fought with swords and daggers as long as there was life in their bodies. He fell to the ground from an arrow<sup>4</sup> (bullet?) of Mād̥h̥u Singh. 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī (the wounded) sent his head to the Court, and it was shown to Shāh Jahān while he was taking an airing in a boat on the Tāptī in Burhānpūr. In accordance with his

<sup>1</sup> Katal Antūr, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> Dharangāon and Jōpra, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, VII, p. 21, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> A spear (*barchā*), see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 351, and Elliot, VII, p. 22.

orders it was buried in his father's tomb. Ṭālib<sup>1</sup> Kalīm wrote this quatrain.

*Quatrain.*

This pleasant news was an additional ornament,  
What joy did not this end of two evils cause,  
The departure of Daryā made the head of Pirā depart,  
As if his head were a bubble of the river.

The following chronogram enigmatically<sup>2</sup> gives the date:

*Ki āh o nalah az Afghān bar āmad.*

(Sighs and laments emerged from the Afghāns.)

In their accounts of Khān Jahān contemporaries have added too much or stated too little. Some maintain that in reality he had no intention to rebel. All that happened was done in self-defence (*khud dārī*). Others say that he was a born rebel and recalcitrant, and observe no bounds in their abuse of him. Leaving aside the words of his detractors and panegyrists, what comes out from his history is that he was a straight<sup>3</sup> and honest man. He was not a time-server or a double-faced person. The blows of circumstance had not touched him. The word of check had not reached his ear, and all out of envy were lying in wait for him. The King of India (Jahāngīr) with all his glory and grandeur was enamoured of him. Out of pride and unconciliatory nature of his temperament he did not bow his head to heaven or prince (*jalak o mallak*).

One day Shāh Jahān apropos of something said to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārāh, "This title is of a man from whom we and all the princes desire to receive attention, but he out of contempt says nothing to anybody". All at once the jugglery of the heavens produced a new world, and there was a new arrangement on the carpet of universe. His distinction and intimacy no longer existed. Men who had not been admitted<sup>4</sup> to his presence claimed to be his equals, or rather they raised their heads above him. The exhibition (by him) of some disrespectful actions—which were regarded at the Court as sedition and rebellion—produced the result that every want of attention was regarded as an affront, and every idle word as the sound of banishment. Moreover he was jealous and proud, and far from affable. He felt out of place, and his heart was aggrieved. He preferred vagabondage and a death<sup>5</sup> in the desert. To the lofty minded no evil is more intolerable than disgrace after honour. So he brought himself to where he brought

<sup>1</sup> Commonly called Abū Ṭālib. See Rieu, II, p. 686. He was a native of Hamadān, and became Shāh Jahān's poet laureate. His quatrain is a play on the word Daryā which means both the Daryā Khān who was Khān Jahān's follower and a river. Pirā was Khān Jahān's name, Pir Muḥammad, and may also stand for evil. The quatrain is given in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram is ingenious. *Az Afghān* yields 1040, the proper date, but, the word for Afghāns, i.e. for the plural number is *Afghānān* = 1091. We deduct *a*, and *n* = 51 from this, as representing *ah* sighs, and *nalah* laments and so get 1040. There is also a play on the word *Afghān* which means laments as well as an *Afghān*.

<sup>3</sup> The author passes lightly over this selling the Dacca to Nizām Shāh.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps persons who had not his privilege of admission to the Emperor.

<sup>5</sup> *Biṭābān margī*, desert pestilence?

himself. At first all his dangerous outbreaks were the result of nothing but a desire to preserve his honour and status. Afterwards other designs were mixed up with them. Or rather they became necessary, e.g. his collecting troops and his alliance with Nizâm-ul-Mulk. If the die had been cast aright and Time had been his friend how could the love of the world's glory ever have made him bow his head for service!

In fine, Khân Jahân was possessed of mildness and clemency, and could not bear to injure any one. Though he was a Sunnî he was specially inclined towards the people of Persia. His father was well known as a Shî'a, and there was a saying of his that there could be no courage without submission to Murtaḍā 'Alî. At last, Khân Jahân, from companionship with Shaikh Faḍl Ullāh of Burhānpūr took a fancy for Sufism, and spent his nights with Darvîshes and 'Ulamā, and expressed an aversion to the world. There was nothing startling or extraordinary about his household management. His expenses were sometimes three lacs a month, and sometimes less. There was a little saving after expenditure. He did not himself look after matters, and was not friendly with Hindūs. He procrastinated about the taking of accounts from collectors, and other similar matters. He had many sons. Some died on the field of battle, and Aṣḥat Khân, who held the rank of 3,000, died in Daulatābād during the period of exile. Muzaffar left his father and went to the Court, and Farîd and Jahân<sup>1</sup> were made prisoners. 'Ālam and Aḥmad fled, but after a time came to the Court. Up to the present day none of his descendants has arrived at eminence.

#### KHÂN ZAMÂN.

(Vol. I, pp. 785-792.)

He was Mir Khalil the second son of A'zam Khân<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīrî and son-in-law of Yamīn-ud-Daula Aṣaf Khân Khân-Khānān the *Sipahsālār*. In company with his father he performed distinguished actions, and was the *Mir shamshēr* (sword-arm) and main support of his father. During the time of the government of Jaunpūr by A'zam Khân, his son exerted himself to such a degree in overthrowing the seditious and rebellious that even the name rebel did not remain in that quarter. Wherever he heard that there was a strong fort, he either by stratagem or by courage pulled it down. Many fortresses which were full of guns, and which former governors had taken a long time to subdue, were overthrown by him in so short a time that no trace of them remained. When his father died<sup>3</sup>, he received the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse.

• They say that he performed<sup>4</sup> Rustam-like feats in the *faujdārî* of Nārṇol<sup>5</sup> which was a perpetual hot-bed of sedition near the Capital. He made a tank there called the Khalil Sāgar which eclipsed the fame of

<sup>1</sup> Jān Jahān, *Bādshāhnāmā*, I, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> His name was Mir Muḥammad Bāqir, *aliās* Irādat Khân, see Beale. p. 88. He was brother of Aṣaf Khân Ja'far Bēg. Jahāngīr refers to him under the name of Irādat. He did not get the title of A'zam Khân till Shāh Jahān's reign.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 685, in 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.).

<sup>4</sup> He cannot be Kārtalab Khān of Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 252, 253, who put down the Sati *Amila* of Nārṇol in 1082 A.H.

<sup>5</sup> In the Patiala State, Panjāb, and not very near Delhi.

the tank which had been made by Shāh Qulī Maḥram<sup>1</sup>, who had been *jagirdār* there for forty years. In the 3rd year (of Shāh Jahān) he had an increase of 500, and was appointed to the Deccan along with his elder brother Multafat Khān. In the same year the office of Superintendent of the artillery for the whole of the Deccan was, at the request of Shāyista Khān the Governor, conferred upon him. Such an arrangement as he made of the establishment had not been made by any of the governors (of the Deccan). He personally visited all the forts, and examined minutely all details, and provided each with bullets, lead and gunpowder. He caused the muster of all the old artificers and workmen (*aḥshām*<sup>2</sup>), who for years had, by means of favouritism and bribery, spent their days in comfort and the enjoyment of promotion<sup>3</sup>, with or without providing substitutes. He built a wall three yards in height and breadth as a target, and tested every musketeer by making him aim at it from a distance of forty paces three times. Whoever did not even once hit the mark was dismissed. He reduced the allowances of some weak and disabled men, and kept them under surveillance. In this manner, he in one and a half months saved for the exchequer Rs.50,000 and made his own honesty, skill and perspicacity apparent to the world. In the 27th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Muftakhir Khān. On the death of 'Arab Khān he was made governor of the forts of Fathābād and Dhārwar. As during his service in the Deccan he had impressed his character for devotion, etc., on the mind of Prince Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, so when confusion arose and the Prince resolved to proceed to the Capital, Khān Zamān accompanied him. After reaching Burhānpūr he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made Mir Bakhshī with the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the battle with (Mahārāja) Jaswant he received the title of Khān Zamān and the present of a *tōgh*, and a drum. After the overthrow of Dārā Shikōh, and the success of 'Ālamgīr the office of *Mir Bakhshī* was restored to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the son of Muḥammad Mu'azzam Khān (Mir Jumla), and Khān Zamān on account of his usefulness in the Deccan had an increase of 1,000 and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was made governor of the fort of Zafarābād Bīdar which had been added to the imperial territories by Aurangzib. Afterwards he was appointed to the management of the affairs of Ahmādnagar. In the 9th year he was, in succession to Dā'ūd Khān Qurāshī made governor of Khāndēsh, and in the 18th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse and was made governor of Berār. In the 20th year he was made governor of Zafarābād Bīdar and had the charge of that fort assigned to him. In the 24th year he came<sup>4</sup> with Shāh 'Ālam from the Deccan to Ajmēr, and did homage. For some days he was attached to the stirrups of the Prince and engaged in the pursuit of Akbar, the rebel (Prince Akbar), and in the chastisement of the Rājput. In the same year he was appointed again to serve in Burhānpūr as governor in succession to Īrij Khān, and had an increase of 1,000 horse.

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 387, 388.

<sup>2</sup> For *Aḥshām*, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 180, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Ba 'iwaṣ o bilā 'iwaṣ*. But the variant *bē 'iwaṣ o bilā 'iwaṣ*, without giving a substitute or doing any work, appears to be more appropriate.

<sup>4</sup> *Madṭhir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 209.

It chanced that in the same year<sup>1</sup>, viz., 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.) Sambā Sawā'ī had, before the arrival of the Khān made a night-march of 35 kos and fallen upon Bahādurpūra two kos from Burhānpūr and had insulted the Muhammadans and infidels, and plundered their property. Some of the leading men had time to perform the *jōhar* for their wives and children, and many took to flight with their families. Kākā Khān Afghān who, as Khān Zamān's deputy was guarding the city (Burhānpūr), protected it with great difficulty. As the learned men and the Shaikhs of the city left off public prayers and reported to the Court the predominance of the infidels—who plundered the Muhammadans at their pleasure—Aurangzib proceeded towards the Deccan from Ajmēr. On 12<sup>th</sup> Dhul Qa'da of the 25th year, the King arrived at Burhānpūr, and Khān Zamān the Governor of the area paid his respects.

When in the same year, Rabī' I, 1093 A.H. (February, 1682 A.D.) Aurangzib proceeded to Aurangābād, Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was appointed to stay in Burhānpūr, and went from Bahādurpūra, Khān Zamān was appointed to wait upon the Prince. At the same time Khān Zamān was appointed<sup>2</sup> to the government of Mālwa in succession to Mukhtār Khān. In the end of the 27th year, 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.) he died there. He was well versed in every science and was famed for his calligraphy. He was skilled in polite literature and was an able man of business. He did not need the guidance of others in transacting affairs, and he was a man of pleasant manners. He was skilful in collecting men—especially were his unerring marksmen—who could sew up the eye of a snake on a dark night with a fire-bearing arrow—famous throughout the world. He was deeply skilled in music, and in spite of his being immersed in business he was devoted to singing and amusement (*rāg-orang*). He had in his house fairy-faced songsters and attractive musicians. The famous Zainābādī, who was the beloved of Aurangzib when a Prince, was one of them. It is stated that she was his (Khān Zamān's) mistress.

They say that the Prince went one day to the world-adorning garden of Zainābād in Burhānpūr which was commonly called the Deer-Park (*Ahū khāna*), and paid a visit to the ladies of the harem there. He held a banquet with his familiars and strolled about with them. Zainābādī<sup>4</sup> was unique as a songstress and excelled in her beauty. She came with Khān Zamān's noble consort—who was the Prince's maternal aunt (sister of Mumtāz Maḥal the wife of Shāh Jahān), and in the course of the walk she saw a mango tree laden with fruit. Without considering the respect

<sup>1</sup> It was the 23rd year of Aurangzib, Khāfī Khān, II, p. 272. See, however, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 244, and Kincaid and Parasani, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 119, from which it will be seen that the attack was in January or February 1681 A.D. or in 1092 A.H. Sawā'ī seems to have been a title which Sambhā gave to himself; see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 384. It was a title afterwards given to Jai Singh of Jaipur. Perhaps it was a Rājput title and taken by Sambhā as showing his Rājput descent.

<sup>2</sup> The 14th according to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 278, and Elliot, VII, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 220. His death occurred in the end of the 27th year, and Mughal Khān was appointed as his successor early in the 28th year, vide *op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently she was so called from living at the garden (the name signifies the abode of grace). The garden seems to have been that made on the bank of the Taṭpi by Khān Daurān; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 757. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 56-58 for a detailed account of Zainābādī.

due to the Prince, she ran forward joyfully and playfully, and leapt up on the tree and plucked a fruit. This movement was a heart-robbing one and it robbed the Prince of his self-control and his virtue.

*Verse.*

It was a wondrous snare of love's robberies,  
The friendly glance of the beloved was more than friendship.

By begging and imploring he obtained possession of her from his indulgent aunt and with all his asceticism and purity he gave his heart to her and used to fill a cup of wine with his own hand and give it to her.

It is stated that she too one day put a cup of wine into the Prince's hand and urged him to drink it. Though he begged and prayed, she had no pity on him and the Prince was helpless, and was about to drink it, when the sly girl drank it off herself, saying: It was to test your love and not to make your palate bitter with this liquor full of evil. This passionate love grew to such an extent that Shāh Jahān heard of it. Dārā Shikōh—who heartily disliked him—made the story a ground of calumny and detraction and said to Shāh Jahān: "What restraint and self-control has that hypocritical ascetic, he is ruining himself for a girl of his aunt's". As Fate decreed, the flower of her life faded in its spring, and the Prince was marked with the perpetual scar of separation. Her tomb is in Aurangābād near the great tank. As the death of one's beloved robs a man of his power, the Prince became altered on the day of her death and in his restlessness resolved to go out hunting. Mir 'Askarī<sup>1</sup> 'Āqil Khān was in his retinue, and when he had an opportunity of speaking privately to him he said: "Will it be advisable for you to go hunting when in this state (of mind)?" In reply the Prince recited the verse:

Laments at home comfort not the heart,  
In the desert one can weep one's fill.

'Āqil Khān recited this verse as suitable to the occasion:

*Verse<sup>2</sup>*

How easy Love appeared. Alas! how hard it was!  
How hard was parting, what rest the Beloved attained!

The Prince was touched, and committed the verse to memory.

Khān Zamān during his government of Berār chose the village of Harm three kos from Ilīchpūr, which is the Capital of the province, as his residence and called it Khānzamānnagar. He erected lofty buildings of which traces still remain. He also had a residence in Burhānpūr. His sons passed away without any of them obtaining distinction.

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 821-823.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 823. The couplet was 'Āqil's own. See Manucci's account of this love-story, I, p. 231.

## KHĀN ZAMĀN MĒWĀTĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 829-832.)

His father was Shaikh Ghulām Mustafī Kārtalab Khān of Bahādur Shāh's body-guard (Wālā-Shāhī) and belonged to the Qāḍizādas of Firūzpūr in Mēwāt. He had a little learning, and had read some of the ordinary books. The commencement of his service was on the establishment of 'Aqīl Khān Khawāfī the governor of Shāhjahanābād (Delhi). He taught the Khān's children. Afterwards, he became connected with Mun'im Khān the *Divān* of Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (afterwards Bahādur Shāh), and through his intervention obtained a royal *manṣab*. When Mun'im Khān had charge of the government of Lāhore on behalf of the Prince, the performance of much of the business was entrusted to Khān Zamān. When the Prince came, after his father's death, from Peshāwar to Lāhore, and sat upon the throne and struck coins and had the *Khutba* recited, he increased the allowances of his old and new servants and gave them titles. Khān Zamān on account of his ability and industry had an increase of *manṣab* and received the title of Kārtalab Khān. After victory had declared itself, he was made *krōrī* of the market of the imperial camp, but when Mun'im Khān received the title of Khān-Khānān and became *Vazīr*, he, on account of his long companionship, had full charge of the administration and received a high rank. When Shāh Dhōrā<sup>1</sup>, which is a pargana appertaining to Sirhind and is famed owing its connection with the shrine of Shāh Faīḍ Qādirī, became the camp of Bahādur Shāh, and before the death of Khān-Khānān, Khān Zamān, who now had the title of 'Alī 'Askar Khān, was made *faujdar* of the *Chakla* of Etāwah which is one of the noble *Khālṣa* estates of Āgra. He ruled over thirty *kos* of territory on the banks of the Jurnā. Afterwards, when Jahāndār Shāh came to power, Prince I'zz-ud-Dīn his eldest son<sup>2</sup> was appointed under the guardianship of Khwāja Hasan Khān Daurān to oppose Farrukh-siyar who was advancing from Patna. Most of the *faujdar*s in the line of rank or near it were ordered to furnish auxiliaries, and the Khān, who had a good force with him, marched and joined the Prince. He accompanied him for some days and became acquainted with the nature of the leader and the ways of the Court. The Prince was only in name and was under the control of the Khān Daurān, and the latter, who was inexperienced, ruled by craft and fraud. His cowardice, etc. foretold disaster. Khān Zamān watched his opportunity and when Farrukh-siyar approached, he set off with his troops and the treasure which he had with him and having marched through the evening and night, joined him, and was the object of a thousand congratulations. In the battle against Jahāndār Shāh, he in conjunction with Chabīla Ram Nāgar galloped off towards Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān Jahān, and engaged in the fight. He several times made brave attacks, and after the victory received the title of Khān Zamān Bahādur, and a high rank as a mark of royal favour. Afterwards he went off to the government of Multān

<sup>1</sup> Sādhurah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 296. The Sādhaura of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, p. 347. It is in the Ambāla district, and the local saint is called in the *Imperial Gazetteer* Shah Kumais. There is the variant Qais.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the children of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, see Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 242, 243.

and acquired a great name. He did not have so much power and influence in the time of the reigning Sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh), and after the catastrophe of Nādir Shāh's expedition, when Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh went off to the Deccan, he made over the charge of his estates in Upper India to Khān Zamān. 'The end of a groom is to sell hay', and in the discharge of his duty he died.<sup>1</sup>

### KHĀN ZAMĀN SHAIKH NIZĀM.

(Vol. I, pp. 794-798.)

He was from Haidarābād, and one of the military Shaikhzādas of the Deccan. He had an abundant share of courage. He became an *Amir* under Abūl Ḥasan the ruler of Telingāna (Gōlconda). He acquired a name for leadership and military skill. At the time of the siege of Gōlconda he was at the head of the Quṭb-Shāhī troops and engaged the imperial forces outside the fort. One day he had an encounter on the top of a battery with Khān Fīrūz Jang, and there was a great fight. Though the imperialists tried to carry off the corpse of one of their men, they did not succeed, and the other side carried it off along with some bodies of their own men.

When Fortune and the happy star turned away from Abūl Ḥasan and every day there were increasing signs of misfortune, he departed from loyalty to him and attached himself to the threshold of Aurangzīb. When the principal servants of Abūl Ḥasan, out of cupidity and in the hope of attaining offices, threw the dust of unfaithfulness on their heads and no leader but he remained, his disaffection was regarded as productive of Abūl Ḥasan's downfall, and special efforts were made to win him over. After he had accepted service he received <sup>2</sup> the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Muqarrab Khān and the gift of a flag, drums and a lac of rupees together with Arab and Persian horses, as also strong elephants and other gifts, and was made an object of royal favour. His sons and relatives also received offices, several of them were not lower than 4,000, and altogether they had *mansabs* of 25,000 with 21,000 horse. After Haidarābād had been taken and the city of Bījāpūr had for the second time become the seat of the royal encampment, Khān Zamān, who was unique in military science, was sent to take the fort of Panhāla <sup>3</sup> which was in the possession of the enemy. The Khān appointed spies to obtain information about Sambhā who after his father's death was the leader in the Deccan. Suddenly the news came that he, on account of a dispute with the clan of Bairāgis <sup>4</sup> who were related to him, had come from Rāhērī to the fort of Khēlna, and after making an agreement with them and satisfying himself about the victualling of a fort, had gone to

<sup>1</sup> See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1896, pp. 186, 198, 199, where he is called 'Alī Asghar Khān and Khān Zamān' ('Alī Asghar'). Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 214, 230, 231. Khān Zamān is also called 'Alī Asghar' in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 721.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Panhāla of Text is Panhāla—one of Shivājī's strong forts. Shaikh Nizām was sent to besiege it in 1688, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Shirke according to Sir Jadunath, *op. cit.*, p. 399, note \*



Sangamnūr (Sangamēswar)—where his *pēshkār* Kab Kalus<sup>1</sup> had made grand houses and gardens and was occupied in amusing himself. The *Khān* hastened there from Kōlāpūr<sup>2</sup> which was 45 *kos* off and separated from Sangamēswar by a very steep and bad road. He washed his hands of life in zeal for his master and was accompanied by a few devoted men. Though spies informed Sambhā that the Mughals were coming, he from sottish drunkenness and arrogance signed with his eyebrow for their heads<sup>3</sup> being removed from their bodies and mockingly said: "The ignorant fellows have grown mad. Can the Mughal troops come here?" Meanwhile the *Khān*, after abundant hardships and difficulties—in the course of which he had to go on foot in many places—came upon him like lightning, with 300 troopers. Sambhā, doubly intoxicated by pride and wine called for the help of 4 to 5,000 Deccanī troopers and fought. By destiny, an arrow from the hand of fate reached Kab Kalus and after a short struggle Sambhā's party fled, and he crept into the house of Kab Kalus. He and Kab Kalus and 25 of his chief men with his wives and daughters—except Rām Rāja his younger brother who was in one of the other forts—were seized. Among them was Rāja Sāhū, his eldest son, who was seven or eight years of age. As this news reached the King in Iklūj he gave<sup>4</sup> that place the name of Sa'dnagar. After that, when the *Khān* came out from that desolate place, none of his (Sambhājī's) assistants and companions could move hand or foot. He (Sambhājī) came to the Presence at Bahādurgarh, and was put into the prison of retribution<sup>5</sup>. At the same time Aurangzib came down from the throne and placing himself on a corner of the carpet humbly offered thanks to God. The chronogram is:

## Verse

*Bā zan o farzand shud Sambhā asir.*

(With wife and son Sambhā was made prisoner—1100 A.H., 1689 A.D.)

In reward for this great service the victorious *Khān* received the title of *Khān Zamān Fath Jang* and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and Rs.50,000 in cash, etc. His sons and companions received increases of rank and the gifts of dresses of honour. After that *Khān Zamān* was for a time attached to the army of Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh. In the 37th year the Prince returned to the Court as he was afflicted with dropsy. *Khān Zamān* paid his respects, and with his sons and other relatives was the recipient of favours and went off with Prince Bīdār Bakht to punish the enemy. Apparently he died in the 40th year. He

<sup>1</sup> The Kuloosha of Grant-Duff, *History of Mahrattas* (1921 edn.), I, pp. 238, 239, etc., and the Calusha of Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn.), p. 633, and Kalasha in Kincaid and Parasani, *History of Maratha People*, p. 127. Evidently Kab in his title and means a bard. He was a Brahman, see Elliot, VII, pp. 285, 305.

<sup>2</sup> Shōlāpūr in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 385, says he ordered their tongues to be cut out. The account is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed account of the capture of Sambhājī (called Sambhūjī), see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-407.

had many children. His sons Khān<sup>1</sup> 'Ālam and Munawwar Khān<sup>2</sup> were among the noted of the age, as will be seen from their biographies. Another was Farid Shāhib, who with his brothers fell bravely in the battle with A'zam Shāh. A separate account has also been given of Amin Khān.<sup>3</sup> Another was Husain Munawwar Khān who chose Haidarābād as his residence. He received from Āṣaf Jāh's establishment the collectorship of Murtaḍānagar. In the year 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) he died. His sons were held liable to render accounts to the government. Another was Nizām-ud-Dīn Khān whom Aurangzib in accordance with the father's will brought up as a house-born child, and married to a sister of Rāja Sāhū for whom he had taken a fancy. He had Mughali manners, and did not at all resemble his father or brothers. He lived in Aurangābād, and was not without fame and reputation. He spent his days in tranquillity, and died in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.). His sons—who were half-brothers—long disputed with one another about their father's inheritance.

### KHIDMAT PARAST KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 713-716.)

His name was Riḍā Bahādūr. He<sup>4</sup> was from his boyhood a slave and attendant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and was a favourite because of his long service, trustworthiness and tact. They say that when the Prince was appointed to the affair of the Rānā, Khidmat Parast Khān on one occasion received 500 lashes for some offence, but he did not fall to the ground or utter a sigh. This fortitude won him respect, and led to an increase in his rank and honour. He gradually rose to the dignity of an *Amīr*, and received the title of Khidmat Parast Khān (the Khān devoted to service). When Shāh Jahān returned from Bihār he, out of the confidence reposed in him, was left along with Saiyid Muzaḥḥar Khān Bārah in the fort of Rohtās in attendance on Sultān Murād Bakhsh<sup>5</sup>. After the death of Jahāngīr when Shāh Jahān came from Junair in the Deccan to Gujarāt, and proceeded from the bank of the Kānkriya tank near Ahmādābād—where he had encamped for seven days—towards Āgra, Khidmat Parast Khān was despatched<sup>6</sup> from the way with an autograph *farmān* to Yamīn-ud-Daula in Lāhōre. The purport of it was that the time was critical, and that he should cleanse the world from the contamination of the existence of sundry princes who were the source of disturbance. Khidmat Parast Khān reached Lāhōre by relays in nine days. They say that Sultān Dāwar Bakhsh known as Sultān Bulāqī—whom Āṣaf Khān had placed upon the throne for some days out of certain considerations of policy—was playing chess with his brother Sultān Garshāsp. When he heard the noise of Riḍā Bahādūr's arrival, he

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 816, 817; his full name was Khān 'Ālam Ikhlās Khān.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Text III, p. 654, 655; his full name was Munawwar Khān Shaikh Mirān.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 352-357, Beveridge's translation, pp. 236-240.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Murād Bakhsh was born about this time, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 61.

divined his object and said to his brother : " Virtue <sup>1</sup> (*Ridā*) has not come, it is your and our Fate (*Qadā*) that has arrived." Yamin-ud-Daula in accordance with the order made over the blinded Sultān Shahriyār, Sultān Bulāqī and Tahmūras and Hūshang the sons of Sultān Dāniyāl to Khidmat Parast Khān. He on 25 Jumāda <sup>2</sup> I, 1037 A.H. (1st February, 1628 A.D.) put them all to death in one day.

On the accession he had an increase of rank and was made *Mir Tuzuk* and received an ornamental staff. After that he was made *Mir Atish* (Head of the artillery). In the 2nd year when Khān Jahān Lōdī fled from Agra he—in advance of the officers who had been appointed under the leadership of Khawāja Abūl Hasan to pursue Khān Jahān,—came up with Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Bārah, and Rāja Bēthal Dās <sup>3</sup> Gaur—with the enemy in Dhōlpūr and bravely engaged them. He several times flung himself down upon the foe, and received <sup>4</sup> a wound from an arrow (bullet ?) which struck his temple and brought him to his end.

They say that as Khidmat Parast Khān went rapidly in pursuit, he travelled by night, and losing his way, came upon the ladies (*qabīla*) of Khān Jahān Lōdī who had gone off with his son-in-law (Muḥammad Shāh Lōdī) <sup>5</sup> towards the Chambal. <sup>6</sup> A great fight took place, and so much bravery was shown on both sides that it cast into oblivion the deeds of Rustam and Isfandiyyār. Muḥammad Shāh Lōdī with his two brothers, and twelve of the relations and confidential servants of Khān Jahān were killed, and Ridā Bahādūr with sixty of his best followers was also killed in the King's service. His body was conveyed to the *Nakhkhās* (cattle-market) of Āgra and a dome was erected there. He was married to a daughter of Kōtwāl Khān a Georgian slave of Daulat Khān—who had been presented by Khān-Khānān. They loved each other so excessively that the tale of their affection was celebrated all over. Khidmat Parast Khān would say to her : " My life is devoted to the service of the King, I will probably die to-day or to-morrow in my master's service, what will happen to you ? " She would show opium and poison which she carried in the corner of her dress. After his death, though she did not have the grace of dying, she sat in wretched circumstances at the head of his grave. On this account Shāh Jahān gave her Khidmat Parast Khān's property, and also allowed her a daily pension. A year had not elapsed when out of the intoxication of wealth and the instigations of bad company she became enamoured of music and dancing and took to drinking. When the King became aware of this, he gave her in marriage to Qil'adār Khān Chēla. After his death she shaved her head and again sat at the head of Ridā Bahādūr's tomb. Shāh Jahān again granted her the daily pension.

<sup>1</sup> Punning on his name *Ridā*.

<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 394, says the 22nd. In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 79, the date is 25th, while in *Iqbāl-nāmā-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 303, it is 26 Jumāda I.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 117, has Rāja Bēthal Dās son of Rāja Gopāl Dās Kaur (Gaur). There is a notice of Rāja Bēthal Dās Gaur in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 250-256, Beveridge's translation, pp. 401-404. It is Rāja Vithaldas in Banarsi Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 278; also Banarsi Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Called Shams in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 725.

<sup>6</sup> In the text Chital. It is the Dhōlpūr river, i.e., the Chambal; see Khāfi Khān, I, p. 418. Also see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

It is stated that Ridā Bahādur had 200 superior servants and that every day he ate with 50 of them, and that they were excused from guard and from (*sawārī*) personal attendance(?). After Shāh Jahān's accession he was sent with a large force to chastise the Mēwās (Mēos) of Mēwāt. There he committed many murders and put them all to the sword. Those who escaped the sword, whether old or young, were all castrated so that the race might be extirpated. A large number of women and children were brought as prisoners to Āgra and daily many of them used to die of want and hunger.

They say there was a jeweller famous for his wealth. He came to the chief *Divān*, Afḍal Khān, and agreed—in the hope of eternal recompense—to stand surety for the payment in four instalments of two lacs of rupees for their release. The prisoners were released, and he paid the first instalment in cash. For the second instalment he gave a *tōmār* (bond) upon his house and effects worth Rs. 30,000, and for the balance he came with his sons and daughters into the office (*kachehrī*) and sat there. When this was reported to the King, and the jeweller was questioned, he said that innocent women and children were daily dying of hunger, and that in lieu of their blood-money he was offering his own life and his wife and children. Shāh Jahān after this noble payment gave him back his bond (*tōmār*) and also let him off the remainder. But it was ordered that the *Divānī* clerks should not (in future) accept any security without investigation.

#### KHIDR KHWĀJA KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 613–615.)

He belonged to the race of the rulers of Mughalīstān. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that he was descended from the Princes of Kāshghar.<sup>1</sup> On joining the service of Humāyūn he was honoured with favours. At the time when owing to the unkindness of the heavens misfortunes made their appearance, he deserted Humāyūn (*lit.* he made the flank of zeal empty of companionship). When that Sovereign returned from Persia, he, in company with Mīrẓā 'Askarī, was besieged in the fort of Qandahār. When the siege had lasted a long time Khidr Khwāja Khān threw himself out of the fort at a spot near the royal battery, and taking the collar of submission in the hand of humility he fell at Humāyūn's feet, and was again the recipient of royal favours. As he was adorned with high birth and noble qualities, he was honoured by an alliance with the exalted family and was married to Gulbadan Bēgam<sup>2</sup> the half-sister of Humāyūn. By the auspiciousness of this connection he attained to the rank of Amīr-ul-Umarā.

When in the beginning of his reign, Akbar proceeded from the Panjāb to Delhī to extinguish the flames of the ascendancy of Hēmū, he left Khidr Khwāja Khān with a suitable force to control the distracted conditions in the Panjāb<sup>3</sup> and to put down Sultān Sikandar Sūr who was

<sup>1</sup> See De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text II, p. 428, translation II, p. 656.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of Gulbadan Bēgam, see Mrs. Beveridge's *History of Humāyūn*, pp. 1–79 (1902).

<sup>3</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 31, Beveridge's translation II, p. 50.

a claimant for the throne of India; he in the battle of Sirhind had escaped from the clutches of Humāyūn's heroes and taken refuge in the Siwālik hills. Sultān Sikandar was looking for an opportunity, and considering the affair of Hēmū to his advantage, he gathered a force and came out of the hills and set about collecting tribute in the Panjāb.<sup>1</sup> Kẖidr Kẖwāja Kẖān left Hājī Muḥammad Kẖān Sīstānī in charge of the defences of Lāhōre and marched out to oppose Sultān Sikandar. When he came near the town of Chamyārī and there remained a distance of ten kos between the two armies, Kẖidr Kẖwāja Kẖān separated 2,000 of his choice men from his force and sent them ahead as the vanguard. Sultān Sikandar did not lose his opportunity and a great fight took place. He defeated the vanguard, and Kẖidr Kẖwāja did not think it advisable to stand his ground, but returned to Lāhōre without fighting and set about strengthening the fortifications. Sikandar pursued him for a short distance and then looked to his own affairs, and levied tribute and gathered troops. When Akbar had routed Hēmū, he regarded the putting down of Sikandar as the most important matter and returned to the Panjāb. They say that when Akbar determined upon this expedition he took an omen from the *Divān* of Hāfiz (*Lisān-ul-Ghāib*) and that this verse turned up.<sup>2</sup>

Verse.

The water (of life) was not vouchsafed to Sikandar ;  
This boon cannot be gained by might or money.

On hearing of this expedition Sikandar saw that he could not resist and withdrew to his fixed abode in the Siwāliks and shut himself up in the fortress of Mānkōt.<sup>3</sup> When the siege had lasted about six months and the batteries had been brought close to the fort, Sikandar became alarmed and begged for the coming of one of the leading officers to comfort him. By the mediation of Shams-ud-Dīn Kẖān Atga, and Pīr Muḥammad Kẖān Shēr-wānī—whom Sikandar had won over by a large sum of money—his petition was accepted and the Atga Kẖān was sent to soothe him. Sikandar made his many enemies an excuse for not waiting upon Akbar and sent his son 'Abd-ur-Rahīm with Ghāzī Kẖān and some elephants as a tribute. In accordance with his request Bihār, etc., was given to him in fief, and on 27 Ramadān 964 A.H. (24 July, 1557 A.D.) and in the second year of the reign he delivered over the fort and went off to Bihār. After two years he died there.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 47, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 73, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 47, Beveridge's translation II, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> For the siege of Mānkōt and its capture, see *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 50, 51, 58, 59, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 79, 89, 90.

<sup>4</sup> This is an unsatisfactory biography. The author breaks off and digresses into an account of Sikandar Sūr, which is mainly adapted from *Akbarnāma*. The last mention of Kẖidr Kẖwāja in this work is in 1654 A.D. when he helped Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk in treating Akbar when he was wounded by an assassin, see *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 202, Beveridge's translation II, p. 313. For his life also, see Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 394, note 1.

## KHUDĀBANDA KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 814–816.)

He was the son of Shāyista Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the lifetime of his father he in the 36th year of Aurangzib's reign received the rank of 1,000, with the *faujdarī* of Bahrāich in Oudh. After his father's death he came to the Court in the 39th year, and was by the King's order married to the daughter of Jumalat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān.

The auspicious<sup>1</sup> planets' conjunction has taken place in the mansion of Leo (1101)—*Sa'dain kardah and ba Burj-i-Asad Qirān*—is the chronogram.

In the 40th year he was made Mīr Bakhshī of the *Ahādīs* in succession to Murīd Khān. In the 41st year he had the charge of the *Buyūtāt*. In the 44th year he was appointed to the government of Bidar in succession to 'Askar Khān Haidarābādī, and in the 46th year he was sent off to the *faujdarī* of the Karnātik Bījāpūr in succession to Chīn Qulij Khān. In the 48th year, on the death of Rūh Ullāh Khān II, he was made *Khān-i-Sāmān*. He held the rank of 2,500 with 1,000 horse. At last he got in Ahmādnagar an increase of 500 with 200 horse. At this time the death of Aurangzib took place. Among the successors to the Caliphate, Muḥammad A'zam Shāh—who had gone off to the government of Mālwa and had proceeded twenty *kos* away from the camp, immediately on hearing the news returned to the imperial camp, and ascended the throne. The lords and nobles of Aurangzib, willing or unwilling, or rather out of a show of obedience, embraced his cause, and the Khān in question also joined them. In the battle<sup>2</sup> with Bahādur Shāh which took place 3 months and 20 days after Aurangzib's death and in which Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, and his two sons and many officers on both sides fell bravely, the Khān was severely wounded.<sup>3</sup> He was conveyed to Āgra and though his wounds showed signs of healing and he was able to wait upon Bahādur Shāh, but through carelessness the wounds reopened and he died.

It is said that when they had conveyed him along with Matlab Khān from the field of battle, 'Alī Mardān Kōkaltāsh came up to them and indulged in reproaches, such as are appropriate to such times, and which men of the victorious side use towards the vanquished thereby rubbing salt into their wounds. Matlab Khān in his weakness lamented and said: We had to do it, and came against our will. Khudābanda Khān, who was partly unconscious on account of his wound, heard him, and at once became indignant and said: "Good, we had come with great pleasure to make prisoners of your wives and children, and to kill you. It was not the will of God. This head is ready. Throw it in the worst place that your malice can discover". He had sons, but none by the

<sup>1</sup> That is, the conjunction of Jupiter and Venus took place in the house of Asad, i.e. Leo. But the chronogram is wrong, for Khudābanda's father did not die till 1105 and his marriage took place in 1107, see *Matāhib-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 374. If we read *burāj* instead of *burj* the chronogram would be increased by 6 and would be right. The mansion of Leo is the house of Asad (Lion), the father of the bride.

<sup>2</sup> Aurangzib died on 28 Dhul Qa'da, 1118 A.H. or 3rd March, 1707 A.D. The battle of Jājau took place on 18th June, 1707 (vide Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 26, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 320). The period of 3 months and 20 days does not, therefore, seem to be correct.

<sup>3</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 595, also *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 31.

daughter of Asad Khān. One of them was granted his father's title, and contrary to most noblemen's sons—who spend their time in frivolities—he lived with great virtue and asceticism, and occupied himself in prayers and other religious duties. At the time of writing he is the *Divān* of Asaf Jāh. His honesty—which is a rare jewel in this world—is patent to all. He was, however, pronounced incapable by those who could not appreciate him and was dismissed.

#### KHUDĀWAND<sup>1</sup> KHĀN DECCANI.

(Vol. I, pp. 659, 660.)

He was one of the officers of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty, of Ahmadnagar. His father was from Mashhad and his mother an Abyssinian. He was of imposing stature and great physical strength. He was also noted for his courage. When Khwāja Mirak of Isfahān known as Chingiz Khān became the *Vakil* and Prime Minister of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh, he brought forward Khudāwand Khān and made him an *Amir* and procured for him choice estates in Berār. He soon acquired much wealth and power and became a great man. The mosque of Rōhan-Khēra,<sup>2</sup> which has stood for ages without being injured or broken, was built by him. In the year 993 A.H. he came, in company with Mir Murtaḍā of Sabzawār who was the head of the Berār army and could not stay in the Deccan on account of the predominance of Salābat Khān the Circassian, to Fatḥpūr and entered Akbar's service. He obtained the rank of 1,000 and received promotion at the Court. But in the 32nd year, 995 A.H., he lost favour on account of improper behaviour between him and his servants at a royal assemblage, and which was the result of his want of tact, and non-appreciation of dignities. When Pattan Gujarāt was assigned as his fief he went off there to look after it and died in 997 A.H. (1588-89 A.D.).

They say, that one day Shaikh Abūl Fadl invited him to a feast. There were many *Amirs* present. As the Shaikh had provided abundance of viands, and there was great variety and much splendour in accordance with his lavish ways, there were placed before each of his servants nine dishes, a plate (*langar*) of mutton-*biryān*<sup>3</sup> and one hundred loaves. Before Khudāwand Khān were set many dishes of fowl and partridge and varieties of vegetables and curries (*sālan*). He was displeased and got up because they had brought to him roasted fowls through scorn and derision. When this affair was reported to Akbar, he said to Khudāwand Khān that these things were the recognized dainties of Upper India "Otherwise if it had been a question of food (*i.e.* if you had wanted other food), nine dishes<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 490, 491. Rohankhed of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, p. 304. The statement in that work that the mosque was built by another Khudāwand seems wrong.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 490, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Biryān* is a choice dish, see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> See *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 721. Apparently it was not his behaviour on this occasion, but some quarrel between him and his servants that lost him Akbar's favour. According to Badāyūnī, Text II, p. 372 and Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 384, Khudāwand died at Kāri in Gujarāt in 998 A.H. The chronogram *Khudāwand Dakhinī murda* is correct if we read *murda* instead of *murda* and this seems preferable to Blochmann's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 490) of leaving the *h* in Dakhinī. Mr. Lowe's calculation on p. 381 n. seems to be wrong.

(*langarī*) had been placed before your servants". Notwithstanding this, Khudāwand Khān was not satisfied about the Shaikh, and did not go again to his house. Hence it is that in Upper India men of the Deccan are reckoned as fools and as persons of weak intellect.

### KHUDĀYĀR KHĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 825-829.)

He was the ruler of Sindh, known as Lētī (Latī)<sup>1</sup> and he belonged to the 'Abbāsī family. The title of the family in the language of Sind is Kalhōra<sup>2</sup> and his followers were called Sarā'yān because most of this tribe came from Sarā<sup>3</sup> which is the name given to the district between Bhakkar and Multān. His ancestors wore the dress of darvīshes, and they were disciples of Saiyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the Mahdāvī. One of his ancestors were connected with the head of the Abrah tribe<sup>4</sup>—who from early times had been the rulers of Sindh. He acquired a piece of land as *madad-ma'āsh*<sup>5</sup> (maintenance-land). His sons lived by it and gathered many disciples and dependants. At last they became *zamindārs* and paid rent to the rulers. Gradually they gained power over the Abrah tribe and brought many of their villages under their dominion. At last came the time of Shaikh Naṣīr. He became firmly possessed of *zamindārī* property and after his death his elder son Shaikh Dīn Muḥammad became the leader. In the time of Aurangzib when Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (afterwards Jahāndār Shāh) obtained the government of Multān and the Prince's standards reached Siwistān, Dīn Muḥammad withdrew his head from obedience and did not wait upon the Prince. At last after swearing on the Qur'ān he summoned Dīn Muḥammad and two of his relatives. After the three had come, he drew up an army to bind and bring those who had remained behind with their wives and children. Yār Muḥammad the younger brother of Dīn Muḥammad quickly sent his family into the inaccessible parts of the hills and prepared to give battle. The Prince's army was defeated and Yār Muḥammad became bold, and taking up a position in the defiles prepared for battle. The Prince was contented with imprisoning the three men and returned to Multān. There he gave orders for putting the three men to death. Thereafter Yār Muḥammad became more and more powerful; he took possession of Siwistān, and took from its old landowners Sībī Dara—which is an extensive area running from Sindh to Qandahār, as also

The *Darbār-i-Akbarī* says, on what authority it is not known, that Khudāwand Khān's offence was a violent dispute with his servants which led to his behaving presumptuously in Akbar's Darbār. Khudāwand Khān was married to Abūl Fadl's sister. In *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's edition, Text II, p. 445, translation II, p. 672, it is stated that he died in 995 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> It is Latī in *Maādhir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 312. 'Abbās was the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle.

<sup>2</sup> For Kalhōra, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> The Indus from the junction of the Punjab rivers to Sihwān is called Sarā, vide Elliot, I, p. 526, the Sirai or Tālpūr tribe, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 398. Siraki is a dialect of Sind.

<sup>4</sup> This is a tribe in Larkāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVI, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> See Blochmann's detailed note in his translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 280, 281.



other estates. Day by day his star rose higher and higher. Apparently<sup>1</sup> in Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's time he received the title of Khudāyār Khān and a *manṣab*.<sup>\*</sup> He died in the end of that reign. Among his descendants there were two principal ones—Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad and Shaikh Dā'ūd. For some time there was strife between the two brothers. At last Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad prevailed and sat in his father's place. He made peace with his brother and assigned him a part of the estate. Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad received from the Court his father's title of Khudāyār Khān, and had a *manṣab*. His power exceeded that of all his predecessors. His pomp and grandeur reached the highest point, and he brought most of the *zamīndārs* under his power. In the earlier years of his rule he fought severe battles with the Dā'ūdputras—the *Zamīndārs* of Shikārpūr—and was victorious. He drove out that tribe from their original abodes with their wives and children to the number of 6 to 7,000 men and women. The Dā'ūdputras had been confirmed in the *zamīndārī* of Shikārpūr in the time of Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. The reason for this was that when the Prince sent an army against Bakhtiyār Khān the *Zamīndār* of Shikārpūr, a body of the Dā'ūdputras accompanied it and did good service, and cut off the head of Bakhtiyār Khān and brought it to him. The Prince as a reward for this service made over that country to them. 'Abdullāh Khān Barauhī the ruler of Kalāt<sup>2</sup>—which is a strong fort between Sindh and Qandahār—was always making attacks on Khudāyār Khān's territory, and every year levied a tribute. Khudāyār Khān in the year 1143 A.H. (1730-31 A.D.) proceeded against 'Abdullāh Khān, who was unique for courage. He came out of Kalāt with a small force and having crossed the boundaries of his territory, met the enemy and a severe battle ensued. By Divine decree he was killed on the field, but though Khudāyār Khān took some of the dependencies of Kalāt he, on account of the mountainous nature of the region, could not capture Kalāt. After this victory he received from Court the title of Khudāyār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang and the rank of 5,000 and the gift of drums (*naubat*, i.e. he was allowed to have music played) and a robe of honour. In 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) the government of the province of Thatha and the Sarkār of Bhakkar were conferred on him. The whole of the country of the Tarkhāns and additional territory came into his possession.

When Nādir Shāh resolved to march against India he wrote to Khudāyār Khān to allow him a passage through his territory. Khudāyār Khān refused and fortified the passes so that Nādir Shāh had to invade India via Kābul. After his return to Kābul, as he was displeased with Khudāyār Khān, he turned his courser's reins towards Sindh. When the news of Nādir Shāh's arrival at Dēra Ghāzi Khān—which is 30 *kos* from Multan—reached Khudāyār Khān, he decided to retire from his own territories. He went off to deserts and sandy places which an army could not traverse. His intention was to return after Nādir Shāh left Sind. With this design he marched from Khudāābād and Sīwistān with all his family and the tribe of Kalhōra and his *Sardārs* and came to Amarkōt which is a strong fort. On hearing this Nādir Shāh made a rapid march and came to Amarkōt. Khudāyār Khān saw no remedy but to submit and came and waited upon Nādir Shāh. After Nādir Shāh had

<sup>1</sup> In *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 398, it is stated that he got the title from Aurangzib.

<sup>2</sup> In Balūchistān, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 305.

reproached him he said: "Why did you run away from me?" Khudāyār Khān replied: "We from the time of our forefathers were the servants of the King of India, if we had shown an inclination for you, you would not have believed us." This saying was approved and accepted, and in the same interview Nādir Shāh gave him the good news of his territory being restored to him <sup>1</sup>. After taking goods, etc., Nādir Shāh returned to him one-third of the territory, and gave one share to the Dā'ūd-pūtras and the third share to the *Zamindārs* of Bhakkar. Some time before this was written Ghulām Shāh and Sarafarāz Khān his son—who were related to Khudāyār Khān—managed the government of this province, and at present also it is in their hands.

\* KHUSHHĀL BĒG KĀSHGHARĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 773, 774.)

In the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he held <sup>2</sup> the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and was out with Sultān Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken and the Prince returned to India, Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullah Khān was appointed to settle the country there, and he and other Kāshgharis were appointed to the *ihānadārī* of Shērpūr <sup>3</sup> and Sām Chārek. In the 20th year at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk his rank was raised to 1,500 <sup>4</sup> with 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was sent off with Prince Aurangzib to Qandahār and there along with Rustam Khān and Qulij Khān he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians. In the 23rd year his rank was 2,000 with 1,200 horse, and in the 25th year he went off again with the Prince on the above-mentioned expedition. In the 28th year he was sent, along with Jumlat-ul-Mulk against Chittōr and displayed great rapidity of movement. Afterwards he went off with Khalil Khān to chastise the *Zamindār* of Srinagar (Garhwāl), and in the end of the 31st year he went to Mālwa, and showed courage and loyalty in conjunction with Jaswant Singh in opposing the march of the troops of the Deccan when Prince Aurangzib was reported to be proceeding to inquire after the health of his honoured father. Afterwards in the battle of Sāmūgarh he was attached to the stirrups of Sultān Dārā Shikōh. His subsequent career is not known.

<sup>1</sup> See also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 312, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 391, note 2. There is an account of Nādir Shāh's dealing with Khudāyār Khān in Elliot, VIII, p. 97. The life of Nādir Shāh which Sir William Jones translated into French in 1773 is the same as that used by the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, viz., *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādirī* by Muḥammad Mahdī bin Muḥammad Nāsir Astrābādī (see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1924, p. 30). Nādir Shāh's invasion of Sindh is described there on pp. 260-263 (*As. Soc. Bengal's* edn. of 1845). Nādir Shāh visited Amarkōt in February, 1740, *vide* Elliot, VIII, p. 99, but 1152 in that work on p. 98 should be 1153. For Amarkōt see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 55, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 460. Two years before this he got a present of Rs. 2,000, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 565, has Sarpul and Sām Chārek. It also calls Krushhāl Bēg, the son of Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain, perhaps the officer who was the Kōtwāl of Delhi, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 595.

## KHUSRAU BĒ.

(Vol. I, pp. 673-675.)

He was an Ūzbeg *qurugchī*.<sup>1</sup> His ancestors were men of wealth and power in Tūrān, and always held their heads high through their rank and wealth. They also had a name for bravery. He too possessed this quality. When he came<sup>2</sup> to India, he was greatly favoured by Jahāngīr and promoted to a high office. As marks of sense and ability were apparent in him he was made *faujdār* of Delhi<sup>3</sup> and Nārnl which are hotbeds of strife and sedition. They say that he had 400 plumed (*qarguradār*) Ūzbeg troopers mounted on Turkish horses; they were all brave men. In carrying out the duties of this magistracy, he did not neglect one iota of what was necessary for putting down the disturbers of the peace. He cleared the country of the weeds and rubbish of rebels, and was applauded by the Court. When in the 8th year of Jahāngīr's reign, Ajmēr became the abode of royalty, the heir-apparent<sup>4</sup> (Shāh Jahān) was sent with an army against the Rānā and Khusrāu Bē was enrolled among the auxiliaries, and did good service. The Prince loaded him with favours, and his rank and influence were increased. The Prince wrote a recommendatory letter about him to the Court. When Shāh Jahān by the strength of his good fortune established *thānas* in the hilly country of the Rānā, Khusrāu Bē was appointed to do the *thānadār*'s work. There he died a natural death. He had a magnanimous disposition and every day he caused food to be prepared for the soldiers, and every one who did not appear at his table was put down as absent<sup>5</sup> (without leave). He was very liberal with gifts and rewards. A horse he regarded as if it were a goat. He changed nothing of what had been his customs and habits in Tūrān.

## KHUSRAU SULTĀN.

(Vol. I, pp. 767-772.)

He was the son of Nadīr Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. When in the year 1051 A.D. (1641-42 A.D.) the *Khutba* of Transoxiana was recited in the name of Nadīr Muḥammad, he in concert with his eldest son 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān occupied with complete assurance the *maṣnad* of Khānship at Bokhārā, and carried on the administration along the right path. In the year 1055 A.H. he went to Qarshī<sup>6</sup> and took possession of Urganj, the ruler of which, Isfandiyyār Khān had died. Nadīr Muḥammad's elder brother Imām Qulī Khān had paid great deference to the Ūzbegs and left to them the realization

<sup>1</sup> A sentinel at the entrance to the female apartments, a game-keeper.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 229, where Mēwār is apparently a mistake for Mēwāt.

<sup>4</sup> Vide Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably his pay was reduced, see article *Ghair-hāzīrī* in Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Isfandiyyār died in 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.). He was the son of 'Arab Muḥammad and brother of Abūl Ghāzī.

of the revenues and the settlement of Transoxiana and had been content with the name of *Khān*. Nadhr Muḥammad now called upon them for the payment of the revenues of Imām Qulī's time. That contumacious and independent tribe were annoyed and resolved to get rid of Nadhr Muḥammad and his son.<sup>1</sup> He received a hint of their union and resolved to throw a stone of separation in their midst. He appointed each of them to a different place. He gave Samarqand and its dependencies to 'Abdul 'Azīz and appointed Bēg Oghlī as his guardian and Khusrāu Bēg as his *Divān*. Tāshkand<sup>2</sup> and its dependencies he gave to his third son Bahram and appointed Bāqī Yūz as his guardian. He appointed Nadhr Bē, the guardian of Imām Qulī *Khān*—who had great influence among the Ūzbegs and whom he regarded as the chief of the sedition-mongers in the government of Balkh. Qandūz, which is the capital of Badakhshān, he gave to Khusrāu Sultān. Kahmard and its dependencies and the Hazārajāt—which had long belonged to Ilangtōsh—he took away in spite of the fact that no faults had been committed and made them over to his fourth son Subhān Qulī, and made Tardī 'Alī Qatān his guardian. He also resumed many fiefs and made them remunerative. He also resumed many old *Madad-i-ma'āsh*<sup>3</sup> (subsistence-allowances) tenures and *Suyūrghāls* on pretext of the grants having been forged, and took possession of them himself.

Inasmuch as his dominion had come to an end, and his fortune was proceeding to a fall, he, for some reasons, annoyed the *Khawājās* of Tūrān, whom everybody whether high and low, regarded with respect, and with this design he made every pasturage *qurq* (i.e., reserved) for his own cattle and would not allow these to be used by any one else. Consequently all the people became disaffected. Though 'Abdul 'Azīz, his son and heir, tried to induce him to make, like Imām Qulī, Bokhārā his headquarters, and to give him Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad refused on the ground that he had spent forty years in Balkh, and the climate agreed with him, and it was disagreeable for him to leave the place and the treasures accumulated during so many years. He also annoyed his son by thwarting him in his designs, and in the non-recognition of truth he shut his eyes to the wishes of the leaders of Fārkh—who during a long period had not omitted the smallest office of loyalty, and were naturally expecting favours and graciousness. He also disregarded all the precepts of skill and caution and when any one of his well-wishers gave him a secret hint about the disaffected, he in his shallowness divulged the matter and thus ashamed and discredited his informers. At last the whole of Tūrān and all the Tūrāniyāns suddenly broke out into rebellion and beat the drum of opposition, and recited the *Khaṭba* of Transoxiana in the name of 'Abdul 'Azīz, while the Almānān, who were looking for an opportunity, proceeded to pillage and destroyed many establishments (*kārkhānājāt* or manufactories). At last Nadhr Muḥammad came to an agreement with his son that he himself will keep the government of Transoxiana, while that Balkh and Badakhshān will belong to 'Abdul

<sup>1</sup> That is, his eldest son 'Abdul 'Azīz. The union here spoken of was that of his sons, and so he sent them to different places. The account in the *Madāthir-ul-Umarā* is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 435, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Tashkent in Ferghana in modern atlases.

<sup>3</sup> For *Madad-i-ma'āsh* and *Suyūrghāls*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 278-280.

'Azīz, and that there should be peace. But on account of the double-mindedness of the Ūzbegs, and the insolence of Almānān he was in daily fear of his life and property. He left off hunting and for a time shut himself up in the fort of Balkh. When Jahāngīr died, and his heir Shāh Jahān was far off in Junair in the Deccan, Nadīr Muḥammad thought the field was empty and in his hot-headedness and arrogance led a large army to conquer Kābul. Though it did not succeed, and he had to make a shameful retreat before the pressure of the victorious imperial troops, yet he stretched out the hand of oppression over the inhabitants of the towns and districts, and every place that the Ūzbegs found unguarded was plundered. From that time it was impressed on Shāh Jahān's mind that it was necessary, according to the verse:

Verse.

Stones are the retribution of clod-throwers.

That an army should be sent to Balkh and Badakhshān and that the ancestral properties should be recovered. On account of other occupations (in India) this design could not be carried out. At this time when spontaneously there arose confusion in the country, and the Almān infidels lighted the flames of oppression and by slaying the good and noble, and dishonouring their families made themselves deserving of condign punishment, Prince Murād Bakhsh<sup>1</sup> was sent off rapidly in the 19th year with 50,000 cavalry to conquer the country and to punish the unruly tribes. When the Prince had traversed the pass of Tūl and came to the plain of Sirā<sup>2</sup> the Ūzbegs and Almānān, who had ravaged the villages of the Badakhshānāt, and had made Khusrāu Sultān's position difficult, fled on hearing the sound of the victorious army. Khusrāu Sultān thought peace was best and came with his son Badī' Sultān and 2,000 house-holders of Qandūz—who had suffered from the ravages of the pillagers—and submitted to the Prince. When Khusrāu arrived near Andarāb the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān came and saluted him on horse-back. When Khusrāu entered the Prince's tent, the latter acted according to the royal orders and stepped to the edge of the carpet to receive him and place him near the *maḡnad* and showed him various attentions and kindnesses. He made him various presents, including Rs. 50,000 in cash and sent him to the Court. Marḡamat Khān<sup>3</sup>, the son of Šādiq Khān deceased, was sent from the Court with four Arab and Persian horses with gilded saddles and valuable cloths from among the choice fabrics of India, together with a palanquin and *chahār dūlā* (litter) with silver poles and velvet lining for his ladies, and two complete advance-tents<sup>4</sup> and directed to bring him with all honour to the Court. On 29 Rabi' II, 1056 A.H., when he reached Kābul, the officer in charge Sa'd Ullāh Khān and Mir Jalāl *Šadr-us-Sudūr* went out to meet him and paid their respects. His request to be allowed to wait upon the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Prince Murād Bakhsh's campaign in Transoxiana see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 195-201.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently should be Sirāb; see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 517. For Tūl see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 399, 400.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 619, and *Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 625.

<sup>4</sup> In *dū dast peshkhāna*, the word *dast* seems to be pleonastic.

was granted. After he had paid his respects, Shāh Jahān raised his head with the two hands and embraced him, and ordered him to be seated. He showed him various favours and presented him with Rs.50,000 in cash and gave him a *manṣab* of 6,000 with 2,000 horse. The house of Khān Daurān Bahādūr with carpets and other splendid furniture was assigned to him. His son Badī' Sultān, who was with him, received an annual allowance of Rs.12,000, and Khusrāu Sultān, who was a man of a feeble constitution and an opium-eater, and had long endured the oppressions of the Ūzbegs, never seen happiness, and never had had a moment's peace on account of his dread of the Almānān, suddenly arrived without care or effort at God-given comfort. He at his ease tasted the joys of life. He did not seek for service. Sometimes in Lāhore and sometimes in Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) and occasionally in attendance on the Sovereign he passed <sup>1</sup> his time. In the 26th year he was removed from <sup>2</sup> his *manṣab* and received a pension of a lac of rupees. In this year his son Badī' Sultān was raised to the *manṣab* of 1,000 with 200 horse. At the end of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank was 2,500.

## KHWĀJA JAHĀN HERĀTĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 630-632.)

He was Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, and was known as Amīnā. He was a pioneer in the science of accounts. He wrote *shikasta* very beautifully, and was exceedingly acute and careful in the valuation of property and in the correctness of his calculations. He was attached to Humāyūn's stirrups during the journey to Persia, and later was always the recipient of royal favours and for some time was the *Bakhshī* of Prince Muḥammad Akbar. When Akbar ascended the throne, he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān Jahān<sup>3</sup>. For a long time the administration of the kingdom was carried on in accordance with his sage advice.

When Akbar left him and Mun'im Khān and Muzaḥfar Khān, in Karra Mānikpūr, to put in order the affairs of Khān Zamān Shaibānī, and returned to Āgra, and the officers neglecting the administration of that part of the country proceeded to the Court in the beginning of the 11th year, Muzaḥfar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah and arrived first at the Court. He reported <sup>4</sup> the double-dealings of the officers, and Khwāja Jahān was censured and the royal Grand Seal—which was the insignia of his office—was taken from him, and he was dismissed to the Hījāz. Later, on the intercession of the courtiers, the Khwāja's offences were forgiven. In the 19th year, 981 A.H., when the royal standards advanced to take Hājīpūr and Patna, the Khwāja owing to indisposition remained in Jaunpūr. When Akbar returned victorious to Jaunpūr

<sup>1</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 695.<sup>2</sup> Khāfi Khān, I, p. 716.<sup>3</sup> So in the text, but this is a mistake for Khwāja Jahān. For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 467, 468.<sup>4</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 270, Beveridge's translation II, p. 401. In the text it is stated that Muzaḥfar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah, but according to the *Akbarnāma*, Muzaḥfar Khān hurried to Etāwah and there denounced the other officers.

and proceeded towards Āgra, a *mast* elephant ran at the Khwāja in Jaunpūr. His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell. His condition at once became critical, and in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, 982 A.H. (January, 1575 A.D.) he died in Lucknow. Mirzā Bēg, whose *takhalluṣ* was Sipihri<sup>1</sup> and had a good poetical vein, was the Khwāja's brother's son. As he had acquired *tawakkul* (reliance upon God), he withdrew from service and lived in retirement. He died in 989 A.H. They say that he secretly used to help the needy. This verse is his:

Verse.<sup>2</sup>

Remove by a smile the poison of thine angry eyes,  
For they sweeten with salt when the almond is bitter.

KHWĀJA JAHĀN KĀBULĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 672, 673.)

His name was Khwāja Dōst Muḥammad, and he was a native of Kābul. When Jahāngīr was the heir apparent, he was his *Divān*. As his daughter was married to the Prince, he became distinguished above his fellows. After the accession he obtained high rank and the title of Khwāja Jahān. He conducted his duties well and became a favourite. Whenever Jahāngīr went out to hunt near Āgra, the Khwāja was left in charge of the fort and city. They say that after the morning prayer the spiritual *Mathnawī Ma'navī*<sup>3</sup> of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalāl-ud-Dīn) was read in his assemblage for four *gharīs*. After that he attended to work, and by his discernment and knowledge of business disposed of disputes. Some of his decisions are amusing. They say that a man complained that the wife of his brother, who was impotent, had taken possession of the property asserting that her child was her husband's. When she was asked, she said it was true that her husband was without sperm, but that she, on the advice of a *Hakīm*, had for forty days given him the head of the *Rūhī*<sup>4</sup> fish to eat. This had produced virility. The Khwāja ordered that two grooms should make the child run up and down, and catch the sweat of his face and body in a handkerchief. When the handkerchief became wet he took and smelt it. It smelt of fish, and those present all confirmed this. On another<sup>5</sup> occasion, they say that a person picked up

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, who says that his *takhalluṣ* was Shahri. But it is Sipihri in Badāyūnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 241. See also *Darḍār-i-Akbarī*, p. 722.

<sup>2</sup> This verse and others are given in Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 241. Probably the salt in the second line is the white row of teeth seen in the smile, the *bādām* or almond may mean the eyes.

<sup>3</sup> For details of this work see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian, MSS. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1924, pp. 216-218. Jāmi has said about this *Mathnawī*:

مثنوی مولوی معنوی      هست قرآن در زبان پهلوی  
من چه گویم وصف آن عالیجناب      نیست پیغمبر ولی دارد کتاب

<sup>4</sup> The famous Indian Carp *Labeo rohita* (Ham.-Buch.).

<sup>5</sup> This is a familiar story.

a purse on the road and restored it intact to the owner. That silly and avaricious man complained that half of his money had been taken out. When this dispute was brought before the Khwāja he ordered that the purse be given to the finder, adding that it was a windfall for him, and he said to the owner, "Yours must have been a different purse". He at once became penitent and confessed that his money was so much. When it was counted it was found all right (i.e., the amount was what the owner had stated). The Khwāja died<sup>1</sup> a natural death. He built a stately mansion in Āgra. Among his sons, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd held a *jāgīr* and a *manṣab* till the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. He did not possess discretion. Mirzā 'Arif (another son) was handsome and agreeable. He had no rival as a polo-player. He was on terms of intimacy with Jahāngīr. The flower of his life perished in its spring (i.e., he died in his youth).

#### KHWĀJA JAHĀN KHWĀFĪ.

(Vol. I, pp. 748, 749.)

His name was Khwāja Jān, and he was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. When after the receipt of the news of the death of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān moved from Junair and arrived near Aḥmadābād he made the Khwāja, who was exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse, *Divān* of Gujarāt. In the end of the 4th year he begged to be allowed to visit the holy places, and this was granted. As the King had allocated five lacs of rupees to be sent to the needy in those blessed places, he ordered<sup>2</sup> that the officers of Gujarāt should make over to the Khwāja, who was known for his honesty, 2 lacs and 40,000 rupees worth of such goods as would be saleable at the two holy places. He was to sell these goods and distribute the price (i.e., the capital and the profit) to the poor there. In the 9th year he returned and presented nine Arab horses as a *pēshkash*. In the 12th<sup>3</sup> year he was removed from the *Divānī* of Gujarāt and died in the 17th<sup>4</sup> year; 1053 A.H. (1643-44 A.D.).

#### KHWĀJA<sup>5</sup> QULI KHĀN BAHĀDAR.

(Vol. I, pp. 834, 835.)

Son of Nadīr Bē who was one of the nobles of Tūrān. He came to Aurangzīb on an embassy from there. On his return, he sent Yūlbāras Khān his eldest son to India for service. After his death, his second son Bāglar Bēgi Khān came with his dependants to his elder brother. The

<sup>1</sup> The authors of the *Maṭhūr-ul-Umarā* apparently used only the first volume of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Khwāja Jahān died in the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Jahāngīr gives an account of him in his Memoirs, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, pp. 121, 122, note. His being in charge of Āgra is mentioned on p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 406. Hakīm Masīh-uz-Zamān was associated with him. His name was Khwāja Jān or Mullā Khwāja Jān, but his title was Khwāja Jahān. There is a special notice of him in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 333. He was a native of Bihār.

<sup>3</sup> Should be the 11th year, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 728. His rank was 2,000 with 600 horse.

<sup>5</sup> Khwājam in the Text.



Khān at that time was a suckling. Bēglar Bēgī during the days of power of the Saiyids of Bārah, became *faujdār* and governor of the fort of Māndū, in succession to Marhamat Khān. He also went there with his brother. In 1136 A.H. when Nizām-ul-Mulk, after his second *Vazīrship*, requested leave from Muḥammad Shāh and went off to the Deccan,<sup>1</sup> he joined him on the way. After the battle<sup>2</sup> with Mubārīz Khān he got a fief in the province of Burhānpūr, and spent his time as *faujdār* of Sarkār Khargōn<sup>3</sup> in the province of Khāndēsh. In the beginning of the rule of the martyred Nāsir Jang, he was made deputy-governor of Berār, but after some months he was removed. After that he was at one time *faujdār* of Baglāna, and at another deputy-governor of Burhānpūr. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang, he received the title of Dhūlfaqr-ud-Daula Qā'im Jang. When Khāndēsh came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went away in distress to Ṣalābat Jang in Ḥaidarābād. He received the pargana of Jalgāon<sup>4</sup> in Berār in fief, and went off there. After some days he died in 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.). Āṣaf Jāh treated him with distinction, and when he paid his respects put his hand on his head. But he was very reserved. He composed simple verses and had the pen-name of Mauzūn.

This verse is his:

Verse.

Whene'er without thee I visit the rose-border,  
The perfume of the bud and the flower gives me a headache.

None of his sons attained any position. They passed away at various intervals after their father's death. But Khwāja Qudrat Ullāh is still alive.

#### KHAWWAŞ KHÂN BAKHTIYĀR KHÂN DECCANI.

(Vol. I, pp. 774, 775.)

He took up service in the reign of Jahāngir, and in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign was honoured by being appointed as the *faujdār* of Lakhī Jangal<sup>5</sup> and Thārah in place of Sardār Khān. In the 12th year, when the King had reached the borders of the Panjāb, he was honoured by being permitted to offer his allegiance. In the 14th year he was removed from that office and appointed an auxiliary of the *Ṣūba* of Bihār. In the 16th year he was exalted by being appointed as the *faujdār* of Tirhat (Tirhūt) in the *Ṣūba* of Bihār. In the 20th year he was granted a *Khil'at*, and a horse, and was ordered to Badakhshān. In the 21st year he returned to the Court, and was honoured by being appointed

<sup>1</sup> For details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 131-137. He took leave from the Emperor on 17th December, 1723.

<sup>2</sup> Battle of Shakar Khara, on 11th October, 1724; see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 145. Shakarkhela in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> There was a Khargōn in Bijāgarh Sarkār, Mālwa; see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 206. Now in Indore, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> In Sarkār Narnāla; see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 234, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Lakhī Jangal* was the extensive uncultivated area south of the Sutlej, see Irvine's detailed note in *Manucci*, IV, p. 426.

as the *faujdār* and *tiyūldār* of Mandsūr in Mālwa. In the 23rd year when the *Shābadārī* of Mālwa was granted to Shāh Nawāz Khān, and that of Mandsūr to Mirzā Muḥammad, son of Mir Badi' of Mashhad, who was the son-in-law of the said Khān, he was transferred from there and appointed as an auxiliary in the Deccan forces. In the siege of Gōlcōnda he served with Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzib, and when later the said Prince was nominated as the Governor, he was granted the rank of 2,000, 1,500 horse and the title of Khawwās Khān. And in the series of battles which took place between Aurangzib and Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and the rivals for the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> he attended the royal stirrups, and later went to Bihār on being appointed to that *Shūbā*. And when before the second coronation<sup>2</sup> the fort of Chunār<sup>3</sup> was delivered from the hands of Saiyid Abū Muḥammad a servant of Sulṭān Shujā', he was appointed as the guardian of that fort; and in the 2nd year was removed<sup>4</sup> from that office. Nothing further is known about him.

## KIRAT SINGH.

(Vol. III, pp. 156-158.)

He was the second son of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. When the seditious Mewās of Kāmā<sup>5</sup>, Pahārī and Kōh Mujāhid between Āgra and Shāhjahānābād troubled the residents and travellers in the tract, and the parganas were going to waste on account of their attacks and the fief holders were put into difficulty, Kirat Singh was, in the end of the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, raised to the rank of 800 with 800 horse and the district in question was assigned to him as his fief and residence. An order was sent to the Mirzā Rāja to extirpate the wicked crowd (the Mewās) and to plant his own men there in their stead. The Rāja made the place his home and came with 4,000 cavalry and 6,000 musketeers and archers and proceeded to cut down the jungle. He put many of the contumacious inhabitants to the sword and made prisoners of a large number of them. A large quantity of cattle fell into his hands. Those who escaped the sword were expelled. The Rāja received the rank of 1,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and the pargana Hāl Kalyān<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, and the battles with his brothers in the War of Succession. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 348-612, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 222-228.

<sup>2</sup> 16th June, 1659. For details of the coronation see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 613-624.

<sup>3</sup> *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 349. The name of the fort is given as Chanāda.

<sup>4</sup> Shujā' Khān was appointed his successor, see *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> The Kāmāh of the Ā'in, see Jarrett's translation, II, pp. 96 and 195, Pahārī and Kōh Mujāhid are also mentioned there. They were in Sarkār Sahār and province of Āgra; see also Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*, II, pp. 102, 103. The Sarkār is sometimes called Pahārī. For the Mewās or Meos see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 313. Kāmā is the Kāman of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 325. It is now in the Bharat-pūr State, and is 39 miles N.W. Mathurā. In *Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 701, mention is made of the attack upon the Mewātīs by the Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh's son who is there called Kāsari Singh.

<sup>6</sup> This should be Chāl Kalānah in Nārṇol Sarkār, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 97 and 194. See *Maṭhūr-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 573, where the revenue of Chāl Kalāna is mentioned as 70,000 *dāms*. It was really much more, being over 7½ lakhs according to Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 194. See also the article Kālāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 307. It is now in the Jind State.

the revenue of which was 80 lacs of *dāms*, was assigned to him to pay for the increase. Kirat Singh<sup>1</sup> also had an increase of rank and was made *faujdar* of Mēwāt.

As the cypress of his talent grew by the stream of the Mīrzā Rāja and the plant of his intelligence was nourished in the garden of knowledge of that great man, his tact and skill soon became impressed on the mind of the King. In the 28th year when the royal standards came to Ajmēr he received the rank of 1,000 with 900 horse and was sent off to guard the Capital. After the end of the 30th year when the buildings of Faizābād known as Mukhlispūr in pargana Muẓaffarābād Sarkār Sahāranpūr<sup>2</sup> were nearly completed on the banks of the Jumnā near the northern hills—which are in the vicinity of the Sirmūr hills—the King often visited that delightful place which was 47 *kos* from the Capital; Kirat Singh was sent off to guard the environs of Shāhjahānābād.<sup>3</sup> When his father separated from the Sulaimān Shikōh, and was proceeding to join Aurangzib, Kirat Singh, who, after the battle with Dārā Shikōh, had gone to his home, joined his father and entered into service with him. He received a flag and was sent off to put down the Mēwāt rebels. For a time he was *faujdar* of the Metropolitan district. Afterwards he did good service along with his father in conquering Sivā's territory, and with 3,000 men erected batteries in front of the fortress of Purandhar.<sup>4</sup>

When Sivā submitted, and all the officers of the army received royal favours, Kirat Singh obtained the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Afterwards, when the Mīrzā Rāja went off to attack Bijāpūr, and the *Ilīmish* was under Kirat Singh's charge, he fought bravely with the Bijāpūris, and when the Mīrzā Rāja died in Burhānpūr, he came to the Court and received drums, and the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He again joined the Deccan auxiliaries and spent a long time in that country. In the 16th year, 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) he died.<sup>5</sup>

(RĀJA) KISHAN SINGH<sup>5</sup> BHADĀWARIYA.

(Vol. II, pp. 228-230.)

Bhadāwar is a tract three *kos* from Āgra, and the inhabitants of this area receive their name from it. This tribe is bold and undaunted, and formerly it was turbulent. Akbar had the head of the tribe trodden under the feet of elephants.<sup>6</sup> After this they were always law-abiding

<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned in Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*, II, p. 103, that Kirat Singh got the parganas of Sarkār Sahār in fief from Shāh Jahān.

<sup>2</sup> Sarāngpūr given in a note as a variant is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Purandar of the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 254, is famous for the masterly campaign of Rāja Jai Singh against Shivājī in 1665. It is now a military sanatorium in Poona district, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, pp. 396, 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 128. According to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p. 288, Kirat Singh poisoned his father at the instigation of Aurangzib, and was rewarded by the gift of the district of Kamah. See, however, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 128, 129, where the death of Jai Singh and his character are discussed in detail.

<sup>5</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 547, 548. بهادرية. in the Text.

<sup>6</sup> The only reference to the expedition against the tribe in *Akbarnāma* is in Vol. II, text, p. 78, Beveridge's translation, pp. 119-120, where Adham Khān is stated to have been appointed to subdue the country and punish the seditious tribe.

and did service. In the time of the said King, Muktaman Bhadāwariya was the head of the tribe and held the rank of 1,000. In the time of Jahāngir the chief was Rāja Bikramājī who accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān in the campaign against the Rānā and afterwards was appointed to the Deccan. He died in the 11th year and his son Bhōj came from the Deccan and did homage. In Shāh Jahān's time the chief was Kishan Singh. He in the 1st year served with Mahābat Khān in the affair of Jujhār Singh, and in the 3rd year he was sent off with Shāyista Khān to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk who had given protection to Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 6th year he did good service in the siege of Daulatābād, and in the 9th he went with Khān Zamān to punish Sāhū Bhōnslē. In the 17th year corresponding to 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he died. As he had no son except one by a concubine, Badan Singh his uncle's grandson received a robe of honour, and was granted the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāja. In the 21st year he had one day gone to pay his respects at the *Darshan* (the King appearing in the *Jharōka*) when suddenly a *mast* elephant ran at him and pinned one of his retainers under his tusks. The Rāja boldly struck the elephant with his dagger and as a fireball <sup>1</sup> (*charkhī*) was discharged at the same time, the Rāja escaped injury and his retainer was released. The Rāja was rewarded by the gift of a robe of honour, and the remission of Rs. 50,000 out of a *pēshkash* (tribute) of two lacs of rupees which he had agreed to pay when he was confirmed in his chiefship. In the 22nd year he had an increase of 500 and went off in attendance of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur to the Qandahār campaign. In the 25th year he again accompanied the said Prince, and in the 26th year he was sent with Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same expedition. In the 27th year he died. His son Mahā Singh attained the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse and was granted the title of Rāja, and the gift of a horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to Kābul, and in the 31st year he had the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when Aurangzib became victorious, and Dārā Shikōh was defeated, the Rāja entered the Emperor's service, and in the 1st year of his reign he went with Subkarn Bundēla against Champat Bundēla. In the 10th year he did good service with Kamāl Khān in chastising the Yūsufzā'ī tribe, and as a reward 500 of his troopers were made two-horse and three-horse. He died in the 26th year. His son Udai Singh—who had already been in the King's service and a favourite and had been appointed to accompany the Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh in the Deccan campaign—was in the 24th year made governor of the fort of Chittōr. On the death of his father he obtained the title of Rāja.

## KISHAN SINGH RĀTHŌR.

(Vol. III, pp. 150-152.)

He was a half-brother <sup>2</sup> of the well-known Rāja Sūraj Singh and full-brother of the mother of Shāh Jahān. By virtue of this great relationship, he, in the time of Jahāngir, became an intimate courtier and rose to

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 134 under *Charkhī*.

<sup>2</sup> 'allāh a half-brother in Text, but Jahāngir calls him his own or full brother, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 291. The biography of Sūraj Sing Rāthōr called Soor Sing by Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 29, is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 179-183.

a high position. He behaved treacherously and maliciously to his elder brother who was one of the pillars of the State. It happened that Gōbind Dās Bhātī—who was Rāja Sūraj Singh's agent and manager—killed, on account of a quarrel, Gōpāl Dās the Rāja's brother's son. As the Rāja (Sūraj Singh) was very fond of him, he did not resort to vengeance for the murder. Kishan Singh was annoyed at this indulgence, and lay in wait looking for an opportunity to avenge his nephew. In the 10th year of Jahāngīr, 1024 A.H., when the royal camp was at Ajmēr, on a day when Jahāngīr visited the Pushkar lake, Kishan Singh got on horseback before morning with the intention of exacting retribution and came to the place where Rāja Sūraj Singh was staying. He sent some of his tried men on foot to the quarters of Gōbind Dās, and they attacked a party of men who were on guard there. During the tumult Gōbind Dās awoke, and came out without previous warning from one side of the house. Kishan Singh's men—who were searching for him—killed him as soon as they saw him. Kishan Singh; as he did not yet know what had happened, came on foot in great agitation and anger to the place, and though men warned him, it was of no use. Meanwhile Rāja Sūraj Singh also awoke and came out with a sword in his hand, and sent his men to oppose. In the tumult, Kishan Singh and some of his men were killed. The others got to their horses and escaped. The Rāja's men followed and a hot fight took place in front of the royal window (*jharōka*). Whosoever's head was struck by the scimitar (*shamshēr*), it was cut down to the waist, and whenever the swords (*tēghā*) of Indian steel reached the waist the body was divided into two. Sixty-eight<sup>1</sup> Rājput̃s of the two parties displayed the devotion of their life. They say that from that day the scimitars of Sīrōhī<sup>2</sup> are held in respect, and are sought after. Jahāngīr, after this catastrophe, divided his (Kishan Singh's) *manṣab* among his sons and confirmed them in the possession of his native place of Kishangār.<sup>3</sup>

LASHKAR KHÂN.<sup>4</sup>

(Vol. III, pp. 161-163.)

His name was Muḥammad Ḥusain Khurāsānī, and in the reign of Akbar he held the rank of 2,000 and was *Mir Bakshī*, and *Mir Arḍī* (Superintendent of petitions). In the 11th year he was removed from his office on account of charges brought against him by Muẓaffar Khān Turbatī. In the 16th year he insolently came in open daylight drunk to the *Darbār* and created a disturbance. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was, in spite of his high rank and connections, led round

<sup>1</sup> In Jahāngīr's Memoirs, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 293, the number is given as 66, viz. 30 on Rāja Sūraj Singh's side and 36 on Kishan Singh's. Perhaps the author of the text has added Kishan Singh and his nephew Karan. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 33, refers to the slaying of Govindas and ascribes it to the instigation of Shāh Jahān when a Prince, and puts it near the end of Jahāngīr's reign!

<sup>2</sup> Capital of the native state of that name. It is 28 miles north of the Abū Road Station and 171 miles from Ajmēr (*vide Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 37). The manufacture of swords is still carried on there. See Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 446, 447, and *Akbar-nāma*, Text II, p. 364, Beveridge's translation, p. 529.

tied to a horse's tail. For some time he was imprisoned and then released. He was appointed along with Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to take part in the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl. In the battle with Dā'ūd Kararānī, who had laid a claim to those areas, he was in the centre and supported the Commander-in-Chief and was severely wounded. Though his wounds healed, he, for want of care, died in Bengāl. He was a man of wealth and had a thousand mounted servants of his own.

The excessive punishments imposed by the Emperor may seem to savour of wrath, for the rule with wise kings—who regard capital punishment, etc., as inseparable from their position—is to apportion chastisement according to the (rank of the) individual. Some they rebuke only by a stern glance or a frown, another they reprimand by a severe talk, another they punish by blows of the fist, while still another they chastise by the whip and the stick. As some one has well said:

*Quatrain.*

If it be necessary to punish some one,  
'Tis wrong to chastise every one in equal measure.  
O players on the instrument <sup>1</sup> of justice,  
Beat the drum with the fist, the flute with the breath.

But if we consider the idiosyncrasy of this pomp-loving man, the punishment was just, for in spite of all his high rank he endured such contemptuous treatment and out of his meanness of spirit did not relinquish service. Yet many servants of inferior rank, at a frown or a harsh expression, give up their lives so as to preserve their honour, and so acquire undying fame.

*Reflection <sup>2</sup> (or Warning).*

As the idiosyncrasy of every person is distinctive, and moreover different people may have different notions of this idiosyncrasy, legal orders should not have reference to the personality but to the deed, and reward or punishment should be awarded accordingly.

*Verse.*

Each deed has its recompense and its retribution.

LASHKAR KHĀN ABŪL HASAN MASHHADĪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 163-168.)

At first he was the *Divān* of Prince Sultān Murād. On his death he came back from the Deccan and entered the service of Prince Sultān

<sup>1</sup> *Qānūn* which has two meanings, a musical instrument and a canon or law.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is obscure, and seems to contradict what has been stated earlier on. The author first says that Lashkar Khān's punishment was justified by his peculiar nature and behaviour which showed that he was thick-skinned, and then he seems to say that legal orders must deal with the fact and not the personality. But the explanation is that Akbar's order was not one of the *ahkām shar'īya*, but a special order and an exception which proves the rule. Certainly the tying to a horse's tail was not a legal punishment. We are reminded of the punishment Akbar inflicted, when a boy, on some negligent dog-keepers; see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 318, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 590. 591.

Salīm. He did good service and this formed the foundation of his good fortune. When the Prince became King, Abūl Ḥasan received the title of Lashkar Khān and was granted a high office. For a while he was *Divān* and *Bakhshī* of Afghānistān, but as Khān Daurān the Governor there disliked him, he was summoned to the Court. Afterwards he was commissioned to chastise the Afghāns who were a stumbling-block to travellers between India and Kābul. He did everything possible in the way of smiting and binding the robbers and highwaymen, and so put things straight. In the 14th year, when Jahāngīr paid his first visit (as King) to Kashmīr, Lashkar Khān was granted a flag and drums, and entrusted to guard Āgra.<sup>1</sup> When the imperial army marched in company with Prince Parviz and under the leadership of Mahābat Khān in pursuit of Prince Shāh Jahān, Lashkar Khān was sent as an auxiliary to the army<sup>2</sup> of the Deccan. When the army reached Burhānpūr, 'Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bijāpūr made friends with Mahābat Khān on account of his enmity with Malik 'Ambar, and sent his general Mullā Muḥammad Lārī with 5,000 horse to Burhānpūr.<sup>3</sup> Mahābat Khān left Rāo Ratan Sarbuland Rāi in charge of the city, and appointed Lashkar Khān with a number of other officers as his associates. The control of affairs there was entrusted to Mullā Muḥammad. Mahābat Khān himself hastened off with Prince Parviz to Allahābād. Malik 'Ambar, who was waiting for the opportunity, proceeded to Bijāpūr and besieged it. 'Ādil Shāh engaged in strengthening the walls and fortifications and sent off couriers to summon Mullā Muḥammad. He also wrote to Mahābat Khān that he hoped for his assistance in return for his loyalty, and he sent three lacs of *hūns*, which are about twelve lacs of rupees, for the expenses of the army. In accordance with a letter from Mahābat Khān, Lashkar Khān left Sarbuland Rāi with a few men in the city and marched as the auxiliary of Mullā Muḥammad to extirpate Malik 'Ambar. Malik 'Ambar heard of this and wrote to Lashkar Khān that he had not behaved presumptuously to the King's servants, and asked why he was to be ill-treated. There had long been a boundary dispute between him and 'Ādil Shāh, and he asked that he might be allowed to settle matters with his adversary. Whatever was fated would happen. No answer was returned and the troops marched on to the neighbourhood of Bijāpūr. Malik 'Ambar was obliged to raise the siege and to proceed to his own territory. Mullā Muḥammad followed him. In proportion as Malik 'Ambar showed a disposition to surrender, and to behave humbly, Mullā Muḥammad—believing that Malik 'Ambar was weak and in distress—increased his acerbity and hostility. When the situation for Malik 'Ambar became critical and he was hard pressed, he was obliged to fight at the stage of Bhātūrī,<sup>4</sup> five *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. It happened that Mullā Muḥammad was killed, and 'Ādil Shāh's forces were thrown into confusion. Jādū Rāi and Ūdā Rām on the King's side did not exert themselves in the

<sup>1</sup> Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 81. On p. 83 it is stated that he was promoted to the *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 2,000 horse; also see p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed account see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 379-383.

<sup>4</sup> In *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 236, the name of the place is not mentioned, but it is stated that it was a distance of 5 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. See also Khāfi Khān, I, p. 348, and Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p. 269, note 3.

battle but fled. Ikhlās Khān and others to the number of twenty-five officers, who were the mainstay of 'Adil Shāh's power, were made prisoners. Malik 'Ambar put to death Farhād Khān out of their number, as he was after Malik 'Ambar's life. Lashkar Khān and forty *mansabdārs*, among whom were Mirzā Manūchehī and 'Aqīdat Khān were made prisoners and were for a time imprisoned and fettered in the fort of Daulatābād. After Sultān Parviz's death, when Khān Jahān was entrusted with the government of the Deccan, Lashkar Khān and the other officers were released and came to Burhānpūr. After Shāh Jahān ascended the throne he had regard for Lashkar's Khān's earlier services—Lashkar Khān had lent him 10<sup>1</sup> lacs when he was a Prince—and paid<sup>2</sup> him the amount—and increased his rank by 2,000 personal and horse, so that his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. He was also appointed<sup>3</sup> governor of Afghānistān in place of Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbatī. It happened that before he entered upon this office, Nadhr Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Balkh and Badkhashān, out of his short-sighted view, and the thought that the death of Jahāngīr was an opportunity, led a large army into Afghānistān, and arrived near the city of Kābul. Lashkar Khān did not wait for the reinforcements which Mahābat Khān was directed to bring, but marched on rapidly. When he came to Bārīk Āb twelve *kos* from the city, Nadhr Muḥammad raised the siege and came forward to fight. Lashkar Khān advanced to meet him, and when Nadhr Muḥammad saw that Lashkar Khān's army was coming on with great boldness, and that the mercenary servants who would help him in a difficulty were few, he did not think it advantageous to engage, and on 9 Muḥarram, 1038 A.H. turned his rein. He traversed the heights and hollows—which he had formerly taken a month to travel through—in four<sup>4</sup> days and reached Balkh. Lashkar Khān entered Kābul and rejoiced the citizens who had been afflicted by the plundering of the Ūzbegs. He sent troops wherever they were required, and drove off the raiders.<sup>5</sup> But as the inhabitants of the province were Hanafis and were opposed to Lashkar Khān on account of his religion, he was removed from there in the 4th year.<sup>6</sup> In the 5th year he was appointed in place of Mahābat Khān to take charge of Delhi, but as on account of his great age he could not render proper service, he, in the 6th year, entered the list of those who pray for success (of the reigning Sovereign). He and his sons paid their respects.

Though the *Bādshāhnāma*<sup>7</sup> does not give any reason for his retirement except old age, yet it appears that he had not attained to such an age as to be unfit for service. But for some reason he was not in favour with the Sovereign. They say, that after his resignation he resolved to go for pilgrimage. After he had visited the shrines and had spent large

<sup>1</sup> According to Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 250, Shāh Jahān entered Lashkar Khān's house and seized Rs.9,00,000 in the 17th year of Jahāngīr's reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> See Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 185, 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 214. Sa'd Ullāh made a rapid journey from Kābul to Balkh in 1056 A.H., but he took 11 days, *id.*, II, p. 564. He, however, returned in four days, *id.*, II, p. 584.

<sup>5</sup> There is a long account of Nadhr Muḥammad's invasion and of Lashkar Khān's victory in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 206, etc. The chronogram was: *Lashkar Fath* or Lashkar's victory = 1038 (*id.*, p. 215).

<sup>6</sup> See Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 472.



sums of money there, he went to his native country, and became a sweeper of the holy threshold (of Mashhad). He founded *Serā* <sup>1</sup> is there, and bought many properties. And there he died. His sons remained in India. His eldest son was Sazāwār Khān, of whom an account <sup>1</sup> is given in this work. Another son was Mirzā Luṭf Ullāh. He was a Sunni and became *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. One night when travelling in his palanquin someone suddenly attacked him with a dagger and killed him, and ran away. It was never known as to who he was. Lashkar Khān's son-in-law Bābā Mirak distinguished himself in Jahāngir's time in the hills of the Kāngra range. When Prince Shāh Jahān besieged Burhānpūr Bābā Mirak was with Rāo Ratan. One day when Shāh Qulī Khān <sup>2</sup> entered the city, he fought and was killed. His son Laṭīf Mirak ended his life in governing the forts of Anki <sup>3</sup> Tankī in the Deccan. Outside the walls he had made a small garden and erected his tomb, and there he was buried.

LASHKAR KHĀN, otherwise JĀN NIKHĀR KHĀN.<sup>4</sup>

(Vol. III, pp. 168-171.)

His name was Yādgar Bēg and he was the son of Zabardast Khān <sup>5</sup> a *Wālā-Shāhī* (belonging to the bodyguard) of Shāh Jahān. He became known in his father's lifetime, and did good service. In the 19th year his rank was 1,000 with 200 horse and he was superintendent of the mace-bearers and of the *naḡdī* officers. In the same year he got an increase of 500 with 300 horse, and was honoured by the grant of the title of Jān Nithār Khān. There was always friendship between the house of Timūr and the great sovereigns of the Safavi family, and the exchange of letters and messages and present was customary with them, but in the end of his reign Shāh Ṣafī became annoyed about the affair of Qandahār and severed the chain of old affection. When he died, Shāh Jahān did not like that old relations should be altogether lost, and in the same year appointed Jān Nithār Khān as ambassador <sup>6</sup> to Persia. He gave him and his companions two years' pay and sent them off with presents worth three and a half lacs of rupees, and a letter of condolence <sup>7</sup> on Shāh Ṣafī's death and of congratulations on the accession of Shāh 'Abbās II, the son and successor of Shāh Ṣafī. He also apologized for the coming to India of 'Alī Mardān Khān, who had not left (Qandahār) for any ambitious reasons or from a desire to enter service, but had been obliged to withdraw on account of the machinations of envious persons. Jān Nithār Khān returned towards the end of the 21st year, and received the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse and the office of Master of the Horse. In the 23rd year he was made *Mīr Tuzuk*, and in the 24th year he became 2nd *Bakhshī* in place of Siyādat Khān. In the 25th year he had an increase of 500

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 438-441.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Muḥammad Taqī, the *Simsā*; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Bādhshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 165. These were 16 kos from Damatābād, Elliot, VII, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> He should not be confused with Kamāl-ud-Dīn Jān Nithār Khān of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 527-529.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 372, 373.

<sup>6</sup> *Bādhshāhnāma*, II, pp. 492, 493; Khāfi Khān, I, p. 620.

<sup>7</sup> *Bādhshāhnāma*, II, pp. 493-500; Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 221, 222.

with 300 horse, and received the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 1,000 horse and he was appointed *Bakhshī* of Prince Dārā Shikōh's army when it was sent on the Qandahār expedition. In the 27th year he was summoned to the Presence from Multān and appointed, as formerly, to the post of 2nd *Bakhshī*, in succession to Irādat Khān. In the 29th year certain facts came out, which indicated a want of honesty on his part. It appeared that in the *Bakhshī* department he had opened the hand of covetousness and committed embezzlement. He was removed from office and his rank was reduced by 500. After that he was appointed to chastise the seditious elements in *Hiṣār* and *Bikānir*. In the 31st year, on the death of 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā he was appointed governor of Kashmir and received an increase of 500 horse. In the beginning of Aurangzib's reign a robe of honour was sent to him and his rank was increased by 500, and 500 horse, so that he held the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He was nominated governor of Multān, and in the 3rd year he was made governor of Sindh in succession to Qubād Khān. Later he was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year he became governor of Multān in succession to Tāhir Khān and in the 13th was appointed *Mir Bakhshī* on the death of Dānishmand Khān<sup>1</sup>. He then had an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and his rank became 5,000 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1081 A.H. (1671 A.D.) he died. None of his sons reached eminence. His daughter was married to Luṭf Ullāh Khān<sup>2</sup> the son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān.

(RUKN-UD-DULA SAIYID) LASHKAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAṢĪR JANG.

(Vol. II, pp. 359-361.)

His name was *Mir Ismā'il* and his ancestors came from Sirpul near Balkh. His lineage goes back to *Mir Saiyid 'Alī Divānah* whose shrine in a village of the Panjāb is greatly respected, and who was a descendant of Shāh Ni'mat Ullāh Vali. His uncle Saiyid Hāshim Khān was in the royal service. As the father of *Mir Ismā'il* died at an early age, Hāshim Khān brought him up. He became a servant among the 'Servants of the Special Brotherhood' which is a phrase for the Mughal *Manṣabdārs*, and received the title of *Musāfir Khān*. In the 1st year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān<sup>3</sup> he in company with Nizām-ul-Mulk distinguished himself and overcame his opponents with the sword. Afterwards when Nizām-ul-Mulk at the summons of Muḥammad Shāh<sup>4</sup> came to the Court, he described his bravery to the King. Accordingly, he was made *faujdar* of Attock. Afterwards he resigned that post, and went to the Deccan to the Nizām-ul-Mulk and was made *Bakhshī* of *Sāyar Sarkār* (the customs) and given the title of Saiyid Lashkar Khān. For a time he was employed in the settlement of Rājbandari in Farkhundābunyād (Haidarābād). For a long time he

<sup>1</sup> *Madāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> For his life see *Madāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 171-177.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ālam 'Alī Khān the nephew of Saiyid brothers of Bārah opposed Nizām-ul-Mulk 'Asāf Jah in the Deccan, and the battle took place close to Bālāpūr town in the Akōla District on 10th August, 1720. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp. 47-49.

<sup>4</sup> Khāfi Khān, II, p. 939 and Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 106.

was governor of the province of Aurangābād. Later he accompanied Nizām-ul-Mulk to Upper India, and did good service during the time of Nādir Shāh. When the disturbance of Bāji Rāo, the general of Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle, which took place in the Deccan led to the battle with Nāsir Jang the Martyr, and the Rāo having received a severe chastisement died shortly afterwards,<sup>1</sup> Ismā'il, at the request of (Nizām-ul-Mulk) Bahādūr, went and offered consolation to the brother and son of the deceased and established cordial relations. He again went to Upper India with the said Bahādūr and returned to the Deccan in 1153 A.H. After the death of Naṣir-ud-Daula he was appointed as the Deputy Governor of Aurangābād, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was given the title of Bahādūr and the gift of a flag and a drum. In the time of Nāsir Jang the Martyr,<sup>2</sup> he received the title of Naṣir Jang. After the battle of Pondicherry he again became Governor of Aurangābād. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang<sup>3</sup> his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and he had the title of Rukn-ud-Daula, and was made the Prime Minister. On resignation from this office he became Governor of Berār, and when that post was given to Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh he was appointed to the charge of Aurangābād. He died in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.). He was distinguished for his good nature and his observance of the religious laws. He honoured the learned and the poor. He was very charitable, and was well acquainted with administrative work. But he was less experienced in financial matters. He left some daughters. His cousins Saiyid 'Arif Khān and Saiyid Zarif Khān came to him from Lāhōre, and he behaved kindly to both of them. He gave one of his daughters (in marriage) to Mir Jumla younger son of Zarif Khān. At the time of writing he (Mir Jumla) has the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of 'Azīm-ud-Daula Naṣir Jang Bahādūr, and is in charge of Aurangābād and the management of the estates of Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh in that province, and is an object of favour with the said Nizām-ud-Daula. His elder brother Raf'at-ud-Daula Bahādūr Zōrāwar Jang was for a long time the *Bakhshī* of the Mughal *Risāla* (cavalry) in the Nizām-ud-Daula's service. At present he is the Deputy Governor of Nāndēd. His rank is 5,000. He is a bold and sincere man.

(RĀI) LŪNKARN KACHWĀHA.<sup>4</sup>

(Vol. II, pp. 116, 117.)

He was a Shaikhāwat, and his estate was in the pargana of Sāmbhar. He entered the service of Akbar and was kindly received. In the 21st year he was appointed along with Kunwar Mān Singh against the Rānā,

<sup>1</sup> See Kincaid and Parasanis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 270, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383. Bāji Rāo died on 25th April, 1740.

<sup>2</sup> For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 848-862. He was killed by Himmat Khān the Pathān chief of Kurnool on 16th December, 1750.

<sup>3</sup> His full title was Āṣaf-ud-Daula Zafar Jang Amir-ul-Mamālik. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 368, 369, Beveridge's translation, pp. 279, 280; Lashkar Khān is mentioned as having been made the Prime Minister after Rāja Rughnāth Dās was killed.

<sup>4</sup> See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 554, under "Rāy Manohar". For the derivation of his name see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 295, note 4.

and in the same year he went with Rāja Bīrbar<sup>1</sup> (Bīrbal) to bring the daughter of the Rājā of Dōngarpūr whom the latter wanted to be admitted in the royal harem. In the 22nd year he came with her, and offered his submission to the sovereign. In the 24th year he went off with Rāja Tōdar Mal to chastise the rebels of the Eastern districts. In the 28th year he was sent off to Gujarāt along with Mirzā Khān son of Bairām Khān. His son was Rāi Manōhar who was liked and cherished by Akbar. In the 22nd year, when Akbar was at Amber, Manōhar represented<sup>2</sup> that there was an old city in that neighbourhood, of which nothing remained but heaps of earth. The Emperor applied himself to rebuilding it and several officers were appointed to look after this project. In a short time it was completed. As the *Zamīndārī* belonged to Lūnkarai, it was called Mūl Manōharnagar.

When Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā fled, and no *Amīr* offered to pursue him, the Emperor sent Manōhar along with Rāi Durgā Sāl in the 45th year to follow him. Though Khwāja Waisī had seized the Mirzā, they also joined near Sultānpūr. After Akbar's death, Manōhar was an object of favour with Jahāngīr, and in the first year<sup>3</sup> he was sent off along with Sultān Parvīz to punish Rānā Amar Singh. In the 2nd year his rank was 1,000 with 560 horse.<sup>4</sup> He was long attached to the Deccan *Sūba*. In the 11th year he died.<sup>5</sup> His son attained the rank of 500 with 300 horse. Manōhar wrote poetry and Tausanī<sup>6</sup> was his pen-name. This verse is his:

*Verse.*

Learn from the eyes to be separate and united,  
For the two eyes are distinct, and yet do not see separately.

His two brothers Īsar Dās and Sānval Dās left children.

LUṬF ULLĀH KHĀN.

(Vol. III, pp. 171-177.)

He was the eldest<sup>7</sup> son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān Jumalat-ul-Mulk whose noble qualities will remain famous for ages. When that famous *Vazīr* died in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's 30th year, Luṭf Ullāh Khān was eleven years old. He received the rank of 700 with 100 horse and was the subject of royal favours. When the reins of power fell into the hands of Aurangzīb, he was graciously treated on account of his father's having had a closer connection with Aurangzīb than with the other princes, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 196, 210, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 278-295.

<sup>2</sup> *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 221, Beveridge's translation III, p. 311, note 1. Manōharnagar is now known as Manōharpūr, and is situated 28 miles N.E. of Jaipūr, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> In Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112, his rank is given as 1,000 and 600 horse.

<sup>5</sup> Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

<sup>6</sup> Tausnī means a spirited horse, see *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> His mother was daughter of Karīm Dād son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushanī. Karīm Dād was executed in 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), see *Muṭṭhit-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 248.

received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. He was continually cherished by Aurangzib and received accessions of rank. There were few of the higher *dārōghaships* (superintendencies) which he did not fill. In the 12th year he was appointed in charge of the *Dāk chaukī* (Post Office) in the room of 'Aqil Khān. In the 13th year he was made Superintendent of the office of the Revision of Petitions in place of Hājī Ahmad Sa'id Khān. In the 14th year he was married to the daughter of Lashkar Khān Mir Bakhshī, who had died earlier. In the 19th year after the King's return from Hasan Abdāl to Lāhōre he was, in succession to Faiẓ Ullāh Khān made the *Dārōgha* of the elephant-stables. In the 21st year he was, on the death of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz Akbarābādī again made Reviser of Petitions. In the same year he was honoured among his peers by being allowed to enter the fort in his palanquin. In the 23rd year the government of Lāhōre was entrusted to Prince Muḥammad A'zam in succession to Qiẓām-ud-Din Khān, and Luṭf Ullāh Khān was made the Prince's deputy. Next year he came to the Court and was made Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna* in succession to 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān. In the 25th year he was made *Wāqī'a Khawān* (Recorder) in the room of Kāmgar Khān. Next year he was superintendent of the *Jilau Khāṣṣ* (Special stables) and of the *Chaukī Khāṣṣ* (Special guards).

As the abilities of Luṭf Ullāh Khān were well known, and he possessed all kinds of excellences, he impressed all with his courage during the siege of Gōlconda. Especially was this so on that midnight when the besieged fell upon the royal battery (*damdama*)—which had been carried up to the level of the battlements—and spiked the cannon. Saiyid 'Izzat Khān the Chief of the artillery together with Sarbarāh Khān disciple of Jalāl were made prisoners.<sup>1</sup> Luṭf Ullāh Khān with a body of the special guards (*Chaukī Khāṣṣ*) had been appointed to guard the battery, and for three days he bravely maintained himself in the middle of the river which is at the foot of the fort, till another body of troops arrived and drove off the enemy, and secured the battery. The Khān had his rank increased<sup>2</sup> by 500. As his courage had been tested, he was sent<sup>3</sup> in the 34th year to the *thāna* of Kahtā'ōn to chastise the robbers (the Mahrattas). In the following year he was again appointed to superintend the Post department in succession to Šalābat Khān. In the same year his rank was reduced<sup>4</sup> on account of some error, but after a time he was restored to favour. In the 39th year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Šaf Shikan Khān, and in succession to Khānazād Khān was made the *Dārōgha* of the *Khāṣṣ-Chaukī*. In the 43rd year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was given drums, and appointed to the government of Bijāpūr. In the 45th year he was removed from this office, and had an increase of 500 horse and appointed to the government of Aurangābād. In the 46th year that government was, after the taking of the fortress of Khēlnā, given to Prince Bidār Bakht, and Khān Firūz Jang was ordered to come from Berār and to take charge of the royal encampment. Luṭf Ullāh Khān, who was the brother-in-law of Firūz Jang, was made the Deputy Governor of the province. The Khān died<sup>5</sup> before he reached the

<sup>1</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 303, it is stated that his rank was 2,000 with 1,000 horse and that he had an increase of 200 horse.

<sup>3</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 337-341.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 461.

district, in the year 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). He possessed talents and courage and repeatedly distinguished himself and ought to have had higher promotions, but perhaps some levities and other defects in his disposition prevented this.

It is well known that one day the King was reading a report which contained some secret information. Before the King had spoken of it, the contents were reported to him, and an inquiry was made as to how they had been divulged. At last the King correctly and with conviction said that Luṭf Ullāh Khān must have done this. Afterwards it became known that the Khān had from behind (Aurangzib) understood (read) the whole of the report and mentioned it to other people. Accordingly he was for some days excluded from the private audience. He used unfamiliar expressions and words, which required a dictionary to explain them. His artificial phrases and his difficult compounds are famous among men. His son Muḥammad Khalil 'Ināyat Khān was for some time governor of Burhānpūr. He had a military frame of mind and was also of a literary turn (*mīrā manish*). He was not without ability in the composition of Hindī melodies. In the battle of Jājau,<sup>1</sup> which took place between Shāh 'Alam and Muḥammad A'zam Shāh for the sovereignty of India, he was with Jahāndār Shah Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's army. When the Bārah Saiyids, who were few in number in the van and were hotly engaged, 'Ināyat Khān came to their aid. When it appeared that the enemy were getting the better of the fight, he alighted from his elephant. Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān the brother of Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān saw this and said to their brethren that it would be a shame if a Shaikhzāda carried off the palm. Saying this, they also alighted from their elephants, and encountered Amān Ullāh Khān, Saiyid Aūtād Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm Bēg Basrī and other old servants of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, who since long were well known for courage and bravery. A severe fight took place. 'Ināyat Khān received several grievous wounds and fell on the ground. A breath of life remained, but he soon died. Bahādur Shāh gave him the name of 'Ināyat Khān the Martyr, and looked after his sons, who were of tender age. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh at the time when Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh Niẓām-ul-Mulk came from the Deccan to the Capital and became *Vazīr* on the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, he married the daughter of the martyred Khān. She was his cousin (daughter of maternal uncle) and received the name of Sāhib Begam. This connection led to Luṭf Ullāh's sons becoming the recipients of fresh favours. Ḥafiz-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Sa'id Khān, who were her full brothers, came to the Deccan by the favour of Āṣaf Jāh and after the battle<sup>2</sup> with Mubārīz Khān each was appointed to a lucrative *faujdarship*, and were given drums, etc. Afterwards Ḥafiz-ud-Dīn became Deputy Governor of Burhānpūr. When in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh went again to the Capital, he took both the brothers with him. They liked staying in Delhī and did not return with him, but entered the service of the King. Both had distinguished qualities.

<sup>1</sup> Battle of Jājau 18th June. 1707, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 25-34.

<sup>2</sup> Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakar Khēlda some 80 miles from Aurangābād on 11th October, 1724, between 'Imād-ul-Mulk Mubārīz Khān and Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, see *Irvine, op. cit.*, II, pp. 145-150.

especially Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān Bahādur was a real aristocrat (*amīrzāda*). Though they attained higher office than their father or grandfather they did not rise to the same position and influence. Two other brothers, Muḥī-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān and Mu'in-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān were in Delhi and were killed in the general massacre of Nādir Shāh.<sup>1</sup>

### LUṬF ULLĀH KHĀN ṢĀDIQ.

(Vol. III, pp. 177, 178.)

One of the Anṣārī Shaikhzādas. His home was in Pānīpat. He came to the Court during the reign of Bahādur Shāh and rose from a low rank to that of an Amīr. He was censured in Jahāndār Shāh's reign and his home was confiscated. On this account he sought to join Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar, and after the latter's victory he, along with Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān was appointed to administer the Capital. Quṭb-ul-Mulk nominated him to the *Divānī* of the *Khālṣa*. The King had given this office to Chabla Rām Nāgar, and on this account there was ill feeling between the King and his *Vazīr*. Quṭb-ul-Mulk said that as the *Vazīr*'s first recommendation had not been accepted, it was evident<sup>2</sup> what his (Quṭb-ul-Mulk's) position was. At last the Khān's appointment was confirmed. In Muḥammad Shāh's reign he was made *Khān-i-Sāmān* and had the rank of 6,000, and the title of Shams-ud-Daula Bahādur Mutaḥawwar Jang. After Nādir Shāh came, Luṭf Ullāh did acts which were disapproved of and he was consequently censured.<sup>3</sup> He died in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh. The reason why he got the appellation of Ṣādiq is well known.<sup>4</sup> Dilēr Dil Khān was his brother. He accompanied the Amīr-ul-Umarā and attained the rank of 3,000. Another brother was Shēr Afgan Khān. He was *faujdar* of Karra near Allahābād. Among his sons, 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh and Shākīr Khān received some promotion.

<sup>1</sup> On 11th March, 1739, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 367-370, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 361, where the date is 22nd March; the date in the former work is according to the Old Style.

<sup>2</sup> *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 730.

<sup>3</sup> He was the governor of Delhi at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, and handed over the city without fighting to his agent. He was confirmed in his post of the governor by Nādir Shāh; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> *Khāfi Khān* from whom the above account is taken does not mention the reason, but perhaps it refers to the advice given by him to Farrukh-siyar to dismiss a number of the bodyguard; *op. cit.*, p. 769.

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